NOTES ON AFGHANISTAN AND PART OF BALUCHISTAN BY

MAJOR H.G. RAVERTY - 1888

(Confidential)

NOTES

ON

AFGHÁNISTÁN AND PART OF BALUCHISTAN,

GEOGRAPHICAL, ETHNOGRAPHICAL, AND HISTORICAL,

EXTRACTED FROM THE WRITINGS OF LITTLE KNOWN AFGHÁN AND TÁJZÍK HISTORIANS, GEOGRAPHERS, AND GENEALOGISTS; THE HISTORIES OF THE GHÚRÍS, THE TURK SOVEREIGNS OF THE DIHLÍ KINGDOM, THE MUGHAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE HOUSE OF TÍMÚR, AND OTHER MUHAMMADAN CHRONICLES; AND FROM PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS.

BY

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PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA IN COUNCIL.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

1888.

16656. I. 1225.

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CORRECTIONS AND EMENDATIONS.

SECTION FIRST.

Page 3, line 2, *for* "rabi," *read* "rabí'."
Page 4, line 1, *for* "Masú Khán," *read* "Massú Khán."
Page 4, line 17, *for* "Makúl," *read* "Makwal."
Page 4, note §, *for* "Kot Kuhror, east of Multán," *read* "Koṭ Kuhror, north-west of Multán."
Page 5, line 26, *for* "Ghwalírí," *read* "Ghwáyí Lári."
Page 6, line 2, *for* "river Jzob," *read* "river of the Jzob or Jzíob. *See* page 461."
Page 6, line 20, *for* "Músá Khel Kákars," *read* "Músá Khel Parnís.
Page 6, line 33, *for* "Shíráni," *read* "Sheráni."
Page 6, note ‡, *for* "Zor and Zawara'h," *read* "Zawaṛ and Zawaṛa'h."
Page 7, note *, *for* "Dáwí, Parní, and Dání," *read* "Dawaey, Parnaey, and Dánaey."
Page 8, line 7 from bottom, *for* "whe est of t Koh-i-Sujah," *read* "west of the Koh-i-Sujah."
Page 9, line 28, *for* "Ja'fir Afgháns," *read* "Ja'far Afgháns."
Page 9, note †, *for* "son of Parní," *read* "son of Parnaey. Parní is the plural form, and applies to the tribe collectively; Parnaey also refers to a male of the tribe."
Page 11, note*, *for* "Lagháris," *read* "Bozdárs."
Page 13, line 15, *for* "Miánahs," *read* "Kásís or Kánsís."
Page 13, line 23, *for* "Músá Khel Kákars," *read* "Músá Khel Parnís."
Page 18, line 9, *for* "Síwí or Sibí and Síwístán," *read* "Síwí is not in, and never was included in, Síw-istán. *See* under."
Page 20, line 4 from bottom, *for* "Káhan," *read* "Káhán."
Page 21, line 4, *for* "capital of Síwístán," *read* "capital of the *maḥáll* or district of Síwí, which was not included in the Sarkár of Siwustán. The latter formed part of Ṭhaṭhah or Sind, while Síwí belonged to Multán.
Page 21, line 22, *for* "Sarkár of Síwístán," *read* "Sarkár of Síw-istán."
Page 21, line 23, and other places, *for* "Káhan," *read* "Káhán." This does not refer to Káhan of the Marí tribe.
Page 21, line 24, *for* "Káhan 20 lakhs, and Pátar 16 lakhs," *read* "Káhán 16 lákhs, and Pátar 20 lákhs."
Page 21, line 25, and other places, *for* "Dog," *read* "Dúg, Dúk, also called Dúkí and Dúgí."
Page 23, line 11, and note *, *for* "Dogí," *read* "Dúgí or Dúkí."
Page 23, line 22, *for* "Jajah," *read* "In the original written thus, but the word is correctly Chatzah."
Page 23, line 2 from bottom, and note §, and in other places, *for* "Sih-Gotah," *read* "Sih-Koṭhah."
Page 24, note †, *for* "Kotal-i-Gwajar and Khajzak," *read* "Kotal-i-Gwájza'h and Kojzakh."
Page 25, line 15, *for* "Khajzak," *read* "Kojzakh," in all places.
Page 26, note §, *for* "more to the north," *read* "more to the south. It is what is also known as the Gwájza'h."
Page 27, line 16, *for* "Ab," *read* "Áb."
Page 27, line 26, and in other places, "Waní Kotal." *See* Section Fifth.
Page 27, note ‖, *for* "The above Kotal lies, etc.," *read* "Since the account was written some years ago I have been able to identify most of the places mentioned therein, as related in Section Fifth."
Page 28, line 6 from bottom, *for* "Síwí." *See* above reference to page 21, line 4.
Page 38, line 4, *for* "Sih-Joiah," *read* "This is the way the Muḥammadan writers of Hindústán, unacquainted with Pus'hto, write Tsats-Aoba'h, which *see* at page 405, and note *."
Page 39, note §, *for* "Batyára'í," *read* "Baṭyára'í."
Page 39, note ‖, para. two, *for* "Chiney," *read* "Chíney."
Page 42, line 38, *for* "Battle of Gand-áb," *read* "This battle took place in the eleventh month (Zí-Ḳa'dah) of 1084 H., equivalent to February 1674 A.D."
Page 46, line 1, *for* "Fauj-dár," *read* "Fouj-dár."
Page 50, line 12 from bottom, *for* "*j* and *jz*," *read* "*j*, *jz*, *ts*, and *ch*."
Page 55, last line, *for* "Kajá and Kagá," *read* "This is the way Hindústání writers write Katsa'h. *See* pages 50 and 317."
Page 60, line 33, *for* "Kotal-i-Zaffar," *read* "Kotal-i-Ẕaffar Khán."
Page 62, line 25, *for* "'Abú-Bakr," *read* "Abú-Bakr."
Page 63, line 22, *for* "Kábul," *read* "Zábul."
Page 69, line 22, *for* "Gumrán," *read* "This ancient place was, in early times, called Gum-ráhán. *See* Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, page 492, note 7."
Page 71, line 5, *for* "Mi-yandz," *read* "Mi-yandzey."
Page 71, line 12, "Ghás'hí," *read* "Ghás'haey."
Page 73, line 8 from bottom, *for* "Naghar," *read* "Baghzaṇ. Naghar, and, at times, Naghaz, is a common error in Muḥammadan histories through carelessness on the part of copyists; thus نغر and نغز instead of "بغز. *See* ."
Page 79, line 13, *for* "Ghák'hí and Ghás'hí," *read* "Always Ghás'haey or Ghák'haey unless inflected or plural uninflected when *aey* becomes *i*."
Page 82, line 20, *for* "Mangalí," *read* "Kodaey."
Page 82, note †, *for* "Resí, and Khúrmah," *read* "Resa'í, and Khwaṛama'h and Chakhtú. *See also* page 413."
Page 84, line 5, *for* "Surákh," *read* "Súrákh" in all places.
Page 84, line 9, *for* "Karahah," *read* "Karáhah."

Page 84, note ‡, *for* "Chautaraey," *read* "Tsautaraey."
Page 85, line 4, *for* "Shor Kajá," *read* "correctly, Shor Katsah or Katsá."
Page 85, line 16, *for* "and that Urgún," *read* "and says that Urgún."
Page 85, note ‡, *for* "This placed," *read* "This place."
Page 86, line 13, *for* "Kakí, son of Karlární," *read* "Kakaey, son of Kaṛlárnaey."
Page 86, line 17 from bottom, *for* "Aor-maṛ," *read* "Aor-Maṛ."
Page 86, note ¶, *for* "Aor-maṛ," *read* "Aor-Maṛ."
Page 86, note §, *for* "Naghar and Naghaz," *read* "These are both errors for Baghzaṇ as stated above. *See* page 318 and note ."
Page 88, line 13, and below, *for* "Kuch Kit," *read* "correctly, Kats Kit."
Page 91, line 5, *for* "Jadrarn," *read* "Jadrárn."
Page 91, line 20, *for* "Bábar's raid," *read* "The places here mentioned I have since identified. *See* page ."
Page 92, lines 17, 21, and 24, *for* "Naghar," *read* "Baghzaṇ."
Page 92, line 23, *for* "Atáwah," *read* "Astáwah."
Page 93, line 26, "The Zúmus'ht Afgháns are a section of the Khogíání Kaṛlárnís."
Page 93, note ¶, *for* "son of Kákí," *read* "son of Kákaey."
Page 94, line 29, *for* "Mataní," *read* "correctly, Mitanní."
Page 97, lines 7 and 8, *for* "Kaj and Kaj-hah," *read* "The Ghalzí Afgháns, and some other tribes, pronounce '*ts*' as '*j*' and '*ch*,' but Kats and Kats-ah are more correct. The author of these Surveys appears to have made a plural for Kaj (Kats) after the Tájzík fashion. *See also* page 317, note †, and page 333, note ‡."

Section Third.

Page 105, note †, third line from bottom, *for* "Ghúrghusht," *read* "Ghorghas'ht."
Page 257, last line from bottom, *for* "Ghurghushtís," *read* "Ghorghas'htís."

Section Fourth.

Page 328, last line from bottom, *for* "S'hwey-Lári," *read* "S'hwayey-Lári."
Page 345, note *, line 35, *for* "Dotánaey," *read* "Ḍoṭárnaey or Ḍoṭánaey."
Page 389, note †, *for* "*Tomán*," *read* "Toman."

SECTION FIRST.

ON THE BALUCH TRIBES OF THE DERAH-JAT.

Before giving an account of the different darahs and passes in the Lower Derah-ját, leading into Balúchistán and Afghánistán from Multán, it will be well, perhaps, to say something about the Balúch tribes inhabiting the tracts on the west bank of the Indus within the Panjáb frontier, who have given names to the derah of Ismá'íl Khán, the derah of Fath Khán, and the derah of Ghazí Khán.

The Balúch people are mentioned very early in Muhammadan history. We read of them and the Bráhúís in that valuable and celebrated work, "Masálik wa Mamálik," and in the "Kitáb of Ibn-Haukal," under the names of Koch and Balúch. The terms "Koujes" and "Boloujes," which we find in Ouseley's translation of the latter work, are mis-spellings. Scribes, in writing the letters ج - چ - and خ, are generally, and with rare exceptions, not at all particular in putting the proper diacritical points, and rarely make a distinction between the two first, even if they do not leave out the points altogether. Some again, instead of putting three points to چ, make a daub of them by writing the three without raising the reed from the paper, and make them seem like one point - ج -, and then inexperienced persons jump at the conclusion that the letter is *j* instead of *ch*. Hence we have such blunders as "Jinjis" and "Jinghis" for the name of the Chingiz Khán, and "Ujah," "Oujah," "Ootch," and "Outch," for Úchchah and Uchchah, and many other names.

The Koch and Balúch are referred to in the two works mentioned above as nomads, but the Afgháns commonly use the word *kochaey* to signify a nomad in their language, and the former word, in the old Persian, signifies much the same. They are said to inhabit a territory of Irán Zamín, bordering on Sind and Hind. The fact of the Koch being said to possess a language different from the Balúch, renders it probable that the Bráhúís are referred to under the name of Koch, and their language, certainly, is different from the Balúchkí. To enter into this subject further is not necessary here, but a short account of the tribes of the Balúch people who ruled in the tracts hereafter to be described, in the middle of the last century, and previous to the downfall of the Durrání monarchy, may not be out of place, as but little has been hitherto known respecting them.

The following is an extract from the "Sair-ul-Bilád," which will be referred to in another place :—

"The tracts of territory in which this Musalmán people are located is styled, from them, Balúchistán, and extends from the town of Pahár-púr, lying at the foot of the Salt Range, nearly 10 kuroh* north of the derah of Ismá'íl Khán, and included in the

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* The kuroh is the third part of a farsakh of 12,000 gaz, each kuroh consisting of 3,000 gaz of 32 angusht or fingers' breadth, or 4,000 gaz of 24 fingers' breadth, equal to six fists, or the hand with the fingers doubled up, each angusht being computed as equal in breadth to six barley corns laid side by side, and each barley corn as equal in breadth to six hairs from the mane of a Turkí horse or the tail of a camel. It varies, however, in different localities, and is, on the average, something less than two miles. In Hindústán, the Panjáb, and the Derah-ját, the kuroh is termed kos, in length 4,000 gaz, as above described. This is also called the gau kos, which means the distance at which the lowing of a cow can be heard at midnight on a calm night.

Some again compute it as equal to 1,000 paces of a woman with a child in her arms and a kúzah or earthen water pot (full of water) on her head. This, however, would be a very short kuroh indeed, even if a woman made strides of a yard at each footstep, instead of about from 24 to 26 inches. This must refer to what is termed in India the kachá kos, equal to half a kuroh or kos.

Mír Sháh Rizá, the late Bádsháh of Káshkár, told the author of the work above mentioned that he reckoned the kos of Hindústán at 1,000 paces of a man who is a good walker, but this kuroh refers more to the distances in his territory and in the parts adjacent, as will be mentioned in their proper place. This, however, is really only half a Dihlí kos, and just equal to the Persian míl.

From Atak to Pes'háwar, Jalál-ábád, and Kábul the term kuroh is used.

The Panjáb kos is rather less than that of Dihlí, it being about 3,600 gaz. In Afghánistán it is not usual to reckon by the kuroh, but by the manzil or stage, and the time occupied between chásht, the middle hour between sunrise and meridian, and the time of afternoon prayers and evening. These manzils are of three descriptions :—1. The manzil or stage of a kárwán, which is equal to a royal manzil, and not less than six or seven kuroh. 2. The manzil of a man on foot, which will be nearly 16 or 17 kuroh. 3. The manzil of a man on horseback, which will be 25 kuroh or rather more.

According to the "A'ín-i-Akbarí, in the time of Sher Sháh (otherwise Faríd, son of Hasan, of the Sheré Khel, of the sub-tribe of Súr, descended from Ismá'íl, son of Síání, son of Lúdí, the progenitor of that great division of the Afgháns), the standard kuroh was 60 jaríbs (see page 25), each of 60 gaz-i-Sikandarí or

Derah-ját, to the ocean, a distance of nearly 500 kuroh. This tract of country contains numerous *chúls*, waste land where no water is procurable for irrigation purposes, and much sandy desert, called in their idiom, *thals*.

"That portion of Balúchistán, or the country of the Balúchís, here more particularly referred to, extends from Pahár-púr to beyond Dájal, a distance of over 100 kuroh in length from north to south, and about 30 kuroh in width from east to west, as far as the mountain range of Mihtar Sulímán, also called the Koh-i-Siyah, or Black Range, the residence of the Afghán tribes of Shíráni, Bábar, Lúrní, Kákar, and others.

"These people, the Balúch, call this mountain tract west of the Derah-ját, Roh, and its Afghán people Rohilahs."

This last statement is not exactly correct; the term is applied much more extensively. Muhabbat Khán, an Afghán author and lexicographer, describes Roh as "the large tract of country belonging to, and inhabited by, the Afgháns, the eastern "boundary of which extends to Kashmír, and the western to the River Hírmand, a "distance of two-and-a-half months' journey; and on the north its boundary extends "to Káshkár, and its southern boundary to Balúchistán. It therefore lies between "Irán, Túrán, and Hind; and its people are termed Rohilahs."

The Hírmand was considered, in ancient times, the boundary between Ghúr and Zábulistán, and Sind and Hind; and in the maps contained in the "Masálik wa Mamálik," the Hírmand is called the "Rúd-i-Sind wa Hind," the River of Sind and Hind. When the Arabs invaded the countries east of Khurásán, Hindú sovereigns held sway up to the left or east bank of the Hírmand."

To return to the account of the Balúchís in the Sair-ul-Bilád.

"The tract of territory extending from Pahár-púr to below Dájal, above referred to, contains close upon 100,000 families,—about 500,000 people or more,—and, although each class among them is styled by a different name, to enumerate the whole of them would be tedious,* but they constitute four great tribes."

1. *The Marlání.*

"This is a great tribe of the Balúch, who, from ancient times, were the rulers of these parts. Their chief town was called Derah-i-Ghází Khán, that is, the place of residence† of Ghází Khán. The other derahs, giving name to the Derah-ját,—the plural form of the word,—are Derah-i-Ismá'íl, and Derah-i-Fath Khán."

Through ignorance on the part of the illiterate inhabitants, the *izáfat*, the sign of the genitive case in the Persian language, has, in course of time, been dropped, and now we hear them spoken of as "Derah Ghází Khán," "Derah Ismá'íl Khán, and "Derah Fath Khán," which terms are unquestionably incorrect, for, if we merely translate the names into Panjábí, we prove their incorrectness. We cannot say Ghází Khán Derah or Fath Khán Derah, but Ghází Khán *dá* Derah and Fath Khán *dá* Derah, etc. It is strange, but nevertheless true, that Europeans, and the English in particular, unacquainted with the vernacular, are sure to pick up the vulgar pronunciation of names of places, or to vitiate them according to their own sense of hearing. I submit, therefore, in order to remedy and avoid such lamentable errors, that revenue surveyors and settlement officers should, at all times, obtain the names of places and districts written in the vernacular of such places. There is great need for the correction of names of places and districts in a new map of Afghánistán, as I shall have to point out farther on, and the present seems a favourable time for carrying it out.

"The Derah of Ghází Khán, in former times, was a town of considerable size, but it has greatly declined, and is now a poor and mean place. It was founded by the late Nawwáb, Ghází Khán, Marlání, and, in his day, carried on an extensive trade with Irán, Túrán, and Hindústán. Its heat, in the hot season, is notorious; and it

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Sikandar's gaz. Its author also gives the standard as fixed in Akbar Bádsháh's reign. It is thus divided:—100 tanáb, each of 50 gaz or 400 báns (a bamboo, literally), each of 12½ gaz, or altogether 5,000 gaz.

He also describes the Hindú equivalent of the kuroh, which is called kos, as follows:—8 barley corns divested of their skins (laid side by side) = 1 angusht; 24 angusht = 1 dast (literally, a hand); 4 dasts = 1 dand; 2,000 dands = 1 kos.

* The different tribes at present dwelling in the Lower Derah-ját, and in the mountains to the west, are all mentioned in my account of the passes at page 7.

† The term derah among the Panjáb people, and in the Derah-ját in particular, is the common term for a house or dwelling, and not necessarily a camp or tent, as erroneously supposed by some persons.

produces grapes, pomegranates, apples (very small though), mangoes, dates, and a good deal of grain, both rabí—spring harvest, and kharíf—autumn harvest, indigo, sugar-cane, and rice. Some of the land is irrigated by means of wells, but the people chiefly depend on river irrigation.

"The Marlání tribe used, at the period referred to, to hold sway over the whole country from Mangrothah and Layyá as far as Dájal and Sítpúr; but from the time that enmity and disagreement arose among themselves, Tímúr Sháh, Abdálí, the Durrání sovereign, took the reins of Government out of the hands of the descendants of Ghází Khán, Marlání, and made it over to Mírzá Khán, a Kazil-básh, while the subordinate governors of Mangrothah and Layyá conducted their transactions separately (with the Durrání Court).*

"Ghází Khán's family received about 50,000 rupees yearly by way of a pension, while Mírzá Khán, Kazil-básh, derived revenue from their territory to the extent of close upon 900,000 rupees.†

"The Nawwáb, Ghází Khán, cut a great canal, from the Sind river, at about 10 or 12 kuroh to the north of Derah-i-Ghází Khán, and brought it near to that town. This is called the Kastúrí Nahr or canal, and sometimes the Kathúrí Nahr. It is expended in cultivation about seven or eight kuroh to the southwards of the town; and hundreds of smaller cuts are taken from it, and produce a considerable revenue.

"Mírzá Khán, Kazil-básh, following the Nawwáb's good example, also cut a great canal from the Sind river, about 20 kuroh to the northwards of Derah-i-Ghází Khán, and divided it into two branches; the larger and longer branch, called the Mángá, he carried southwards towards Dájal, and the smaller one, the water of which becomes expended among the lands of the Darwesh villages, is called the Jasrá Canal. On account of the revenue which these canals produced, they called them Lakhí, or producing Lakhs. At the time of the rising of the Sind river, in the hot season, these canals cannot be crossed except by means of bridges or boats."

The Kastúrí and other canals are still in working order, and some have gone to decay, but numerous traces of them, and others of even older date, exist.

"Súrí is the name of a river (the Súrí darah and pass will be found mentioned farther on), which rises in the mountains to the west of the Derah-ját, and in the neighbourhood of Amdán (Amdání now), the cultivators make dykes and store the water of the river, and thereby irrigate a large tract of country from 10 to 12 kuroh in extent.‡

"When the Sind river rises, the country becomes flooded for miles on either side; and travellers from one derah to another have to proceed by way of Wahwá, but that route is exceedingly difficult. The road lies close to the mountains, and water is scarce there.

"The route from Derah-i-Ghází Khán to Kandahár by way of the Kohistán—highlands or mountains—and the nearest way, is well known. It is stated that, during the rule of Ghází Khán, a person set out in search of some of his stray cattle, and entered the mountains to the westward;§ and, by following up the cattle with as much haste as he could, he, in the space of three days, found himself at Kandahár."

2. *The Nutkání.*

"The Nutkání, sometimes called Mutkání, but vulgarly so, amount to about 7,000 or 8,000 families (at present they do not amount to more than a quarter of that number). They were subordinate to the Marlánís, the ruling tribe, but, when troubles arose among the Chiefs and principal men of the latter tribe, the Nutkánís submitted, and gave their allegiance to the ruler of Kábul, Tímúr Sháh, Abdálí, and agreed to pay 60,000 rupees as a cess to the Durrání Government.

"Their territory is called Sanghar, which is also the name of a river, which rises in the mountains to the west; and, in time of floods in the hills, rushes down into the plains by three or four channels or outlets. The people raise dykes to save the water, and thereby an extent of country about 18 kuroh long by 7 or 8 broad is irrigated.

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* At this period the southern half of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah contained about 100,000 Balúch families, who held the sway over those tracts, and who were of another tribe of the Balúch race.

† A few years since, two of the descendants of the Nawwáb Ghází Khán, the Marlání, were living at the Derah of Ghází Khán in comparative penury.

‡ These dykes are still kept up.

§ He was on horseback of course.

"The chief town of the Nutkánís is Mangrothah, also called Mangothah. Masú Khán, the Sardár, or Chief of the tribe, built a fort of burnt brick, consisting of lofty walls and other buildings, on the west side of the town. He receives about one lakh of rupees yearly as the revenue of this place and its dependencies, while the town of Wahwá, a considerable place, also belonging to the Nutkánís, brings in a revenue of a lakh and a half of rupees to the Khánbefore mentioned.

"West of Wahwá lie the mountains of Afghánistán, out of which flows a river, the water of which never fails, and reaches as far as the town of Gharáng*. In time of flood, the waters pass beyond that place, and enter the Sind river above Derah-i-Fath Khán. The people of Wahwá have made numerous cuts from this river in all directions, and have brought the water to their lands, and also into the masjids, dwellings, and gardens, by means of a canal. This river they call the Kálá Pání (a term applied to many streams both in this part and elsewhere) and also the Gangá river. The people are chiefly Balúchís, but there are some Jats among them. The Majítah Afgháns, and others, bring the commodities of the country to the westward to this place to sell, and take back with them piece goods, both white and coloured.

"The territory belonging to the Nutkání tribe, from the village of Makúl to Wahwá, is nearly 40 kuroh long, and, from the Sind river to the hills, 12 kuroh broad, but the water of the Sind does not reach this tract of country.

3. *The Kúláchí.*

"To this tribe, consisting of 3,000 or 4,000 families, belong the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl-Khán.† In former times, they too were the subjects and servants of the Marlánís. At the present time, Ghulám Muhammad Khán, Kúláchí, is subordinate to Mírzá Khán, Kazil-básh, and pays into the latter's treasury 12,000 rupees yearly for his lands. The territory belonging to the Kúláchí tribe is about 20 kuroh long, from north to south, and about 12 kuroh broad, from east to west. The cultivation depends chiefly upon the Kálá Pání, or Wahwá river, for irrigation, but some lands are irrigated from wells.

"The Chief resides in the fort of Gharáng, which is built of sun-burnt bricks. The houses of the town adjoin it on the east side, and under the fort, on the north side, lies the Kálá Pání river, here called the Gharáng Nadí, but its bed is dry, except after heavy rains. The Sind river lies about one kuroh to the east, over which there is an established ferry, and six or seven boats are always available. Travellers to Layyá and Multán cross the Sind here.

4. *The Hút.*

"This is a noble tribe of the Balúch, and consists of about 20,000 families, who dwell in the territory of Derah-i-Ismá'íl-Khán. Their portion of it extends from the village of Rang (Rang-púr) to Pahár-púr, a distance of 50 kuroh in length, and from the Sind river to Dámán, 12 kuroh in breadth. The cultivation is much the same as that of the district of Derah-i-Ghází Khán, and the water of the river Gumul‡ which issues from the mountain barrier to the west, is expended in the irrigation of the tract of country held by the Hút tribe.§ The lands also, which the waters of that river reach, are called Gumul.

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* "Gurang" is not correct, neither is "Grang."

† Pottinger makes a great error in naming this tribe, whom he styles "Kolatchees," Brahooeés. They are Balúchís, not Bráhúís.

‡ The Jzob river, also written Jzíob, joins the Gumul before piercing the Koh-i-Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah.

§ A number of the Hút tribe left their old country in Kichh and Mukrán about 874 H. (A.D. 1459), and emigrated to Upper Sind and Multán. This was the year in which Sultán Bahlúl, the Lúdí Afghán of the Pránkí division of the Yasín Khel, and the first of his race who sat on the throne of Dihlí, undertook an unsuccessful expedition against Multán, and had to retire.

Malik Suhráb, a Chief of the Dúdá'í clan of the Húts, left Mukrán, accompanied by his two sons, Ismá'íl Khán and Fath Khán, his family and clan, and reached the Multán province, in which, at that time, Husain the Langáh, whom Tod turns into a "Solanki Rajpoot," ruled as an independent sovereign, having succeeded his father, Ráe Sihrah, who had been ruler of Síwí, and who took the title of Kutb-ud-Dín, on usurping the sovereignty over Multán. The Hút Chief took service with Husain, the Langáh, and he was despatched, with his clan, to Kot Kuhror, east of Multán, and there located, but, when other Balúchís followed him from Mukrán, he was sent, along with them, to the west of the Sind river or Indus, to protect that part of the Langáh territory from the incursions of the Afghán mountaineers. At length, the whole of the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl-Khán, as at present constituted, was made over to him to manage, and assigned to him and his Balúchís in requital of their military services. Malik Suhráb's sons, Ismá'íl and Fath, gave name to the respective derahs so called.

"As this tribe resided, in times bygone, at the town of Makkalwádh,—the plain country immediately north of Sanghar, on the right bank of the Sind river, is so called,—their country is also called Makkalwádh.* It brings in a revenue of just five lakhs of rupees. The seat of government of this part, that is to say, Makkalwádh, is Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán, a considerable city, founded by Ismá'íl Khán of the Hút tribe; and the products of Sind and Hind, Irán, and Túrán, are disposed of here. The Sind river, the main stream, flows at the distance of about 3 kuroh from the city, but some channels of it at the distance of half a kuroh and more. South of this city, for a distance of from 6 to 8 kuroh, the land is incapable of cultivation.

"In the year that Tímúr Sháh, Abdálí, came into the Panjáb for the purpose of extirpating the Sikhs, and moved towards Multán, after having overthrown them, he came into the Derah-ját. Nusrat Khán, a descendant of Ismá'íl Khán, was seized by his command, placed in confinement, and taken away with him to Kábul, and the Government was assigned to Kamar-ud-Dín Khán, Kahochah, who farmed it for two and a half lakhs of rupees yearly."

The Derah of Ismá'íl Khán referred to by the writer was swept away by the Indus some years ago. The present Derah, so called, is therefore a modern town.

On the Passes and Routes Leading from Multán to Kandahár by the Lower Derah-ját.

The routes leading from Multán towards Kandahár, avoiding altogether the Bolán Pass, which has been very erroneously supposed to be one of but two routes, the Khaibar being the other, by which India could be entered from the westward—but it behoves us to look northward too—and by which we could march eastward, lie through the mountain tracts forming the western boundary of the Derah-ját, which is our western frontier, and the natural eastern boundary of Afghánistán.

This latter boundary consists of a mighty mountain barrier, containing two ranges, in some parts rising to the height of nearly 12,000 feet, including numerous singularly parallel ridges running almost due north and south. What I refer to here more particularly commence, on the north, from the Ghwalírí Pass, where the river Gumul pierces the two ranges, which begin from that point to run in such a regular manner, as adverted to above. These ranges here commence with two ridges, the western one being the higher. These ridges increase in number as they run southwards, especially those of the easternmost and less elevated range of mountains. A little to the south of the Ghwalírí Pass, and a little to the north of the Takht-i-Sulímán, or Sulímán's Throne, there are no less than seven distinct ridges, not including the highest ridge, in which is the Takht-i-Sulímán, three of which belong to the former, and the rest to the latter range of mountains. It is hereabout that the three rivers or mountain streams pierce these mountains, and form passes, which will be mentioned in another place.

These ridges continue, with variation in their number from four to ten, until, at the point where the Súrí river, forming the pass of that name, in the district of Derah-i-Ghází Khán, pierces the two chains, we have no less than twelve distinct ridges, like battalions (to use a military phrase) in column of companies at quarter distance, or a column of battalions, which increase in height from east to west to the highest range.

The westernmost ridges, which can be plainly distinguished from Multán, a distance of over eighty miles, on a clear day, and the highest of which is snow-capped in winter, are what is commonly known as the range of Mihtar Sulímán, from its highest peak, called the Takht-i-Sulímán, previously referred to, but styled by the Musalmán people of these parts the Koh-i-Siyah, and, by Hindús, Kálá Pahár, or Black Mountains, for such is the colour they assume, while the lower or easternmost range, by reason of their colour, a yellowish red, are styled the Koh-i-Surkh, and Rátá Pahár, but the latter name is not so common as the former, both to Musalmáns and Hindús.

In Akbar Bádsháh's time, Dúdá'í, with a brick fort, was included among the mahálls or departments of the district called "Berún-i-Panj nad"—Extra Panj-nad—belonging to the Súbah of Multán. It was then peopled by Dúdá'í Balúchís, who are said to have been rated as militia to the excessive number, apparently, of 4,000 horse and 30,000 foot.

There are many of the tribe of Hút to be found in Mukrán.

* Not "Mukelwad," nor "Mucklewad." In the most recent maps, this tract appears as "Kolache." The town of Kúláchí lies a little over 26 miles west of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán.

On the western side of the Koh-i-Siyah the country assumes more of the nature of a table land, lying much higher, but other ranges of mountains intervene between the Derah-ját and Kandahár, and need not be referred to in detail here, which branch out from Spín-Ghar or Safed-Koh, but in the direction of south-west.

The highest peak of the next range west of the Koh-i-Siyah is called Kund by the Afgháns, on the southern slope of which range the river Jzob* rises, and which, flowing north-east, joins the Gumul just before it pierces the Koh-i-Siyah, on its way to join the Sind or Indus, which, however, it fails to meet, the whole of its water being drawn off for irrigation purposes.

On the western slope of the range in which the Jzob takes its rise the Lorá river issues, and flows towards the south-west through the valley of Pushang, anciently called Púshang, but incorrectly styled "Pisheen," and is subsequently lost in the thirsty soil. Other rivers, which need only be slightly alluded to here, rise on the western slopes of other ranges of mountains farther west, some of which fall into the Tarnak, and some are lost in the soil.

After passing the high range bounding the valley of the Jzob to the southward, we come to the extensive elevated plain or table land of Borah, described as exceedingly temperate, well watered, fertile, and carefully cultivated. It belongs, with still more extensive tracts of country, to the great Afghán tribe of Kákar, which name has been written in all sorts of incorrect ways by those who trusted to their ears, and did not know how it was written and pronounced in the original, such as "Caukers," "Cawkers," "Khokas," "Kukads," "Kakads," and the like ridiculous names, and even "Beluch Kowkars"!† The valleys between Borah and the mountains south of the Jzob, and the Koh-i-Siyah or Sulímán range, are held by the Músá Khel Kákars and Isot clan of the Parní tribe, who mostly follow the shepherd's life. The Borah plain is in one of the routes from Multán to Kandahár by the Sanghar and Wahwá passes. Other minor ranges succeed farther south of Borah, extending to the valley of Zawara'h,‡ and the extensive table land of Tal and Chotíálí§, inhabited by the Tor and Spín—Black and White—Tarín Afgháns. More to the south again the two ranges of Koh-i-Siyah and Koh-i-Surkh become much disturbed, as will be mentioned subsequently, and take a bend to the west as far as Dádhar. Between the two ranges, the highest of which forms the northern boundary of Balúchistán towards the east, lies Káhan, to the south of which, by the Nafusk Pass, lies the route by Sháh-púr to Shikár-púr and Sakhar.

The southernmost tribe in the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán are the Ushtaránís,‖ the descendants of the son of a celebrated Sayyid named Muhammad-i-Gísú-Daráz, or Muhammad of the Long Locks, who married a wife out of the tribe of Shíráni, and, like some other Sayyids, settled among them. He had three other wives—one a Shíráni, and two of other tribes—from whom are descended the tribes of Honaey, Wardag, and Mashwární. The Ushtaránís are therefore of Sayyid descent on the father's side, but have been erroneously supposed, by some native authors unacquainted with their pedigree, to belong to the great tribe of Núhání, who, through substituting *l* for *n*, which is done by some Afghán tribes, are often styled Lúhánís and Lúhárnís (with the peculiar Pus'hto rún=*rn*), and, being nomads, come, along with some other tribes, under the name of Powandah¶.

Muhammad-i-Gísú Daráz was a native of Ush, near Baghdád, and this accounts apparently for his son's name, which was not given because his descendants were "camel-drivers," as some erroneously suppose. The Pus'hto term for a camel is úk'h and ús'h, with the peculiar Afghán ښ and not with 'Arabic ش with which the name of the tribe is written.

They occupy lands both in and out of the hills, in the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán, immediately north of the sub-district of Sanghar, but they are only a portion

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* It is also written jzíob ; both ways are correct.

† In one of the official routes of the Quartermaster-General's Department.

‡ Zawara'h, in Pus'hto, the feminine form of Zor, is an adjective signifying low, depressed, slanting, sloping, etc.

§ Some Afghán tribes use *ts* for *ch*, and *vice versâ*, and consequently the name of this district and place is also written Tsotíálí.

‖ Turned into "Oosteranees" in a local report.

¶ A recent traveller, who chanced to proceed on a journey into a part of Afghánistán and make a short stay there, during which he and his companions were prisoners all but in name for greater part of the time, came back laden with Afghán lore, or at least it was thought so (and many may believe so still), and among his discoveries he found out a tribe, apparently, called "Provindiah" Afgháns, but he evidently did not know the Persian and Pus'hto. There is no tribe of "Provindiah" nor "Povindiah." See under پوندہ and کوچی in my "Pus'hto Dictionary," new edition of 1867, pp. 1106 and 1153.

of the tribe of that name, which dwell farther to the west. This portion of them, on account of a feud with some of the Kákar clans, through whose country they had to pass with their flocks and herds in the hot season, in going to their kishlák or summer station, sold their flocks and herds, and took to farming many years ago. Their chief villages are Urmúk, Mangul, Samozí, and Kúey Bahárah, all of which are in the plains east of the mountains, and another, of the same name as the last, is in the mountains. I merely refer to the Ushtaránís here as being the most southern tribe in the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán near the mountains.

West of them are the Z'marís, and beyond them again the Isot Parnís,* both Afghán tribes. The latter are generally, but erroneously, supposed to be Kákars, one of the three most numerous tribes of the Afgháns, who occupy an extensive tract of country, chiefly table land, more than 180 miles in length, running N.E. and S.W., and about 100 miles in breadth. The Shíránís, another very powerful tribe of Afgháns, who dwell about the Takht or Throne of Mihtar Sulímán, one of the earliest seats of the Afgháns, bound the Kákars to the north.

I now come to the different passes.

The Kaurah pass, 5½ miles north of the Wahwá pass, formed by the bed of the river which gives name to the darah, separates the two districts of Derah-i-Ismá'íl, and Derah-i-Ghází Khán, and the Ushtaránís from the Kihtráns. It is, however, included in the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán. I shall have to notice the passes and routes through the two ranges of the Koh-i-Siyah and Koh-i-Surkh, belonging to the last-named district, when I come to the routes taken by Bábar Bádsháh and others.

It may be well to remark here that a darah or darrah, both modes of spelling being correct, signifies an opening, more or less broad, between two mountains, or ranges of mountains, through which a stream generally flows, and through which opening, in the river's bed, or at its side, a way lies. Or a darah may be well compared to a leaf, the river and its feeders being its skeleton.

A small portion of the Afghán clan of Kihtrán† occupy the lands at the foot of the mountains immediately south of the Ushtaránís, and have charge of the passes of Wahwá, erroneously styled Vehowah, Hájá, and Litárah. The large village of Wahwá, lying close to the hill skirts, is their chief place. A river called the Gang, Gangá, Kálá Pání, and Gharáng Nadí, and also the Wahwá river, which rises in the table land west of the Koh-i-Siyah, runs through the mountains, and forms the pass.

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* The Isots are an offshoot of the great tribe of Parní (*vul.* "Punnee"), which formerly held great part of Síwí or Síwistán.

The Parní tribe have almost disappeared from their old seats, and are to be found settled in considerable numbers in Southern India and other parts of the peninsula. They have from time to time made a considerable figure in Indian history. Just prior to the downfall of the house of Bábar, one of the celebrated free-lances of that period, Dá'úd Khán, was a Parní. He was remarkable for his generosity and liberality. It became a proverb at last; and a man who engaged in any affair of a doubtful nature flattered himself that, if he did not succeed, and the worst came to the worst, he could at least have recourse to Dá'úd Khán. The proverb is,

"Agar banne to banne; nahín to Dá'úd Khán, Paní,"

which may be rendered,

"If it answers, well and good; if not, there is (still) Dá'úd Khán, Paní, to go to."

Persons unable to pronounce the peculiar Pus'hto *rn*, pronounce Parní as above.

Elphinstone, whose account of the Afghán tribes is generally so correct, has made the terrible error of turning the Parnís into a Kákar clan. He says, Vol. II., p. 198, "it will be proper to mention *the Cauker clan* of Punnee," but Parnís are not Kákars, they were only their neighbours. Kákar, Nághar, Dáwí, and Parní were the four sons of Dání, son of Ghúrghusht, and the progenitors of the tribes of those names. Kákar had no less than 24 sons, including six adopted, who were the progenitors of as many tribes, and many sub-tribes have descended from some of them. Parní, on the other hand, had 18 sons, giving name to as many tribes, from some of which sprung other sub-tribes, and from them again other clans. They dwelt about Mandáhí, and there some of them still dwell. I shall give a detailed account of all the Afghán tribes in my History of them.

As early as Akbar's time the Parnís, who had become exceedingly numerous, had apparently begun to emigrate, and we find some of them, the Sáfí clan, located in Panjhír. Here is another example showing how travellers write names of places, and upon which, to them unknown, blunders they found their theories. The word is written "Punchshír or Panjshír" and supposed by one author to mean "five lions." In Persian *sher* signifies a lion, but *shír* means milk. Another writer and traveller says, "Punjshir is supposed to have reference to the tradition concerning the five sons of Pandu, an ancient monarch of fabulous renown."

Panjhír is an ancient place, and is mentioned in the "Masálik wa Mamálik," which was written before the year 1000 A.D., as containing about 10,000 inhabitants. The Sáfí Afgháns are still very numerous on the banks of the river of Kábul and parts adjacent. In the "A'ín-i-Akbarí" they are said to have had to furnish no less than 35,000 foot to the militia, but this must be an error. I think we may read 300 horse and 5,000 foot instead.

† I shall refer to the Kihtráns again farther on.

The water from this river never fails, but, after heavy rains in the hills, it overflows, and sometimes causes great destruction to cultivation and dwellings.

The highest ridge of the Koh-i-Surkh running north and south, through which the Wahwá river cuts its way, is called, hereabouts, the Nílgah ridge, and the next ridge, to the east of the preceding, is called the Bhaghah. There is a lofty peak of the Koh-i-Siyah, to the west of these, rising to the height of nearly 7,700 feet. It is called the Tirih Peak.

Lower down, another river, rising beyond the Koh-i-Siyah, the Barkúe, cuts its way through that range south of the peak, flows northward between the Koh-i-Siyah and the Koh-i-Surkh, and, on the west side of the Bhaghah ridge, joins the Wahwá river. The darah and pass is also called Barkúe.

The Kihtráns are the last of the Afgháns in the Derah-ját, all the rest being Balúchís, but the Afgháns, including the main portion of the Kihtrán clan, farther south, are located all along the western side of the Koh-i-Siyah or Black Range until it bends to the west.

A little farther to the south of the Wahwá darah and pass, about four or five miles, is the small darah and pass of Liríah, so called after a stream which rises in the Koh-i-Surkh and flows through it. It is also held by the Kihtráns.

The next two darahs and passes to the south, the Bhatí and Khánwah darahs, are held by the Khasrání Balúchís. The first-named darah lies about six miles south of the Liríah darah, and is not very important. The chief place, called after the clan, lies some 18 miles up the darah. There is a small river running through it, the banks of which are shaded with trees. A force from the Panjáb irregular troops entered this pass just before the commencement of the hot season of 1853, marched into the valley, and chastised this turbulent and thievish clan, but the success gained over them was not very marked or decisive.

Four and a half miles farther south is the Khánwah (the *n* is nasal) darah and pass, but it does not extend much beyond the Koh-i-Surkh, or first range, and is of no great importance. It contains good water. Some of the Khasránís dwell close up to the slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, and a few graze their flocks on parts of its western face.

The country of the Isot clan of Parní commences some few miles from the Khasrání bounds, on the western slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, towards the north and north-east, and the 'Isá Khel of the Kákar tribe dwell contiguous to them on the south-west. South, the Khasránís are bounded by the Bozdárs, and on the east, in the plains, by the Nutkánís, previously referred to, as having been, in former years, a numerous and powerful tribe.

Next comes the Sanghar darah and pass, which may be said to be the most important in the whole of the Southern or Lower Derah-ját. It is broad and large, practicable for man and beast, and also for light artillery; and very little engineering would make it quite practicable for moderately heavy guns. It is, in fact, the high and direct road from Multán, and the parts adjacent, to Kandahár, by Chotíálí, Dogh, and Tal, and to Ghaznín and Kábul by Borah. In former years these routes used to be frequented by traders from Kandahár, Ghaznín, and Kábul, who paid a transit duty at the rate of about three rupees for each laden camel.*

It is held by the Bozdár Balúch clan, who dwell entirely within the hills, are tolerably powerful in point of numbers, and very turbulent, or at least have been; probably their latest chastisement, in 1857, may have worked good in them. They were then pursued by a body of troops up the Sanghar pass as far as Tunk, an opening between the ranges of the Koh-i-Siyah and Koh-i-Surkh, and about 12 miles north of the Sanghar pass proper, that is to say, the southernmost of the three, the Lúndí and Drúg, which have now to be mentioned, being the other two.

The Sanghar river, giving name to the darah and pass, rises beyond the Koh-i-Siyah, or Black Range, in Afghánistán, in the country of the Kákars, near the northern boundary of the Kihtrán territory. Two other rivers, its feeders, also rise in the Koh-i-Siyah—the Drúg and Lúndí—in the darahs of which there are likewise passes, which, west of the Koh-i-Siyah, converge on the routes by Chotíálí and Borah.†

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* As late as Díwán Sáwan Mal's time, a number of Afghán traders used to come this way, and returned with goods of Indian and European manufacture, but the lawless conduct of the Bozdárs, and their immediate neighbours on the west, has long since put a stop to the traffic.

† Some one probably heard Afgháns talking about this part, in doing which they had to use the name in an inflected form, and called it Borey, the *h* would be changed into *ey*, and hence this place and tract of country have been incorrectly called "Bori" and "Boree" for Borey, the inflected form, whereas Borah is correct. It is a walled town of considerable size.

The Drúg river pierces the Koh-i-Siyah 26 miles north of the point at which the Sanghar river cuts through it. It receives several smaller tributaries, and joins the Sanghar river and pass about 10 miles from the eastern skirt of the hills and entrance to the pass from the Derah-ját side.

The Lúndí river flows about 12 miles farther south, and south of the peak of that name rising to the height of about 8,000 feet, and joins the Sanghar river six miles higher up the Sanghar darah. It receives a feeder from the right hand about two miles above this point.

The united rivers furnish an unfailing supply of good water, which is saved for irrigation purposes by means of dykes, and fertilizes a large tract of country. The Drúg river is the boundary between the Khasránís and Bozdárs.

A sub-division of the Bozdár clan, the Gulámání Bozdárs, occupy some of the highest slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, both on the eastern and also on the western side, adjoining the Afghán country, but they are few in number. The Sihárni and Súwární sub-divisions of the Bozdárs cultivate lands along the banks of the Sanghar river, on the east side of the Black Range. This last-mentioned range is generally uninhabited.

Forage is abundant along the whole route. It occupies a caravan of traders about three hours, from the time of entering the last defile through the Black Range, to overcome all its difficulties, and emerge on the western slope. Beyond again hills begin to rise, at a distance of about 14 miles farther to the west, but they are comparatively low, and the difficulties of the road are by no means great. About 10 or 12 miles still farther west again, and just 25 miles from the ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, and running almost parallel to it, are hills still loftier. These bound the Kihtrán country on the west. Beyond them lie the districts of Chotíálí and Borah, which are separated from each other by another ridge of hills running almost due west towards a still higher range of mountains, which it joins, and which, with several breaks in the chain, runs down in a south-westerly direction from Spín Ghár to Dádhar. The lower portion of this latter range is called the Jzobah mountains, in which is the Jzobah* (not "Joba") peak, and on their eastern slopes the River Jzob rises. North of the ridge above mentioned, running due west to the Jzobah mountains, is the district of Borah, and south is Chotíalí.

Immediately adjoining the Bozdárs, west of the highest range, are the Lúrnís, a sub-tribe of the great tribe of Miánah, of the Sharkhabún division, while the Ja'fir Afgháns, a small and weak sub-tribe also of the Miánahs, adjoin the Bozdárs to the north of the Lúrnís.† Their chief village is Dágh. The Bozdárs are bounded on the east, in the plains, by the Nutkánís, already mentioned as having been, not very long ago, the ruling tribe; on the south, in the hills, by the Lagháris, and, in the plains, by the Lúnds.

In case of any troubles arising from this turbulent clan, which holds the Sanghar pass and outlets, it should be remembered that we have allies ready at our hands to operate on either flank of them, for the Ushtarání Afgháns, on the right, and Khosah Balúchís, on the left, are their enemies, and would be well pleased to pay off old scores with them. The Ushtaránís have also a feud of long standing with the Khasránís, who are allies of the Bozdárs. In the case of these and other mountain tribes on our borders, and the Afgháns and Balúchís in particular, if the authorities were only acquainted with their past history, and their hereditary feuds, they would be able to take advantage of them, in case of necessity, and easily play off one tribe against another. This policy might even be played on a larger scale in the case of Eastern Afgháns against Bárakzís, in the event of Sher 'Alí, Bárakzí, coquetting with the Muskov. The authority of the present Kábul Government is merely nominal over many parts of Eastern and North-eastern Afghánistán, and, in some, it is not even acknowledged.

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* Which is also written Jzíobah.

† There are a number of Afghán tribes and clans hereabouts, in this south-western portion of Afghánistán, of whom people generally know little or nothing, because we have come less into contact with them than any others; and as the Kákars are the most numerous tribe in this direction, and their name best known, any smaller tribe, about whose descent nothing is known, is, at once, set down as a "Khakad," or a "Kowker Baloch." There is a clan of the Parnís called Khajzak, and the pass of that name is called after them. They were descended from Khajzak, son of Parní, and located in that part. Under the name of "Kujjukzyes," they also have been turned into "Kakurs."

feet. The river receives two feeders of some importance, rising in the same range farther to the south, and some others of lesser consequence from the Koh-i-Surkh, lower down.

The Widor river is the boundary between the Bozdárs and the Lagháris, presently to be noticed, and the Lagharí village of Widor lies six miles east of the entrance to the pass, which, however, lies within the bounds of the village of Belah. A small section of the Khosahs, to the number of less than one hundred persons, cultivate the lands, and dwell near the entrance of the pass, but the Lagháris, who live a nomadic life, dwell above them, to the west, up to the Koh-i-Siyah.

The water of the Widor river is good and unfailing up to the mouth of the pass, when it becomes expended for purposes of irrigation, but there are also springs of good water. Forage can be obtained in plenty.

The Dalánah darah and pass comes next in rotation, near the entrance to which is the Khosah village of that name, as well as the villages of Zai and Sab-kúah, not "Sooktoba." Water is obtained from wells, or rather pits, dug in the bed of the river, the water of which never reaches the Derah-ját, except after heavy floods of rain in the mountains. There are a few date trees in this darah, which are looked upon as rarities, although plenty are to be found in the Derah-ját itself.

It is about 21 miles from Dalánah village to the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, and a route through the darah, which is very difficult, about two thirds of the way thither, falls into the route through the darah of Widor. The route through this darah is practicable for beasts of burden as far as the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, but the defile in it, which leads into the Kihtrán country, is so narrow that a laden animal can scarcely pass. A little engineering would, no doubt, soon render it practicable.

There are numerous shísham trees (*Dalbergia sisu*) near the hamlet of Hadíání, called after the nomad section of the Laghárí tribe.

Parallel to the Dalánah darah, beyond the Koh-i-Siyah, dwell the Kihtrán Afgháns, with whom the Khosahs are on good terms. They occupy a considerable tract of country, and are seldom seen in the district of Derah-i-Ghází Khán. The people of the same name and blood, dwelling in the northern part of the district, are now quite separated and distinct from them.

South of the Khosahs are the Lagháris, another powerful Balúch tribe, as far as numbers are concerned, who dwell partly in the mountains and partly in the Derah-ját.* Widor, Chhotí-i-Bálá (Higher Chhotí), Chhotí-i-Pá'ín (Lower Chhotí), and Sakhí Sarwar, the proper name of which is Nigáhah. Sakhí Sarwar, signifying Sakhí the Saint or spiritual guide, is applied to it because the shrine of this reputed saint lies close by it, on a spur of the hills.

The Lagháris hold the Sakhí Sarwar, and Chhotí darahs and passes, but Widor, their chief village, is about six miles from the entrance to the Widor pass.

The remarkable formation of the two ranges—the Koh-i-Siyah and Koh-i-Surkh—from this point becomes much changed and disturbed. The numerous parallel ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh, which run in the shape of gigantic waves on a sandy beach, or lines of infantry in columns, become broken, and much less in breadth, and, in their place, a series of elevated plateaux or swells, covered with pebbles, intervene between the now single ridge bounding the Derah-ját on the east.

The main ridge of the Koh-i-Surkh again appears some miles farther south, and, still lower down, several others, while a large parallel ridge, of considerable elevation, and some 10 or 12 miles in length, is thrown forward a few miles into the plains in front of Lower Chhotí, distant about 10 miles. Swells of the same description (consisting of stones and pebbles, and a peculiar yellowish red clay,† which, for its hardness, might be almost taken for stone), as already mentioned, but less in elevation, to the north of this ridge, are thrown out for nearly 12 miles into the plains towards the Sind or Indus. These disturbances occur again some 12 miles to the south-east of this ridge, and then the hills gradually disappear.

South of the Widor pass seven miles is the Sakhí Sarwar pass, so called after the Muhammadan Pír or saint above mentioned. He was a Sayyid, that is to say, a descendant from 'Ali and the daughter of Muhammad; hence he is also styled Sultán, a title like Sháh applied to Sayyids, not that he was the possessor of sovereign power, a conclusion by some rashly arrived at.‡ Sultán Sakhí, the Sarwar, or spiritual guide,

* This is the tribe which abducted a live Deputy Commissioner from the district, and carried him off to the hills, where they detained him as a hostage for some days.

† This same colour is seen in the same range at the Nafusk and Sartáf passes farther west.

‡ A most amusing specimen of such an error may be found in my "Account of Suwát," in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1862, page 19.

was named Ahmad. He was the son of Sayyid Zain-ul-'Abidain, and was born at Sháh-Kot,* about 650 H., and died about 690 H.—A.D., 1291. His tomb is situated on a spur of the Koh-i-Surkh, jutting out into the plains of the Derah-ját. Below it, to the north, is the bed of a mountain torrent rising in the same range, but it is always dry except after heavy falls of rain in the mountains. The dwellings which, in course of time, have sprung up around the tomb, form a considerable town, the number of inhabitants being about 2,500 souls, including 1,650 who are attendants at the saint's shrine, among whom are a great number of the Jat tribe of Khokhar, which, once very numerous and powerful, made a great figure in the Panjáb territories, and held possession of the province of Láhor. They have often been, and are still, confounded with and mistaken for the Ghakhars, between whom and them no connection ever existed, and who are a totally different people.

The place is supplied with water from a tank or reservoir, built about two centuries since, and by water, more or less black in colour and fetid in smell, from wells, as the pits or holes dug in the bed of the river, a few miles west of the town, are termed; but water, whatever its quality, is deficient in quantity here.

For an account of the town and shrine of Sakhí Sarwar, and its annual *melá* or fair, see my paper in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1855.

The route by the Sakhí Sarwar pass, which, beyond the Koh-i-Siyah, joins the Sanghar route, already described, is one of the routes to Kandahár by Chotíálí, Tal, and Pushang, and, among other things brought down from Kandahár and Kwatah by Pushang and the Sakhí Sarwar, Sanghar, and Harand passes into the Derah-ját by the caravans of traders, were very fine oxen for the Sikh artillery. In the reign of Akbar Bádsháh couriers are said to have been in the constant habit of reaching Multán from Kandahár, by this route, in six days, and mangoes used to be conveyed to that city from Multán in the same period of time. On one occasion Mukarrab Khán, a member of the Sadozí or royal tribe of the Afgháns, reached Kandahár from Multán, on a riding camel, very easily in eight days.

The defile begins about four miles west of the town of Sakhí Sarwar, where there occurs a considerable descent into the valley of the Sirí river, which runs through a tolerably well wooded plateau lying at the eastern base of the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, and the first stage to Sirí, a now ruined kotlah or walled village of the Khosahs, is reached after a march of about 13 miles. The bed of the Mitháwan, another stream, joins that of the Sirí from the north-west, in both of which the water is good, but fails soon after they reach the Koh-i-Surkh, and before their beds unite, consequently these rivers cannot strictly be said to join their streams, except after heavy rains in the mountains.

The road or path then ascends gradually for nearly five miles to a break in the Koh-i-Siyah, in a zigzag direction, when a plateau is reached, which extends for about another five miles, and then the road again descends for some distance to the west, down the slopes of the range to Rukní†, in the Kihtrán country. Here the routes by Sanghar and the other passes join, and from this halting place the next stage is Durázú-Kot, the residence of the Kihtrán Chief, distant just 17 miles.

I was told by Jamál Khán, the Lagharí Chief, in April 1853, when at Sakhí Sarwar, that, at the distance of a day's journey, through rather a difficult country, he possessed a tract of table land of some extent, well wooded, and containing a fine sheet of water; and that he usually retired thither with his family in the hot season, and greatly extolled its beauty and salubrity. This is evidently the tract of land on the Sirí river just referred to.

Farther south are three other streams containing good water, which, in time of floods, join the Mitháwan, but, on other occasions, their waters are lost in the Koh-i-Surkh, the intervening space between which, from the easternmost point of that range to the higher (and only ridge here) of the Koh-i-Siyah, does not exceed 10 or 11 miles.

Two miles farther south we come to the Kúrah darah and river, which forms the boundary between the Lagharís and their southern neighbours, the Gúrchánís. The river, or rather two small streams rising on the eastern slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, after running apart for about six miles, unite and form the Kúrah, soon after which the water fails.

Before passing into the Gúrchání boundary it will be well to give some account of the Kihtrán Afgháns.

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* In the parganah of Multán, near Kotlah Najábat, about 14 miles south of the city.

† This name is doubtful; I think it should be Barkhar or Barkhan.

All sorts of mistakes have been made respecting this powerful and not very quarrelsome clan, and in various official reports they have been turned into "Balochees," like their Afghán brothers, the so-called "Khakads," "Khakas," and "Kowkers." Kihtrán was one of the two sons of Shkúrn, son of Míánah, therefore the Kihtráns are a sub-tribe of the Míánahs, and, consequently, belong to the Sharkhabún division of the Afghán people. They occupy a strip of territory conformable with the bend of the Koh-i-Siyah towards the Indus, about 30 miles in width, and about 60 from north-east to south-west, commencing from the parallel of the Súrí darah and pass of the Lunds to the frontier of the Marí territory, and which forms the most southern boundary of the Afghán tribes on the south-east. The Koh-i-Siyah, which afterwards runs westwards towards Dádhar, constitutes the southern boundary of Síwístán. The Kihtráns are consequently bounded on the north by the Músá Khel clan of the Kákars, on the west side of the Koh-i-Siyah, and by the Bozdárs on the east side, south by the Marís, east by the Laghárís and Gúrchánís, in succession from north to south, and west by the Lúrní Míánahs, Parnís, Kákars, and others, in succession from north to south. There would be some difficulty to find any "Jadran range" separating the "Kuteerans," as they have been styled in a local report,* "from the Candahar plain," because the range does not lie in this direction, and also because several ranges of mountains, many tracts of country, and several Afghán tribes, intervene between them and the "Candahar plain," which is small in point of area, and lies more than 250 miles, as the crow flies, from the western limits of the Kihtrán country.

The Koh-i-Siyah here averages about nine miles in breadth from east to west, including the highest ridge, which is from one and a half to three or four miles in width, out of which the highest peaks shoot up. The western slopes are included in the Kihtrán country; and, as on the eastern side, there is plenty of land capable of cultivation on these slopes, watered by numerous small streams, which the Kihtráns take due advantage of. They are skilful cultivators, and raise immense quantities of grain, which the Balúch tribes, the Lúrnís, and Kákars, near them, are glad to purchase from them. There would be no deficiency in the matter of supplies for an army marching through their country. They carry on a brisk trade in cattle with the district of Derah-i-Ghází Khán, and bring down bullocks, camels, sheep, and goats. The Sakhí Sarwar or Nigáhah pass is the route they chiefly take.

The Kihtráns are on friendly terms with the Khosahs, with whom the Chief is connected by marriage, and with the Laghárís, their nearest neighbours to the east, but are at feud with the Bozdárs and Marís, and the Lúrní Afgháns. Such of the Kihtráns as I have seen, and they were not very commonly met with at Derah-i-Ghází Khán, were square built, sturdy men, of middle height, with reddish hair and beards, and fresh-looking, healthy countenances, and often with grey eyes, and as different in appearance from the Balúchís of this part as day from night.

In the event of any advance from Multán and the Derah-ját towards Kandahár, by the direct route presently to be noticed, the Kihtráns would be most useful friends; and they should be encouraged by every means in our power. If they acknowledge any allegiance to the Bárakzí Government it is merely nominal; but, as far as I can discover at present, they are quite independent.

After this digression I come to the Gúrchánís and their *locale*. Their chief villages are Lál-garh, Chútú, Thal-i-Wazír, and Pitáfí. They hold several minor darahs, commencing from that of Chhotí of the Laghárís, as far south as the important darah and pass of Cháchar.

About six miles south of the Kúrah darah, already referred to as separating the Laghárí country from that of the Gúrchánís, and passing by the dry beds of two mountain torrents, is the darah of Khasúrah, so called from the river of that name. It contains a never-failing stream of good water, rising on the eastern slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, at the foot of a mountain of that range, called the Jingár mountain. North of it, about two miles distant respectively, are two other small rivers, also rising on the eastern slopes of the same range, which contain, for some miles, a constant supply of water, called the Kúmbír and the Gúrandání, and another, about the same distance south, called the Kálah Khasúrah—between which, and about three miles from the entrance to those darahs, lies the hamlet of Mauz-garh—also containing a good supply of water, but they too are lost in the Koh-i-Surkh.

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* In the official "Report of the Candahar Mission" of 1857 they are styled "Kathryans," and "Kathryan Beloochees."

Káfilahs of traders used to come from the Kihtrán country by the valley of the Khasúrah river, through a break in the higher range, called the Gúrandání mountain, giving name to one of the small streams just referred to, but the route has been abandoned for some time past.

I have already mentioned that south of Sakhí Sarwar the two ranges become considerably disturbed, and the Koh-i-Surkh vastly changed. At this point, however, the latter range begins to assume the form of parallel ridges again, but less in length, generally, and greater in number, and this continues as far southward as the Zangí darah, when other great changes take place. The Koh-i-Siyah, which ran in one great ridge from the parallel of the Widor darah, now becomes heaped together, and we have no less than five, one on the west side of the main ridge, and three on the east, making five ridges in all. Subsequently these ridges again begin to be disturbed, and others are thrown out to the right and left, those to the northwards being the highest, and, at last, form a circle, and enclose within that circle an elevated plain about 33 miles long from north to south, and rather less in breadth from east to west. This plain contains an area of nearly 1,000 square miles, several rivers rise in it, and it is, altogether, the best watered tract in these parts. It is called the Plain of Shúm or Shúm Plain.

This rich tract, which might easily be brought into a high state of cultivation, and support a great number of people, was very lately, as I believe it is even now, totally uninhabited, and the gúr-khar or wild ass, and other game, revel in its rich grass and luxuriant cover undisturbed. The banks of its streams are also covered with trees and shrubs of various kinds.

It belongs to a branch of the Búghtí Balúchís, and they used, in former years, to cultivate it partially, but the Shúmbánís, as that branch is styled, have been long since compelled, through the incursions of that lawless and more powerful tribe, the Marís, to abandon it, and seek security in the mountains. The Búghtís too, who have also a bad name for lawlessness, have, in a great measure, been broken up by Jacobábád politics from first to last. A large number of them, to the amount of about 12,000, have been settled at and around Lárkhánah, in Upper Sind. The remains of the tribe, who still dwell in their old seats, are pretty strong in point of numbers.

It occurs to me, taking all things into consideration, that, perhaps, the Búghtís are not so much to blame for their former inroads on our frontier of Upper Sind as the Marís, who compelled them to abandon this very plain, which could easily support some thousands of people. No doubt the Shúmbánís would return to cultivate it, if they were protected from the Marís; and now, since a change has come over the political horizon, and Kwatah permanently occupied, and as the high road to Dádhar and Kwatah by Káhan, the chief place of the Marís, lies through this very plain, a strong post stationed in it, would not only offer the required protection to the Shúmbání cultivators, but also be a valuable connecting link with Kwatah,* be a wholesome check upon the Marís, and would, probably, induce traders, who used formerly to come by this route in considerable numbers, to proceed into the Derah-ját and other parts of the present Panjáb, by way of Harand, as in bygone years.

South of the Khasúrah darah and river, at a distance of little over a mile, we reach the small darah of Suwágrí, and four miles still farther southwards, the Ghátí darah, containing the dry beds of torrents, which after heavy rains come down from the Koh-i-Siyah. These torrent beds are used by men on foot to pass to and fro between the plains and the Drágul mountain ridge, the northernmost of those thrown off from the Koh-i-Siyah, between which and the main ridge, the Kálah Khasúrah rises on the northern end, and near it, but in the contrary direction, the Gúrgandáwí tributary of the Káhá rises, and flows southwards. The Drágul peak rises to the height of 5,400 feet.

Four miles south of the Ghátí darah is the darah and pass of Káhá, which is less used as a route than the Cháchar darah and pass, lower down, on account of the road by the bed of the Káhá river being rough and very stony.

The Káhá darah and pass, sometimes called, but erroneously so, the Kúho darah, from a tributary of the Káhá river, and also known as the Harand pass, takes its name from the Káhá river, which rises a long way within the Afghán territory to the north, runs through the Kihtrán country, and drains a considerable tract. It flows from north to south, and, on reaching the south-western face of the northernmost of

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* There is a strong position for such a post on the river, in the very centre of the plain, where there are three detached hills, commanding the whole country round for many miles.

the five ridges of the disturbed part of the Koh-i-Siyah, receives two tributaries from the north-east. The first, which is called the Matani Kund, is the most considerable. *Kund*, in Sanskrit, signifies a spring, a pool, or basin of water. The stream rises on the western side of a ridge, north of the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, at the point where the Káhá pierces the range, and where it makes a bend to the west, bounds the Shúm plain on the north, and begins to encircle it. The second tributary rises between the Matani Kund ridge and the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah. A third comes from the north-east, from the southern part of Síwístán, the same that is crossed in the route from the Derah-ját to Pushang by Chotíálí, and called the Kúh and Kúho, which must not be confounded with the Káhá, of which it is only a tributary. A fourth tributary of the Káhá river comes from the west. It rises on the slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah bounding the Shúm plain on that side, and is called the Phailáwar river. The Káhá thus increased flows about four miles farther towards the south, and then makes an abrupt bend to the north-west, and, flowing for two and a half miles in that direction, receives another stream from the north, rising between the second and third ridges of the Koh-i-Siyah, and another small stream from the south, rising on the northern slopes of the fifth and southernmost ridge of the same range.

The Káhá continues to thread its way in the same direction between the southernmost ridges of the range, receives the Gargandáo river, rising between the second ridge and the Drágul or third ridge, and then runs between the Drágul and Marí ridges. After clearing their immediate vicinity, it enters the now very much depressed Koh-i-Surkh and the Derah-ját four miles west of the fort of Harand, at which point of exit the waters are drawn off in canals and conveyed, by way of Harand, as far east as Dájal, a distance of 16 miles, and used by the Gúrchánís and Lunds for the irrigation of their lands, a considerable tract of country. The Káhá and its tributaries is, without exception, the most considerable river of south-eastern Afghánistán, and from the Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán down to the sea.

A little farther south are two other small darahs and streams, the first and largest of which is the Khalgarí, which contains plenty of grass and good water, near its sources on the eastern slope of the Marí ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, called the Chirchandí Kund. The darah is somewhat stony, but men on foot use it in going to and fro between the Marí ridge and Harand. The other darah and stream is called Mírlar. Its water soon fails, but, when the floods come, after heavy rains in the hills, then the waters of both this and the Khalgarí reach the bed of the Káhá river.

The entrance to the Cháchar darah and pass lies two and a half miles to the southward of the Káhá darah. The Cháchar river rises in that part of the Koh-i-Siyah, forming the southern boundary of the Shúm plain, flows about 23 miles in a north-easterly direction, and then, on the eastern side of the plain, receives, from the west, the Kalchar river and its small tributaries, rising a little to the east of the eastern slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, which bounds the Shúm plain on the west. This latter ridge forms the Marí boundary in this direction, and lies about 12 miles east of Káhan. The Cháchar river afterwards receives the little river Latlúr from the north, and then, turning towards the south-western point of a spur from the south-westernmost of the five ridges of the Koh-i-Siyah, is thrust aside to the westward of it. Here the hills rise in some places abruptly from the river bed, offering many strongly defensible positions. Afterwards the river runs between the said spur and the ridge, and turns and bends beneath its south-eastern slopes, receives a few minor rivulets from the south and west, and enters among the numerous low parallel ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh—which, from the point where the Khasúrah river enters the plains, begins to assume a number of small parallel ridges even more numerous than they were farther north—where the waters begin to fail, and soon after are lost, and only reach the Derah-ját after heavy falls of rain in the mountains. The water is pretty good, but there is a mineral spring in the pass. The low hills of the Koh-i-Surkh, between it and the Káhá Pass, are inhabited by the Dúrkání section of the Gúrchánís, who feed their numerous flocks of fat-tail sheep on the rich grass of their hills.

The Cháchar pass is one of the three most important in the Southern Derah-ját. It is practicable for beasts of burden and light guns, and, I believe, there are not any great obstacles but which, with a little engineering, might be made practicable for heavier artillery, but it is not so good, I think, as that by the Shúrí darah farther south, which, after clearing the Koh-i-Siyah, joins the same route from Harand to Káhan and Dádhar.

A force marching by this route would require to take a few days' supplies, as nothing is procurable but water and forage, which last is abundant. The stages by

this route are as follow :—1. Harand to Múní, about 13 miles, water not particularly good. 2. Tobah, 11 miles, water very good. 3. Gond, 12 miles, water indifferent. 4. Katar Pahár, the boundary of the Gúrchání country, 15 miles, good water. 5. The next stage, a long one, leads to the Marí capital, over the Koh-i-Siyah bounding the Shúm plain on the west, distant about 23 miles from the last stage. This march might, however, be made two stages of.

Caravans of traders used formerly to frequent this route, and come from various parts of Afghánistán and Balúchistán, as being the nearest road into the Panjáb, and from thence farther east, but it has been abandoned for some time on account of its being infested by the Marís, and traders have chosen a longer, but safer, route by Upper Sind.

Another list of stages has been given, but I cannot vouch for its accuracy, as the computations of some of the distances give greater lengths than are likely, because Káhan is only distant from Harand, as the crow flies, 72 miles. The stages referred to are as follow :—1. Tobah, 18 miles (I make it 16); Bush ke Bet, 22 miles (I make it 19); Gídarpúr (?) 19 miles; Kálá Páni (Katar Pahár ?), 25 miles; Káhan, 16 miles; just 100 miles, but this latter route may follow the windings of the river more than the other route given above, which Kaurah Khán, the Khosah Chief, famous in the last Panjáb campaign before the annexation of that territory, and our ally, furnished me with in 1853.

After the Gúrchánís come the Dríshak Balúchís, but they dwell wholly in the plains. Their chief towns and villages are Asaní, Bágh, Rájanpúr, and Fázilpúr. They have the Gúrchánís to their west in the hills, and the Búghtís still farther to the south of the Gúrchánís, and in the Derah-ját their southern neighbours are the Mazárís, also a Balúch tribe.

As we proceed farther southward, the dreariness of this inhospitable region increases, and the country for many miles, both inside and outside the hills, is a howling wilderness, where the gúr-khar or wild ass roams uninterrupted and unmolested. The only exceptions are near the rivers' beds, where grass is plentiful in the hills, and a narrow belt of cultivation extending some 12 miles along the west bank of the Indus.

The first darah and pass, south of that of Chàchar, about nine miles, and the last within the Gúrchání limits, is that of Fajrú, through which there is a route leading into the great route by Harand to Chotíálí and Tal. It is very sandy, but, on the south side, a few trees relieve the dreary landscape. Water is to be found in the upper part of the darah, but it soon fails, and the bed of the river, which rises in the Koh-i-Surkh, the lowest range, is dry, except after floods of rain in the hills.

The next darah and pass is Baghárí, five miles south of Fajrú, and three miles farther on in the same direction is the darah and pass of Jaházgí, erroneously styled "Cheghdee" in some maps. These darahs are so called from the streams, bearing those names, rising in the Koh-i-Surkh, and only contain water for a mile or two from their sources. The hills, however, afford good pasturage, and good shelter, for some distance on either side. The Bihishtú mountain, farther west, as well as this part of the Koh-i-Surkh, is inhabited by the Lishárí section of the Gúrchánís, who here feed numerous flocks.

Both these darahs contain routes which lead into the great one from Harand to Chotíálí by the Káhá and Chàchar passes, but they are difficult and heavy on account of the sandy nature of the rivers' beds, and are of little consequence. They were used formerly by plundering parties in their incursions into the plains. The nearest inhabited place in British territory is Fathpúr, distant about 12 miles from the skirt of the hills. It belongs to the Drig Balúchís.

Next in rotation comes the Thok darah and pass, about five miles south of Jaházgí. The aspect of the country is bare and inhospitable, and the dreariness is only relieved, here and there, by a few stunted trees and shrubs. The stream giving name to the darah rises beyond the Koh-i-Surkh, in part of the disturbed portion of the Koh-i-Siyah, previously referred to, and the bed of another, rising still farther north, joins it, but except after heavy rains their beds are dry a few miles below their sources. Water is therefore scarce, and when procurable often bitter. A stream of good water, called the Kúnar Kund, is to be found about a mile from the entrance of the pass, which rises in one of the detached mountains of the Koh-i-Surkh.

The route by this darah to the Shúm plain is good for horsemen, and is used by the hill tribes. About 15 miles W.N.W. is a village of the Gúrchánís called Múní and Múrní, inhabited by about 300 people, mostly shepherds. There is no cultivation between the mountains and the Indus nearer than the village of Gámú, distant 19 miles from the former, inhabited by Drig Balúchís, numbering about 500 souls.

A few of the principal stages of the route through this darah into the Afghán country by Chotiálí and Tal, are:—1. Makárí, 12 miles, where there are a number of shady trees, but the water is bitter. 2. Pharah Phat, 17 miles, with good water, and some shady trees. 3. Phálah Wágh, about the same distance as the last stage, water good, and a few trees. 4. Lassú, 12 miles, water indifferent. 5. Bákí, or Bárí Khán—which is also called Barkhar,* I believe—in the Kihtrán country, distant about 19 miles. 6. A long march of 30 miles to Kaholo, where water is good and abundant, and some shady trees are to be found.

Five miles farther south-west from the Thok darah is that of Chák. The pass, however, is of little importance. Sand and rocks appear to be the chief variations in the landscape in this part of the Derah-ját. Through this darah a route leads to the Kot, or fort and village of Islám Khán, the head-quarters of the Búghtí tribe of Balúchís, which lies to the west, parallel to the Súrí darah and pass, farther to the south-west, and the last pass in these hills in the Derah-ját. The nearest inhabited place within the British border, the village of Kádirah, belonging to the Mazárí tribe of Balúchís, is some miles distant.

As we proceed farther southwards from the parallel of Mithan-kot, the breadth of the belt of cultivation along the Indus gradually decreases, until at the village of Rúján it does not extend more than about two or three miles from the Indus banks.

Less than two miles south-west of the Chák darah is the Shorí darah and pass, called, sometimes, the Gandrúsí darah. The Shorí river, after which the darah and pass is named, rises in the Shúm plain on the west side of that portion of the Koh-i-Siyah forming the east boundary of that plain. It drains a portion of it, but its waters fail soon after penetrating the Koh-i-Siyah and entering the Koh-i Surkh. The darah also contains some warm mineral springs, and a few trees here and there. The route by this pass leads into that by Harand to Chotiálí by the Cháchar pass, but it is very difficult. It is distant about 15 miles from the village of Hasan Sháh de Kotlah, in our territory, which is inhabited by a few Sayyids, but, of late years, with peace and quietness, the cultivation may have increased towards the west.

About three miles still farther southwards is the Mughal darah and pass, in which good water is obtainable, but this, like the Ispringí darah and pass, also containing good water, which lies rather less than a mile farther south, is of no great importance. These passes were used, in former times, by the hill robbers in their raids into the plains; and, as already mentioned, for several miles in breadth, the country at the foot of the lower range of mountains, and for a considerable distance within, is totally uninhabited, and generally wanting in water. These obstacles have tended to restrain the Marís and Búghtís from making raids in large bands upon our border, perhaps more so than the few weak posts scattered along the frontier. Small parties, however, have been known to pass the frontier posts unseen, and to penetrate within a short distance of Mithan-kot on the Indus, and carry off cattle successfully.

In this part of the Derah-ját dwell the Mazárí Balúchís, who, in proportion to other tribes of the same people, are pretty numerous. There are about 800 Súla'í Mazárís located at Kashmúr, the most northern village of Upper Sind, as at present constituted. The Mazárís are bounded north by the Dríshaks, south by the Bráhúís, and west by the Búghtís, to the west of whom again are the Marís.

The next darah and pass in succession is that of Taháni, not "Tozanee," distant rather more than two miles from the Ispringí darah. It is called Taháni from the stream rising on the eastern slope of Mount Gandhárí, distant nine miles from the mouth of the pass, which is the most southern detached ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, other ridges from which, from this point, turn abruptly to the west and then to the north, completely encircling the Shúm plain, and meet the other ridges of the range bounding the plain on the north, as already referred to. The bed of the Taháni stream, except near its source, is generally dry. Water is plentiful, but it is bad. There are other smaller streams more to the south containing water of the same

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* This is probably Barkhán or Barkhar, the chief place of the Kihtrán tribe, but there is a good deal of discrepancy with respect to these two names. I think the first is correct.

It is stated that the late Nawwáb, Sádik Muhammad Khán of Baháulpúr, in order to punish an inroad of the Bráhúís, established an outpost at Barkhán, during the time he held possession of the Derah-i-Ghází Khán district, but it was withdrawn after having been kept there a year. It is also said that, at the distance of a short day's journey from thence, there is a pass, through which lies a direct road to Ghaznín and Kábul, but that it has been closed for many years by rolling stones and rocks into it, and filling it up for some distance. This route was formerly followed by káfilahs of traders, who came from Kábul direct to Derah-i-Ghází Khán, and the whole road is said to be practicable for artillery, and that another branches off from it leading direct to Kandahár. This last-named road refers, doubtless, to those mentioned farther on.

description. Taháni can scarcely be termed a valley correctly, because the ground is much broken, and the hills consist of a number of peaks and ridges from the higher range, which are often of considerable height. The pass was used in former times by the Kihtráns, Marís, and Búghtís, in their raids on the plains. The route winds along the stony banks of the river bed when full, and in its bed when dry. Like the routes mentioned above, it joins the Harand route into Afghánistán by Chotíálí, and that by Harand to Káhan and Dádhar, but it is difficult and tedious, being very sandy. The nearest village to this pass in British territory is Badlí of the Mazárís, distant 22 miles.

As we continue our course southwards, the two ranges, the Koh-i-Siyah and Koh-i-Surkh, become much more broken, and the latter, or lower range, is not so well defined as hitherto, and of considerable less elevation than before.

Farther south, distant 11 miles, is the Zangí darah and pass, so called from a stream, sometimes called the Kalgharí, which takes its rise on the eastern slopes of that detached and curiously shaped ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, in appearance like a great petrified centipede, or other crawling creature, called Mount Gandhárí, which ridge, forms, so to speak, the pivot on which both ranges, still greatly disturbed, turn westward towards Dádhar, where they, along with the Tobah range, merge into that of Hálah which runs down to the sea.* Some writers very erroneously suppose that "a large offset of the Hala range extends eastward, forming the mountains held by "the Murree tribe of Kahun, and joining the Suliman range about Hurrund and "Dajel," but the facts are wholly contrary, as actual survey shows.

The two ranges proceed thus, as I have described, but somewhat less distinct, and of lesser altitude, for nearly 100 miles, until they merge with the Tobah and Hálah ranges. The offshoots from, and continuation of, the Koh-i-Siyah, form the southern boundary of Afghánistán in this direction, the southernmost district, as at present constituted, being Síwístán or Síbístan, of which Síwí or Síbí, once a considerable and important place, is the chief town, but it has gone to great decay.

The offshoots from, or continuation of, the Koh-i-Surkh form the northern boundary of Kachchhí or Kachchh-Gandáwah or Gandábah. In the space between these two ranges, forming, so to speak, a long irregular valley, lies Káhan and the Marí country. The celebrated Nafusk and Sartáf passes lie in the Koh-i-Surkh, and whoever has seen the late Dr. Kirk's coloured drawings of the scenery of these places will notice how appropriate is the name of surkh, signifying red, really a yellowish red, applied to the range. This colour is as distinctly apparent in the *débris* washed from it into the plains of the Derah-ját, about Sakhí Sarwar and Widor and farther north, as at Sartáf and Nafusk.

To return to the Zangí pass, however, a considerable change here takes place in both ranges, which turn abruptly west, as just above related, with the exception of a number of small ridges from the Koh-i-Siyah, which extend as far south as the Súrí darah and pass, where they finally terminate. The Koh-i-Surkh also becomes greatly altered, and from this point—the Zangí darah—it consists of elevated bluffs and long undulating swells, partly covered with pebbles, which gradually become less and lower, until, a little below Kashmúr, they disappear altogether in the dreary plains of Sind.

The western portion of the Zangí darah really consists, in all, of three darahs. The Zangí or Kalgharí river, as already mentioned, rises on the east side of Mount Gandhárí, flows from north to south for a few miles, receiving several small streams from the ravines in the sides of that mountain ridge, including the Chahailí rivulet from the west, and then, after passing on for some miles farther, the bed of the combined streams is called the Sat, and the defile through which it pierces, the Sat pass, the mouth of which lies about six miles north-west from the mouth of the Zangí pass. Alum and yellow ochre abound in many places within the Zangí pass and its branches; indeed the whole range teems with the latter to a greater or less degree, and partly accounts for its peculiar colour.

The Sat pass is strong and difficult, and, as it can be reached from many places between the Zangí and Taháni passes, if occupied by some resolute men, they could bar all ingress and egress by the Zangí pass to an enemy. The Mazárís are said to have often retired thither when hard pressed by enemies.

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* Abú-l-Fazl, in the A'ín-i-Akbarí, says, referring to the Sarkár of Thathah, that the northern mountains separate into four branches, and that one goes on towards Kandahár, and another stretches towards the sea as far as the town of Koh-Bár. "This," he says, "is named Rám-gar, and terminates with Síwístán, and that "part they call Lakhhí. Another branch runs from Sihwán to Síwí, and is styled Kihtar, and a fourth, the "extremity of which reaches Kachchh, is called Kárah." This passage, however, is not very clear.

At this point, near the mouth of the Sat pass, lies another river bed, that of the Hindrainí, which stream rises to the east of and parallel to the Zangí or Kalgharí, and opens into it, while to the west another river rises, the Nathal, flowing from west to east, between the ridges where the Koh-i-Siyah, with the exception of the few fragments reaching about eight miles further south to the Súrí pass, terminates. The Nathal receives a number of small rivulets from the ravines on the southern face of Mount Gandhárí, which towers to the height of about 4,000 feet. The defile in which the bed of these mountain streams lies is called the Ráni pass, where good water is to be found, and where the bed of another stream, called the Chaugah, from the west, joins the beds of the others, about two miles before the Ráni pass opens into the Zangí darah. These three defiles, the Sat, Kalgharí, and Rání, having opened out on the Zangí pass, at a distance of about seven miles from its entrance on the Derah-ját side, some other smaller rivulets, including the Kalárí from the south-west, also join the bed of the combined streams farther to the east. It must be understood that, except near their sources, the beds of these rivers are dry for greater part of the year, but, after heavy falls of rain or snow on the higher mountains, they sometimes rush down with considerable violence.

There are two routes through the Zangí pass by which Mount Gandhárí and the Shúm plain can be reached. One is by following the bed of the Zangí and that of the Chahailí; the other by the bed of the Nathal, and by the Rání pass. Water is procured from wells, so called, or rather pits, dug in the beds of the streams, and from springs.

The route leading by this pass to Káhan is steep and difficult in some places, but improves as the traveller proceeds towards Káhan, distant eight stages. They are as follow :—1. To Thák, 10 miles, water abundant at that watering place, where there are a few wild olive and other trees. 2. Nathal, about 11 miles; water and a few trees. 3. Barbar, 12 miles; water and trees. 4. Thárí, about 12 miles; water and a few trees. 5. Marú, about the same distance; some water is procurable. 6. Pátur, on the banks of the Súrí river. This, in Messrs. J. and C. Walker's map, is styled the "Illiassee river," but such a name appears to be totally unknown in those parts. The distance is 13 miles, and there are trees and plenty of water. 7. Kálá Pání,* distant 11 miles; water and a few trees. 8. Káhan, 13 miles.

A ridge from the Koh-i-Siyah, running nearly east and west, and the last of any considerable elevation farther south, abuts on the east side of the Zangí darah and pass, and on the northern side of the same ridge the Rání pass joins the Zangí darah. On the southern slopes of this same ridge several streams rise, one of which, the Kalárí, joins the bed of the Zangí river, while the others, the principal of which, the Chúrzání and Núrání streams, after receiving a number of smaller ones, before entering the Derah-ját, join in two beds, and enter the plains a little way north of the frontier post of Bhúndowálí, and five miles to the south of the Zangí darah. Like most of the others, these river beds only contain water near the sources of the streams, although water may sometimes be found in their beds by digging, and only reach the plains after heavy floods.

Three miles still farther south is the darah and pass of Jíhárí, in which are a few stunted trees, and water is procurable. It is so called from the stream bearing that name, but its bed is generally dry. It receives some smaller streams rising on the southern slopes of the ridge mentioned above, but their beds are dry, except near their sources. There is a place eight miles from the entrance to this darah called Súrí dá Kahír, where good water is obtainable.

The Jíhárí pass also leads into the Káhan route, just described, but it is sandy in many places, and in others mountainous and stony. There is a frontier post near the skirt of the hills, about midway between this and the entrance to the Zangí pass.

The next and last darah and pass, about 12 miles lower down than the Jíhárí darah, before the mountains finally merge into the plains of Kachchhí or Kachchh-Gandábah, is that of Súrí, which pass leads to the Búghtí head-quarters or Derah,† and Káhan the chief town of the Marís, by Siríá, Húran, and the Mandú Kund, at which places, in the bed of the Súrí river, presently to be noticed, water is to be found.

The darah is so called from the Súrí river, which rises on the east side of the southern portion of the Koh-i-Siyah, encircling the Shúm plain on the south, and here called

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* This is the same stage as is mentioned at page 17.

† Derah is the same word precisely as that in the Derah of Ghází Khán and the Derah of Ismá'íl Khán, already explained, but modern travellers, in their uncertainty as to the right spelling of proper names of persons and places, being generally unacquainted with or unable to read the original, and their plunging and floundering in consequence, this name has hitherto appeared as "Deyra," "Dheera," and "Deyrah." It is

the Dubb mountains. It receives several feeders from the Shúm plain. First it receives the Basháfí river from the north; a little lower down, the Baghorání, also from the north; and still lower down, the Jhán-wálah, Just before emerging from the Shúm plain, the south-western portion of which these rivers drain, the Súrí receives the Dúbar from the north-east. After penetrating the Koh-i-Siyah, it receives a considerable feeder from the west, called the Gújirú, which rises on the south side of the Koh-i-Siyah, and runs almost parallel to the Súrí river, on the southern side of the range, while the Súrí runs on the northern side. At this same point it receives another feeder from the east, the Jangwání river, which rises between the ridges of Mount Gandhárí and another ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah bounding the Shúm plain on the south-east. Six miles still farther south, the Súrí receives the Andaríwár (?) from the north-east, which rises on the south slopes of Mount Gandhárí. After flowing onwards a little farther, it leaves the higher mountains altogether, and the water begins to fail, until, at about 30 miles from the eastern mouth of the pass, the bed of the Súrí becomes quite dry. Five miles more to the south, on the west side, is the bed of the Kajúrí river, and still lower down, in the same direction, the Bíjar de Rúd—Bíjar's river, near which is the spring or kund of Mandú—Mandú Kund, a halting place, where, as its name implies, good water is obtainable. The bed of the Súrí then takes a south-easterly course, and is joined by the beds (for they contain no water except near their sources) of some smaller streams from the west and east. About six miles south-east, below the Mandú Kund, is the halting place of Kabrudání, where there is water; and, about three miles lower down, the bed of the Kalárí from the west, and about a mile still lower, the bed of the Búrand, join the Súrí from the south-west. On the opposite side, it receives the bed of the Sunt river, which rises on the southern side of the ridges of the Koh-i-Siyah. The Sunt receives, higher up, the small rivers Belchú and Bárgí from the north-west, both of which rise on the sides of the same ridges, but a little farther to the east, and run nearly parallel to the Sunt darah and pass.

A little to the north of this point, where the bed of the Sunt joins the bed of the Súrí, the latter begins to wind its way among the small low ridges detached from the Koh-i-Siyah. From the mouth of the Sunt darah and pass, the bed of the Súrí runs in the direction of south-east for about seven miles, then nearly due south for about the same distance, and, near the halting place of Siriá, finally leaves the last stray ridges of the Koh-i-Siyah, which, at this point, terminates.

At the place where the Sunt pass and river bed debouches on the bed of the Súrí river, the latter receives the beds of several smaller hill streams, and the principal ones on the east side are, the Tugon, at the point of junction of which with the Súrí bed is the Tegah watering place, and, lower down, another called Húran. Still lower down are the halting places of Júgodah and Siriá, the latter being little over four miles from the eastern entrance of the Súrí pass, on either side of which, north and south, are two bluffs from the Koh-i-Surkh, the one to the north called Siriá dá Pusht, or the Siriá Hill, and that on the south Násir dá Pusht, or Násir's Hill. These are the most southern hills of that range, which range here likewise terminates.

These hills of the Koh-i-Surkh, which belong to the Mazárí tribe, are uninhabited for some distance round, and farther west, towards Káhan and Dádhar. They are of the usual yellowish red limestone, bleak and barren, and without signs of shrubs or trees, except along the beds of the mountain streams; in fact, all around is a dreary wilderness.

To return to the Súrí darah and pass, the road winds along the banks of the river and sometimes in its bed. Like all similar routes, it is heavy and steep in several places, but is practicable for camels, bullocks, and horses, but not for wheeled carriages. With a little engineering, however, it might, without much difficulty, be made so; and, upon the whole, it is the best road south of the Sakhí Sarwar pass.

The Mazárí village of Sháh-wálí is nine miles from the mouth of the Súrí Pass,

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quite time that a uniform and correct—not a *fantastic* system based upon any one's *theories*, but on the vernacular forms of writing such names—should be adopted for the spelling of proper names. The systems hitherto followed, and the various ways in which names of persons, as well as places, have been written, is looked upon as ridiculous by educated natives of Afghánistán, as in the matter of "Quetta" for Kwatah, "Khelat" (persisting in writing it with kh when it contains no such letter) for Kal'at and Kal'át, "Maimené" for Maimanah, and such like fantastic ways.

Derah is situated in a fertile plain, which supplied abundant support to the cattle of General Sir C. J. Napier's force in the campaign against Bíjar Khán in 1845. The General ordered the fort of Derah to be destroyed. To the north of it, in the mountains, part of the Koh-i-Surkh, was Bíjar Khán's stronghold of Trakí.

which is the natural boundary between the Derah-ját and Upper Sind. A line drawn from the pass to Sháh-wálí formed the boundary in the plains. Kot Islám Khán, the principal place belonging to the Búghtís, lies about 20 miles west of the Súrí pass.

Seven smaller mountain streams rise in the southernmost ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh before they finally terminate, but their water is lost in the sands of the Upper Sind border. The largest of these is the Kamur.

The Marí tribe of Balúchís are powerful in point of numbers. Their country has been already referred to. They are bounded by the Parní and Kihtrán Afgháns on the north, and on the south, east, and west by tribes of their own nationality.

In 1857, the Marís made a raid upon British territory; and, in the winter of 1858, they were punished for it by the Khán of Kal'át-i-Násir, their Balúch suzerain, under pressure from the political agent at his court. The Marís fled to the fastnesses in the Koh-i-Siyah, Káhan was dismantled, and they had to submit, and to give hostages for their future better behaviour. They have been pretty quiet ever since.

In former times, Síwístán and Kachchh-Gandábah were in a very flourishing condition. In the month of Zí-Ka'dah, 921 H. (January, 1515, A.D.), Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún, who then held Kandahár, came into Sind from Síwí, which he had annexed because a dependency of that territory. He entered the townships (*karyah*, a large village or township, with its lands) of Káhan and of Bághbánán, and a thousand camels were taken from the wells alone. This shows the prosperity and fertility of those places at the period in question. Since that time, considerable changes in the bed of the Indus, in all probability, affected these parts. I shall return to this subject in my account of the lost river of the Indian desert, and changes in the Panjáb rivers. The towns of Bághbánán—the (two) Bághs—at the time of Sháh Beg's inroad, were the boundary of Sind in that quarter.

The town of Síwí, the capital of Síwístán, once an important place, with a fort of some strength, lies at the skirt of a range of hills, and the stones of which it was built, it is said, were "all round (boulders), and, however so much one may dig and excavate " round about the place, only such stones are to be found."

The stream which flowed below Síwí in those days was impregnated with sulphur, and its water was extremely pernicious to health. In the time of Akbar, Bádsháh, we are told that the garrison had to be relieved yearly in consequence. Some time after, but in the same reign, a great flood came, and probably some volcanic action was at work at the same time, and the spring, the source of the stream, disappeared, and the baneful effects of the water were removed. The changed stream, at that time, used to flow a distance of 50 kuroh, to the district of Sarwáh, and was used for irrigation purposes, but a small portion of it found its way into Lake Manchhúr, the "Munchur" of our maps.

Subsequent to Sháh Beg Khán's time, in the reign of Jálál-ud-Dín, Muhammad Akbar, Bádsháh, the town of Síwí and its dependencies formed one of the mahálls or departments of the Sarkár of Bakhhar; and its Afghán population had to furnish (as militia, when called upon) 500 horse and 1,500 foot, and paid 13 lakhs and 81,930 dáms (40 dáms to the rupee) of revenue in money. Bághbánán formed another Maháll in the Sarkár of Síwístán (Siwastán, of which Sihwán in Sind was the chief town), as did also Káhan and Pátar. Bághbánán paid 19 lakhs, and 80,152 dáms of revenue, in money; Káhan 20 lakhs, and 8,884; and Pátar 16 lakhs, and 40,764 dáms.

The territories of Dog, Pushang, and Shál, and Mastang and its dependencies, were included in the eastern division of the Kandahár province. Dog, at which place there was a fort of unburnt brick, paid 9 tománs (the *tomán* was then equal to a little more than $33\frac{1}{3}$ rupees—$33\frac{65}{120}$) in money, 1,900 kharwárs of grain, 12,000 sheep, and 15 horses; and the Tarín and Kákar inhabitants had to furnish 500 horse and 1,000 foot as militia.

At Shál, also known as Kwatah in recent times, there was a fort of unburnt brick, and it and its territory were assessed at four and a half tománs in cash, 940 sheep, and 780 kharwárs of grain. The Kásí Afgháns and Balúchís, therein dwelling, had to furnish 1,000 horse and 1,000 foot as a militia contingent when required.

At Pushang (which, with Dog, will be referred to presently in the account of the Sháhzádah Dárá-Shukoh's expedition to Kandahár) there had been a fort of unburnt brick of old. Its lands were assessed at 33 tománs in money, 3,200 sheep, and 500 kharwárs of grain, and the Kásí Afgháns and Balúchís had to furnish 1,500 horse and 1,500 foot as militia.

The town of Mastang and its dependencies paid 10 tománs and 8,000 dínárs, and 470 kharwárs of grain, and the Kásí Afgháns and Balúchís furnished 200 horse and 500 foot. There was a fort of unburnt brick at Mastang.

Expedition of the Shahzadah Muhammad-i-Dara-Shukoh, Son of the Shah-i-Jahan, Badshah-i-Ghazí, against Kandahar.

The Persians having invested Kandahár in 1059 H.*—A.D. 1649,—Sháh-i-Jahán despatched his third son, Aurangzeb-i-'Alamgír, along with the Wazír, Sa'd-ullah Khán, as his mentor and guide, at the head of a large army to relieve it, but, by the time the army had reached Ghaznín from Kábul, Kandahár had fallen. They marched, however, to invest it, in 1061,—A.D. 1651,—and continued before the place for a period of four months. They defeated a Persian force sent from Hirát to create a diversion, but, the cold season being about to set in, the investment had to be abandoned.

In the following year, 1062 H.—A.D. 1652,—after vast preparations had been made, the Sháhzádah Aurangzeb, and the Wazír, again moved against Kandahár by way of Kábul; and Sháh-i-Jahán himself proceeded to Kábul to render aid if required. An inroad of the Uzbaks, however, into the Kábul province, caused the siege to be abandoned, and Aurangzeb and his army recalled, "when the fall of Kandahár," so they say, "could be reckoned on for certain within a very few days," but certainly several assaults were delivered without success.†

As soon as the movement of the army before Kandahár become known to the Uzbak invaders, they decamped; and Sháh-i-Jahán was greatly grieved and mortified to think that he had ordered the siege to be raised. I know of no history, except the "Táríkh-i-Kandahár," otherwise the "Latá'if-ul-Akhbár," of Rashíd Khán, from which the following account is taken, and who was present in Dárá-Shukoh's camp, which mentions the fact of the recall of Aurangzeb and his army, and the reason of it. On the contrary, other writers state that all the efforts of Aurangzeb and his troops were of no avail, and that the near approach of winter was the cause of the siege being finally abandoned.

"At last, the Sháhzádah, Muhammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, the eldest and favourite son of Sháh-i-Jahán, noticing his father's grief and chagrin—for Kandahár was looked upon as one of the keys of India—offered to make another attempt to recapture it. His offer was accepted, and Dárá-Shukoh was made Súbahdár of the province of Kábul, and also of Multán, so that their resources might be at his disposal. The death of Sháh 'Abbás, the Persian monarch, about the same time, gave hopes of success, as it was expected and hoped that great disorders would arise in Persia in consequence.

"Dárá-Shukoh left Kábul and repaired to Láhor to make his preparations during the cold season. Two great battering guns were cast there, the ball required for one of which weighed 1 *man* and 5 *sers*=90 lbs. English. This gun was named Fath-i-Mubarák—the auspicious victory—and on it was inscribed—

'The artillerymen of Sháh-i-Jahán are wreaking destruction on Kandahár.' ✓

The other gun was called the Kishwar-Kusháe—the Country Conqueror, or Opener—and carried a ball of 32 *sers*=64 lbs. A third large gun was brought to Láhor from Delhi, named Kala'h-Kusháe—the Fortress Opener or Taker.‡

"On the 24th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 1063 H.—11th February 1653, A.D.,—Dárá-Shukoh began his march, and the great guns were put on board vessels at Láhor, and sent down the Ráwí to Multán, after twenty days had been expended in removing them from the arsenal within the citadel of Láhor to the vessels.

"The distance from Multán by the route to be taken was 160 jaríb kos [about 300 miles]."§

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* The year 1059 H. began on the 4th January 1649; ✓
„ 1060 H. „ „ 24th December 1649; ✓
„ 1061 H. „ „ 14th „ 1650;
„ 1062 H. „ „ 3rd „ 1651; and
„ 1063 H. „ „ 21st November 1652.

† They remained before it on this occasion, according to the "Mir'át-i-Jahán-Numá, two months and eight days.

‡ There was a fourth sent by Shál and Dádhar, named Maryam, according to what is said at page 27.

§ The kos of Sháh-i-Jahán's reign is said to have been 1,500 gaz, each of 24 fingers' breadth. For difference in the length of the kuroh and kos, *see* note (*), page 1.

The distance from Sakhhar to Kandahár by Dádhar, the route taken by the army of the Indus in 1838, was 398 miles and 3 furlongs. Dárá-Shukoh reached Kandahár in about 33 marches, but some were very short, especially the latter ones.

The forces and armament provided for this expedition, which are not given in the "Táríkh-i-Kandahár," according to another author were as follow:—

Ten heavy siege guns, together with thirty others of smaller calibre (another work says they included four heavy guns, as the eye-witness from whom this account is taken confirms. A third author states that there were seven guns and mortars, but he does not mention others of less power, which Dárá-Shukoh certainly had with him); 30,000 iron shot, great and small; 1,500 *mans* (60,000 lbs.) of lead; 5,000 *mans* (200,000 lbs.) of gunpowder; 5,000 artillerymen, for working the guns and rockets; 10,000 musketeers (armed with matchlocks); 6,000 pioneers, sappers, and axemen; 500 pakhális (water skins of large size, carried on bullocks and attended by a man); 3,000 ahdís (independent cavaliers);* 60 war elephants, selected for their size and strength; and 70,000 cavalry; in all, 104,000 men; and a great number of birinjárís (a class of men who follow camps with grain) were also taken to carry corn for the army.

To return to the account of Rashíd Khán:—

"On the 24th of the following month, Rabí'-us-Sání [12th of March], Dárá-Shukoh crossed the Chináb from Multán to the opposite bank, where he halted four days to make his final arrangements for the march of the camp followers [which must have nearly doubled his force in point of numbers]. While there encamped the heavy guns arrived from Láhor; and it was determined that they should be conveyed to Kandahár from thence by way of Dádhar and Shál [Kwatah], escorted by 1,000 pioneers, some elephants, and a body of troops."

This appears to have been determined more on account of the uncertainty of information regarding the practicability of the route by the Sanghar pass than anything else; and, as it afterwards turned out, a more unfortunate arrangement could not have possibly been made, as will be presently seen.

"The army having crossed the Sind river on the 3rd of Jamádí-ul-Awwal [towards the end of March 1653 A.D.], encamped at 'Alam Khán, about 25 miles north of Derah-i-Ghází Khán; and, in two more marches, the Sanghar pass was reached.

"The Persians† had posts at Dogí‡ and Chotíálí; and, on reaching the Sanghar pass, a body of 700 picked horsemen, under Jahángír Beg, was sent forward with directions to keep well in advance of the army, and, if possible, surprise the Persian posts, while the Zamíndárs [the Afghán headmen] of those places were requested to afford him aid, and send him information respecting the Persians and their movements to enable him to capture them. Jahángír Beg, likewise, was directed to move on whenever the zamíndárs should request him to do so.

"Before commencing his march through the Sanghar pass, Dárá-Shukoh gave directions respecting the order of the march. A large portion of the entire army, about one third of the whole, preceded his own camp and troops attached to it a march in advance, while the remainder of the army followed his camp one march in the rear. In seven consecutive marches the frontier of the Jajah territory was reached, where a kárwán of merchants from I-rán [proceeding towards Sanghar] was met. From the merchants information was obtained [falsely as it turned out] that the garrison of Kandahár only amounted to 3,000 men, and that grain, powder, and lead were very scarce.

"Next day the march was continued, and the third stage from thence [*i.e.* the frontier of the Jajah territory], the halting place or stage of Sang-i-Nuksán was reached, which point is the boundary between Kandahár and Hind."

This place seems to refer to some position—a pass probably—beyond or near the hills bounding the Kihtrán country on the west, beyond which the Chotíálí district commences. It is unfortunate the writer did not enter into greater detail respecting

* A portion of a *corps d'élite*, called Ahdís, or independent cavalry, who rode their own horses, and received very high pay. They also served in detached appointments, and officers for other branches of the army were often selected from them. They numbered about 7,000 in Sháh-i-Jahán's time.

† The author styles them Kazil-báshís, but I have adopted the more familiar term here.

‡ Also called Dog (*see* page 22). Bábar Bádsháh, on one occasion, having entered the northern Derah-ját from Kohát by Bannú, reached the town of Belah on the Sind river. He then marched to Pír Kánún, a famous shrine, situated in the lower hills which join the higher range of Mihtar Sulímán, or Koh-i-Siyah. He had heard that he could pass a corner of that range towards Dogí, and then a straight road would lie before him. He marched from the Tomb, reached the summit of a kotal, and halted. From thence he marched to the river which appertains to the territory of Dogí and Chotíálí, and there halted. In another march he reached Chotíálí, which is a dependency of Dogí. Forage here became scarce (it was owing chiefly to the time of the year). From Chotíálí he reached Ghaznín. No particulars unfortunately are given, but it is mentioned that, after proceeding onwards, in one or two marches more he reached the lake called Ab-Istádah, or the Standing Water or Lake; there being no such name as "*Lake* Abistada."

places on the line of march, but these are matters generally ignored by most oriental writers.

"Here a report was received from Jahángír Beg to the effect that the Persians had abandoned Dogí and Chotíálí, and that the Kákar Afgháns had, it was stated, closed the pass called the Kotal-i-Zíárat-gáh, the Pass of the Place of Pilgrimage [which appears to refer to the place marked in some maps as "Shekh Hasan's Tomb;" the tomb of Shaikh Hasan would be called a Zíárat-gáh, and is about 21 miles west of Chotíálí], but that, having abandoned everything, they had saved themselves by flight, and had succeeded in reaching Pushang with some loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

"The next march, from Sang-i-Nuksán, brought Dárá-Shukoh to Chotíálí;* and there plentiful supplies were obtained. He next reached Dogí [whether in one march or not is not stated, but, from the usual mode of expression in this work, one march is apparently meant]. Here news was received that 2,000 Kazil-básh cavalry had reached Pushang in order to collect and carry away all the grain they could lay hands upon, and send it to Kandahár. On this the van division of Dárá-Shukoh's army, one stage in advance, was ordered to make a forced march to Pushang.

"Dárá-Shukoh's next march was to Sih-Gotah† and beyond Tal, over a somewhat difficult pass, after some labour, on the way to Tabak-sar—*tabak* means a narrow gorge, and *sar*, head or point,—the head of the narrow gorge.‡ On the second march from Sih-Gotah, when the troops halted at Tabak-sar, they suffered much from scarcity of water, especially the cattle of the army. Having passed Tabak-sar, the seventh march brought them to Pushang [the valley of Pushang]. Scarcity of forage now began to be felt.

"The following day Dárá-Shukoh continued his advance, and, on the second march, reached the foot of the Man-Darah pass § [the A'ín-i-Akbarí mentions it under the name of the Faj-i-Mandarak—*faj* signifies a broad road or way between two mountains—the ascent of which was 35 and the descent 39 jaríbs.|| Jauhar, the Aftábahchí or Ewer-bearer of Humáyún Bádsháh, who wrote an account of his master's flight from India and subsequent history, calls this place the Panj Badrah kotal], by which time the van of the army had arrived in sight of Kandahár, and had taken up a position on the east side of that fortress. Dárá-Shukoh, having crossed the pass on the fourth day [three more marches, but short ones], encamped near Mard Kala'h [the Kandaháris call it Mart Kala'h], which is 5 kuroh from Kandahár, and from the next stage [he appears to have proceeded very leisurely these latter stages] the booming of the guns of the van of the army could be heard. For seven days he remained encamped here, waiting for the propitious hour to proceed, which was to be made known by the astrologers.

"Whilst he was here encamped, the whole of the forces in the rear came up; the several points of attack were fixed upon; and the different nobles and officers had their posts assigned to them."¶

The fortress here referred to, it must be remembered, is what is now known as "old "Kandahár," which lay a few miles westward of the present city, and adjoining the Koh-i-Lakah.

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* He had therefore made eleven marches from the Sanghar pass to Chotíálí.

† This refers to a pass in the line of hills running almost parallel to the range bounding the Pushang valley to the south-west. Tal and Chotíálí belong to the Spín or White Taríns, who are independent.

‡ Tabak also signifies a layer, a slab, stratification, etc.; and I find, since the above was written, that, at this place, the rocks are of a very peculiar stratification, and hence the name. *See* Note 9, page 318, of my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," and Note 8, page 319.

§ This pass is more to the northward, above the Khajzak pass. There are three kotals or passes especially mentioned by Afgháns as lying in the route between Kandahár and Pushang—the Kotal-i-Zákir and Kotal-i-Gwajar—which latter appears to be identical with the Man-Darah pass, mentioned above. The Kotal-i-Khajzak or Khajzak pass was in ancient times called Púshang, which people of Arab descent call Fúshanj, after a fort of that name at the foot of the pass, and which gave name to the whole valley. This name, in course of time, became shortened into Pushang and Fushanj, but travellers and map makers have vitiated it into "Pisheen," "Peisheen," "Peishin," "Pishin," and such like names, in fact, anything but the correct name.

The first 'Alí Mardán Khán, while Governor of Kandahár, subsequent to his deserting the Sháh of I-rán and taking service with the ruler of Dihlí, dispossessed Sher Khán, the Tarín, of the fort of Pushang in 1041 H.

The Ghalzí King, Sháh Husain, son of the Hájí, Mír Wais, during the predominance of his tribe over Kandahár, "marched from the fort of Pushang to Shál by the Gaz kotal. The Rogháni kotal was generally "followed in going to and fro by Kwatah or Shál and Púshang to Ghaznín by the Ab-Istádah route."

Púshang or Fúshanj is also the name of an ancient town near Hirát, and well known in history. Mus'ab, son of As'ad, and father of Táhir-i-Zú-l-Yamanain, the founder of the Táhirí dynasty in Khurásán, was for some time Governor of Fúshanj and its dependencies. *See* my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 11.

|| There were 60 jaríbs to a kuroh. *See* note to page 1.

¶ Dárá-Shukoh appears to have encamped a short distance on the east side of the Koh-i-Zákir, from the summit of the pass over which a fine view of Kandahár is obtained.

"Pending the arrival of the heavy guns sent by way of Dádhar [and the Bolán Pass, we hear so much harped upon as 'the only practicable route' in that direction], and a reinforcement with artillery, under the Súbahdár of Kábul, from that city and province, orders were given to proceed slowly with the approaches and platforms for the guns. The garrison of Kandahár was now found to number not 3,000 but 6,000 men, amply provided with ammunition, stores, and provisions for a year. Some Núhání Afgháns at this time supplied Dárá-Shukoh's camp with 4,000 camel loads of grain, which was much needed.

"A small force was now despatched to occupy the Kúshk-i-Nakhúd * [improperly written from ear, in our maps, 'Khoosk-i-Nakood,' and 'Khooshk Nakhood,' etc., etc.] on the Hirát road; and a considerable body of troops under Rustam Khán, Bahádur, Fírúz-i-Jang, against Bust,† in case of any attempt to relieve Kandahár from Hirát or Sijistán, for, from news found on a messenger who had been captured, 20,000 Kazil-báshís were said to be then at Faráh."

Dárá-Shukoh had not been long before Kandahár before his troubles began. He was the victim of intriguers and incapables, for success, on his part, was not to be permitted, if it could be possibly prevented; and the Mír-i-Atash, or Chief Engineer and Commandant of Artillery, was an upstart, and totally unfitted for the duties into the bargain.

"The Súbahdár of Kábul soon arrived in Dárá-Shukoh's camp with five guns [their size is not stated, but one was a large one, as is subsequently mentioned. The rest were evidently light guns], and now preparations were made to assault the burj or tower on the Koh-i-Chihl-Zínah ‡—the Hill of the Forty Steps [a rocky hill commanding the city and fortress], and two guns were placed in position for the purpose of battering it. Most of the shots from the two guns, however, missed the tower of Chihl-Zínah, but fell into the old fort or citadel—Kala'h-i-Kuhnah—and did some damage there.

"About this time, too, a Farangí [a Portuguese?] who had charge of two guns, had rammed in the shots, without any powder, so firmly that the shots could not be withdrawn, and the guns became totally useless. Out of fear, the Farangí deserted to the Persians.

"Rustam Khán, Bahádur, Fírúz-i-Jang, commanding the troops despatched against Bust, asked for some guns to be sent to him, and reinforcements, to enable him to attack it. The two guns were accordingly withdrawn from their position against the tower of Chihl-Zínah, and despatched along with 1,000 pioneers, sappers, and miners, to Rustam Khán before Bust.

"After seven days' investment that fort surrendered, on a false report being purposely circulated that Kandahár had fallen. The guns were consequently sent back.

"Soon after, 2,700 camel loads of warlike stores arrived at the camp before Kandahár from Kábul; and 350 camel loads of planks, for siege purposes, arrived from Multán [by the Sanghar route].

"Rustam Khán, after the surrender of Bust, detached 200 horse from thence to occupy Girishk, but they were attacked by a large force of Kazil-báshís, Balúchís, and Nikudarís [Mughals, descendants of one of the Hazárahs, located between Ghaznín, Kábul, and Hirát, respecting whom some travellers and writers have put forth many extravagant theories. More respecting them will be found in the account of the districts north and east of Kandahár, farther on], from the fortress of the Zamín-i-Dáwar, and the whole killed or wounded, with the exception of three persons, who reached Rustam Khán with the news.

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* Or may be written Kushk-i-Nakhúd, Kushk being the shortened form of Kúshk. *See* my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 331, note 2.

By the Pushang route from India, by marching from thence to the Ghunda'í- [the mound or detached hill, etc., in Pus'hto] i-Mansúr, you can proceed to Hirát without touching Kandahár at all. This Kúshk-i-Nakhúd is Elphinstone's "Kooshkinukhood."

Kúshk means literally a large and lofty stone or brick building, a castle, but here refers to those fort-like villages, several of which are still to be found, though on a smaller scale than formerly, in the tracts west of Kandahár and Ghaznín, and some other parts of Afghánistán.

† Another author says to seize Bust, Girishk, and the Zamín-i-Dáwar—the Dáwar district or territory.

‡ The Koh-i-Chihl-Zínah is a rocky spur from the Koh-i-Lakah, which overlooks Kandahár from the east, and a deep chasm separates the spur from the Lakah range. On this spur a former Hindí Governor built a tower which commanded the whole fortress and city. It could not be mined from its very situation, and it was shot proof. The place was called the Koh-i-Chihl-Zínah because Bábar Bádsháh had a platform made, and a seat placed there, for his own recreation, and forty steps had to be cut in the rock to reach it. It was subsequently, and still is, known as the Burj-i-Kaitúl. A fire temple of the Gabrs is said to have stood on this spot; and it is probable that the *burj*, or tower, was built from some of its materials.

"Up to this time the battering guns sent by way of Bakhhar, Dádhar, and Shál, from Multán had not arrived, but now news was circulated to the effect that they had passed Dádhar, and would certainly arrive by the 15th or 16th of Ramazán [28th or 29th of July 1653]. Subsequently it was stated that they would reach Shál in five or six days, and four days after reach Pushang, arrive at the foot of the pass [the Khajzak pass ?] on a specified date, and reach Kandahár by a certain day. Elephants were accordingly despatched to a place called Lailá and Majnún,* distant 24 miles to the southward of Kandahár, and beyond the river Tarnak, to help them in. When the elephants arrived there, there were no signs of the guns; and even the bullocks sent on to Pushang were brought back, as nothing was known there about them.

"During all this time mining and countermining went on before Kandahár, and damdamahs—artificial mounds to receive guns—were ordered to be raised for the expected battering guns. Out of the four on the way, the two smallest, Maṣyam and Kala'h-Kusháe, were reported to have actually arrived at Lailá and Majnún at last. A detachment of 1,000 horse was despatched to escort them into camp with all pomp. The cavalry went as far as Siyah Chashmah, but found no guns. They, however, arrived soon after, were brought into camp, and soon placed in the positions intended for them.

"Misfortunes now began to thicken upon Dárá-Shukoh and his army. An assault on the tower of Chihl-Zínah had been beaten off; and, up to this period, no less than 35 mines of the besiegers had been found by the enemy, who received information respecting them from traitors in the camp. The iron cannon balls, of which 30,000 had been supplied, with the exception of eight balls for four guns, had all been left behind at Láhor, as being too heavy, while 700 camel loads of planks and beams of wood, which were perfectly useless, had been brought all the way from Láhor! Dárá-Shukoh was advised not to encumber his army with such weighty things as iron shot, because stone shot, equally serviceable, could be made at Kandahár itself, and for this purpose 500 stone-cutters were sent with the army. The stone chosen for the cannon balls was from the Koh of Bábá Walí, but, when the balls were fired, it was found that they went to pieces in the air, from the strength of the powder, it was supposed, and, of course, were utterly useless, and more dangerous to friend than foe.

"The pioneers and miners now refused to do duty, because they had been sacrificed, they asserted, through not being protected by the troops, who were negligent of their duties, and did not keep watch on their posts. Up to this period the lives of 1,000 of them had been sacrificed. After much pressure and persuasion they agreed to work for three days more.

"Dárá-Shukoh had now been four months before Kandahár, and great was his grief, and bitterly did he give vent to his pent up feelings. He reproached those to whose evil counsel he had trusted: 'From the very outset,' he said, 'the truth had 'been kept from him, and, with the single exception of Muhabbat Khán, who had 'spoken the truth to him on the line of march, they were all traitors, hypocrites, and 'dissemblers,† and, had he only met Muhabbat Khán at Láhor, he would never have 'undertaken the task.'

"In this state of affairs it was resolved by Dárá-Shukoh to recall the troops from Bust, and concentrate all his strength for an assault upon Kandahár. A contrivance was also suggested, in order to prevent the stone shot from splitting, which was to wrap them up in coarse flax,‡ but, as this was not procurable apparently, the shots were encased in raw hide, and allowed to dry in the sun before using them. When discharged, however, the shots made strange gyrations in the air, and did more harm to the besiegers than the besieged. This ill success was attributed by some to bad powder, by others to the powder being too strong, and by others to magic. At this time another big gun, the Fath-i-Mubárak, arrived, and a few days after, the other, the Kishwar-Kusháe, was also brought into camp."

The assailants now appear to have been a little more successful with their stone shot, for the guns actually did some execution.

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* A high rock, from beneath which a spring of clear water gushes forth. According to the tradition, the rock is Majnún, who threw himself from the peak above in his frenzy for his mistress Lailá.

† As in modern times, there were plenty to find fault, and cry out against the way operations were being carried out, but not one would give an opinion how they should be remedied, although Dárá-Shukoh tried threats and blandishments, and even entreaties, with the principal leaders. In fact, those who were not actual traitors, were ready to sacrifice their country to their own personal feelings, rather than their rivals should succeed in anything.

‡ They did not use wads probably, and this was equivalent.

"One of the great guns brought down 40 ells of the wall opposite the battery in which it was placed, but, soon after, it was found that the Fath-i-Mubárak was cracked, and therefore of no farther use. The breach caused by the fall of the wall was sufficiently low so as to allow a person to place his hands on the wall itself, and it was declared practicable.

"Rustam Khán and his troops had not yet been recalled from Bust, but an assault was delivered. It was well planned, but badly and negligently carried out by some, and failed through the cowardice of others. No less than 3,000 Hindús, chiefly Rájpúts, fell on this occasion, as well as a proportionate number of Musalmáns.*

"After this disastrous affair, Rájah Jai Singh was ordered to march to the Shutar-Gardan Kotal—the Camel's Neck Pass—on the road to the Tarín country, as it was found that the enemy contemplated occupying it, in order to cut off the retreat of the Mughal army, and he was directed to take as many Rájpúts with him as he desired. Soon after, Rájah Jai Singh was directed to give up guarding the Shutar Gardan Pass,† and take up a position in the Tarín country, at the point where the two routes met.

"Robbers now began to carry off cattle belonging to Dárá-Shukoh's army, and a portion of it was moved to a position called Pashmúl, four kuroh from Kandahár.

"On the 2nd of the month, Zí-Ka'dah [12th of September], just five months after his arrival before Kandahár, orders were given to burst the great gun, Fath-i-Mubárak, and for the pieces to be carried away, so that it might be recast in India, and with it exploded the hope of taking Kandahár.‡

"On the 14th of the same month, the Kábul troops, with their guns, marched to the Deh-i-Khwájah, three kuroh from Kandahár (on the route to Kábul); Rustam Khán and his troops had returned from Bust, and preparations for the march back to India were made. All being ready, on the night of Wednesday,§ Dárá-Shukoh began his retreat. The Rájpút troops had previously been sent off a march in advance, on the line of retreat. Dárá-Shukoh halted on the river Tarnak, about a mile and half from Mard-Kala'h, which is about five kuroh south of Kandahár. Rustam Khán and Muhabbat Khán, with their troops, remained within the old camp until the sun had reached the meridian, and all the camp-followers had been sent off, after which they put their troops in motion and followed.

"From the Deh-i-Khwájah, on the Tarnak river, Dárá-Shukoh and his army made a long march of 12 kuroh, equal to 22 rasmí kuroh, the standard of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh's reign, and, in three marches, reached the Kotal or pass of Man-Darah. When he reached the place called Ab-i-Siyah Chashmah—the Water of the Black Spring,—which was the halting place of the cattle of the army,‖ the utmost confusion prevailed. A halt became necessary, for all had not come up, and did not until the following day. The rearguard was obliged to halt even for another day, because the pass of Man-Darah was so narrow.¶

"Dárá-Shukoh got clear of the pass with the main body of the army, and, in three marches, reached Pushang. The rear was now harassed by the Afgháns, for which reason Rustam Khán remained, with his troops, at the top of the pass until all the camp-followers had cleared it and passed on. The Lorá river was afterwards crossed and Pushang reached. The fort there was destroyed. The next march was by the Waní [Wanah ?] Kotal,** which, in one part, is rather narrow, and a halt was made at Sih-Gotah. At this place, Dárá-Shukoh gave Rustam Khán, who commanded the rear division of the army, the option of proceeding by the Tabak-Sar route, the same as was taken going to Kandahár, or of following him by the Waní Kotal, but keeping one march in the rear.†† Rustam Khán, however, knowing the difficulty of the route

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* Another author states that this assault was delivered on the 9th of the month Shawwál, 21st August 1652.

† There are several Shutar Gardan passes. The one here referred to is one of the passes in the same range of mountains as the Khojzak and Roghání passes, but more to the north.

‡ It was not again attempted, and Kandahár never after fell into the hands of the Mughal rulers of Dilhí.

§ Our Tuesday night: the night precedes the day according to the Eastern computation of time. It must have been the night of Tuesday, the 26th of September.

‖ This appears to have been the place where most of the cattle of the army had been kept during the siege, and is the same as mentioned at page 27.

¶ Muhammad Sálih, the author of the history entitled "'Amal-i-Sálih," calls this the pass of Fúshanj. *See* note §, page 25.

** Which is not mentioned in the account of the march to Kandahár, but it evidently refers to the range of hills forming the south-east boundary of the Pushang valley, and called "Tukkattoo" in our previous maps, but that part of it lying towards the Jzobah mountains.

†† Here Dárá-Shukoh was evidently proceeding by another, and, possibly, more northern and parallel route, to avoid the confusion and press caused by the numerous camp-followers, and, unfortunately, the writer of the

the Sháhzádah was about to take, followed that by Tabak-Sar. The Afgháns, like hungry wolves, followed behind, and the suffering was great, for the cold was severe* [it was the month of October], and the people could not use their hands or feet until the heat of the sun warmed them. No place of shelter offered whereat several did not loiter behind, and those who did loiter the Afgháns carried off; and there was no rough or difficult ground whereat some horses, camels, cows, and bullocks did not break down, and the Afgháns did not secure them, and drive off. Rich men abandoned all for the sake of saving their lives; all that was left behind was snapped up; and all who sat down by the way side lost their lives. Safety lay in pushing onwards.† The Hindús suffered most, as, without being able to see cows, their food was not lawful, and there was no provision made for supplying them with water separate from the Muhammadans. It was only when Rustam Khán joined the main force at Sih-Gotah, that the Hindús could eat and drink again.

"The march having been resumed, in two more marches Dogí was reached from Sih-Gotah. Dogí had been evacuated by the commander of the post left there on the advance of the army to Kandahár, as he had been informed that the army would retire thence to Kábul, and not return by the former route. Had that place not been evacuated, the army would not have encountered all this trouble on its retreat.

"Dárá-Shukoh now determined, all danger of pursuit being over, to push on to Multán, slightly attended: so, making over the command of the troops to Rustam Khán, on the 1st of the month Zí-Hijjah [11th of October], he set out escorted by 2,000 horse. Rustam Khán's arrangements on the line of march, on this occasion, were, that every darah was occupied by a strong force, and that force held such position until another arrived to relieve it, when it would push on to another favourable point, the rear-guard being the strongest. After Chotíálí was reached all danger of attack on the baggage and followers was over, and scarcity, from which all had hitherto suffered, ceased, and the army pursued its way without farther molestation. Dárá-Shukoh reached Multán, by the Sanghar Pass, on the 9th of the month of Zí-Hijjah (19th of October, 1653, A.D.), and the army soon after reached it likewise."‡

From the preceding account it will be seen that the route taken by Dárá-Shukoh and his immense army is not only the nearest to Kandahár, now that Multán is in our possession, but that it is also the best route. It also turns the Bolán, and can be made, with a little labour, quite practicable for guns. The Bolán pass and Haikalzí would both be avoided; three columns, if necessary, could move simultaneously by as many different routes towards Kandahár or Kwatah from the Lower Derah-ját, one of

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account of the expedition remained behind with Rustam Khán at this time, and details of Dárá-Shukoh's own proceedings for three or four marches have not been given.

* The cold is very great in that part in the month referred to.

† This, of course, refers to the camp-followers and non-combatants, and likewise stragglers from their corps, for the retreat appears, under all the circumstances, to have been effected in pretty good order.

‡ The following is a fair specimen of the loose and inaccurate manner in which Indian history has hitherto been written, through following the statements of a single author without comparing all contemporary writers available. "Elphinstone, India," page 517 (third edition), says, "Dárá" commenced his march from "Láhór," and leads us to believe that he went to Kandahár by way of "Cábul." He then has: "Dárá opened his "trenches, as Aurangzíb had done before him, on the day and hour fixed by the astrologers, and ordered by "the emperor before the army set out on its march. He began the siege on a scale proportioned to his "armament [which he does not mention]. He mounted a battery of 10 guns on a high and solid mound of "earth, raised for the purpose of enabling him to command the town, and he pushed his operations with his "characteristic impetuosity, increased, in this instance, by rivalry with his brother. He assembled his chiefs, "and besought them to support his honour, declaring his intention never to quit the place till it was taken; "he urged on the mines, directed the approaches, and the besieged having brought their guns to bear on his "own tent, he maintained his position until their fire could be silenced by that of his artillery. But, after "the failure of several [!] attempts to storm, and the disappointment of near prospects of success, his mind "appears to have given way to the dread of defeat and humiliation; he entreated his officers not to reduce "him to a level with the twice-beaten Aurangzíb, and he had recourse to magicians and other impostors, "who promised to put him in possession of the place by supernatural means. Such expedients portended an "unfavourable issue; and accordingly, after a last desperate assault, which commenced before daybreak, and "in which the troops had at one time gained the summit of the rampart, he was compelled to renounce all "hope, and to raise the siege, after having lost the flower of his army in the prosecution of it. *He was "harassed on his retreat both by the Persians* [!] *and Afgháns, and it was not without additional losses that "he made his way to Cábul, whence he pursued his march to Láhor.*" Colonel Malleson, C.S.I., in his "History of Afghanistan," which teems with errors, follows Elphinstone. History such as this is pernicious, because it is not authentic.

The name of the prince was Muhammad, and his title Dárá-Shukoh, that is to say, "Darius-like in Grandeur "and Dignity," consequently to style him "Dárá," as above, is totally incorrect, because it gives him the name of Darius, which was not his name.

which, the Sanghar route, the best of the three, Dárá-Shukoh followed, but it is to be regretted that all the names of the halting places are not given in such detail as we could desire. After crossing the Koh-i-Siyah these three columns could, if necessary, unite, and proceed into Pushang by Chotíálí and Tal, or take the more northern route by Borah, and concentrate in the Pushang valley, from which there are practicable routes to Kal'át-i-Ghalzí, and to Ghaznín, without touching Kandahár. At the same time, the columns would be marching through fruitful and well cultivated districts on quitting the Koh-i-Siyah, where supplies are obtainable, and good water and forage generally plentiful, instead of dragging their weary way through the stony beds of rivers day after day, and through a howling wilderness, heights crowned along the whole line, and burdened with that most fearful of all drags, in such a tract of country, enormous commissariat supplies, since, by these routes, a moderate supply, as a precautionary measure, would suffice.

With these routes, too, should be taken into consideration others to the north, by the Ghwalírí and Paiwar passes to Ghaznín, which latter route also leads to Kábul, whereby the Khaibar can also be avoided altogether. I need not mention here other routes by which it can be turned: I shall have to refer to them farther on.*

According to the Shaikh Abú-l-Fazl, in his "A'ín-i-Akbarí," Kábul and Kandahár were always looked upon as the gates of Hind in his time, and, without doubt, they are so still.

As regards the Afghán people, through whose country our troops would have to pass by the routes indicated, I do not think that they would be found in any way so troublesome as those we should come into contact with in the Bolán, and in the Khaibar in particular. The Kihtráns I have previously referred to; the Kákars are in general a quiet and peaceable people, and the Taríns have never shown themselves hostile towards us, at least there is no proof of their hostility. I believe, from all I have heard from Afgháns themselves, that the forays upon our camels while grazing, and the plunder of baggage and stores during the passage of our troops through the Bolán pass in the Afghán campaign of 1838–39, and attributed to the "Kowker Beloochees" and "Tereens," were not committed by them, but by others close by. It is usual, in such cases, to saddle the most remote tribe with these outrages, in order to stifle inquiry, and that the real culprits may screen themselves. It was just the same at Pes'háwar in 1849. All outrages of this kind were attributed to the Afrídís, but I believe they were Pes'háwar city Afrídís, and Afrídís of our own camp who perpetrated them.

As the tribes we should come in contact with, in the event of the Chotíálí or Borah route being taken at any time, are powerful, one particularly so, and independent of the Bárakzí ruler, with the exception of the sept of Tor Taríns, who are nominally dependent, I believe that, with judicious treatment, more particularly in case of a forward movement against the "Káfir Muskov," we should not only find them, as well as most of the other Afghán tribes, friendly, but ready to take service under us in any number; and certainly such would be their feeling towards us if we were in alliance with their Khalífah, and the "Guardian of their Holy Places," the Sultán.

I venture here to put forward an idea which has often occurred to my mind lately, that a British and Afghán contingent located at Balkh—a joint occupation—in alliance with the Afghán ruler, to be augmented, in the event of war, to say 30,000 men,† would utterly paralyze the Russians and their perfidious designs in Central Asia, and produce a far greater effect than the occupation of Hirát. The distance between Pes'háwar and Balkh is one fourth less than from Kwatah to Hirát. A war with Russia would be the signal for a general rising on the part of all the Muhammadans of Central Asia against the common enemy of Islám, the perpetual disturber of the peace of nations, and luster after other territories. The Russians have already begun their intrigues, *à la* Bulgaria, and, if they are permitted to continue them with impunity, we may expect to hear any day that they have seized upon Marw, and find all the small independent States on the Upper Oxus appropriated by them. Their object is, of course, to be able to paralyze our action when they are prepared to make their next attempt to seize Constantinople and the Straits, but Balkh occupied, the ferry opposite Tirmiz securred, and the Turkmán tribes taken under our protection, would be an effective antidote for all their crooked designs.

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* It is necessary to mention that these "Notes" were written in August, and submitted in September, 1878.
† To include 20,000 British troops and 10,000 Afgháns.

Before closing this account of the Lower Derah-ját and the routes leading to Kandahár, it may not be out of place to mention here the names of the most important places in Sind and Balúchistán occurring in the map, as such names have hitherto, with hundreds of others, been incorrectly spelt and written. I have given the names in the original, as well as their translation:—

Thathah and Thatah, not "Tattah."
Láhrí Bandar, or Bandar-i-Láhrí.
Sakhhar, not "Sukker," or "Sukkur."
Hálah, not "Hala," or "Hallar."
Bakhhar and Bhakkar, not "Bukkur."
Káhan, not "Kahún," or "Kahán."
Úchchah and Uchchah, not "Uch," "Ujah," or "Ootch."
Shál, not "Shawl."
Mastang, not "Moostung," or "Mustang."
Kwatah, not "Quetta."
Kal'át and Kal'at, not "Khelat," or "Kelát."
Kusdár, not "Khozdar."
Dádhar, not "Dadur."
Kachchh and Kachchhí, not "Cutch," or "Cuchee."
Zirhí, not "Zehree."
Gand-ábah, or Gand-áwah, not "Gundava."
Sihwán, not "Sehwun."
Síwastán, the district of which Sihwán is the chief town.
Síwístán, or Síbístán, the southern district of Afghánistán, of which Síbí, or Síwí, is the chief place.
The Koh-i-Lakkí, or mountain range of Lakkí, or Lahkhí, not "Lukkee," or "Luckee."
Khán Wáh canal, south of Thathah, not "Kamva," or "Kanwah."
Talhatí.
Lhurí, not "Rhorí," or "Roree."*
Ubárah, not "Obarah," or "Aobara."
Lake Manch-hur,† not "Munchur."
Kin, and Kin-Kot.
Haidarábád, not "Hyderabad."
Lárkhánah, not "Larkana," or "Larkhana."
Noh-Shahrah, not "Nowsaharra."
Nowá-Derah, not "Nowa Dherra."
Karáchí, not "Currachee," or "Kurrachee."
Magar-Pír, not "Muggea Peer," etc., etc.

There are also certain words prefixed and affixed to the names of places in former maps, which are not only incorrectly written, as are thousands of others, but so written that persons unacquainted with three or four languages to which they belong, would naturally conclude that such words were part of the names of such places. For example:—"Chotee Bala," is correctly Chhotí-i-Bálá, or Higher Chhotí; and "Chotee Paen," is Chhotí-i-Pá'ín, or Lower Chhotí. These terms bálá and pá'ín are Persian words, in use in the Panjáb and Afghánistán, particularly in the western parts, but, in the north-eastern parts of the latter country, Pus'hto or Puk'hto words are used instead, namely, Bar, Upper; Lar and Kúz, Lower, as in "Bur Togue," which is an error for Bar or Upper Togh; "Kooz Pulosi," a mistake for Kúz or Lower Palosí; and "Bur Pulosi," an error for Bar or Upper Palosí.

"Durgah Murdan Shah," is an error for Dargah-i- (the shrine or tomb of) Mardán Sháh (*i.e.*, a Sayyid); "Khangah Ullhadad Khan," is an error for Khánkah-i- (the monastery or religious structure for Darweshis) of Allahdád Khán; "Ranza Khaja Noor Muhumud," is a blunder for Rauzah (the Mausoleum) -i-Khwájah (of the Khwájh) Núr Muhammad. Kabr also signifies a grave, but in many instances we find the words translated into tomb and grave. Again, the word "Goombut," is an error for Gumbaz or Gumbad, which signifies a dome or vault over a grave. Takht, not "Tukht," means a seat, a stage, any place raised above the ground.

Faj, 'Ukbah, Kotal, and Darah have been already described.

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* At times the letter *r* is used or *l* by some native people. It would then be Rhurí, but Lhurí is correct.
† Also written with long *ú*, Manchhúr.

The word "Cha," in "Cha Sikundur," is a mistake for Cháh-i- (the well of, or dug by) Sikandar, a person so called; "Bughwanee Kulan," is correctly Baghwání Kalán, or Great Baghwání, as distinct from Baghwání Kúchak, or Little Baghwání. "Pooranee Lukhee" again is an error for Puráná or Old or Ancient Lakhí. The name of many places named Fath-púr is invariably written incorrectly "Futtehpoor" and "Fattahpúr."

As another specimen of the careless and incorrect mode of writing names of persons and places I find "Muhumud" and "Muhummud," and even "Mahomed," side by side. Close by the town styled "Naie Bela," in the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán, I find "Naewela Temple." The writer of that name could not realize the fact, apparently, that it was the temple of Naye (or New) Belah.

Such names as "Kullundur Oorf Dowlatpoor," constantly occur. These require to be remedied, or a key given in explanation, for who, unacquainted with the native languages, would conceive that it stood for the name of a place, Kalandar, *urf*, known as, commonly called, or *alias* Daulatpúr.

The words Rúd, river, and Ab, stream or water, and which also means river, might also be translated.

SECTION SECOND.

THE ROUTE FROM LÁHOR TO KÁBUL BY THE KHAIBAR PASS.

When I concluded the First Section of these Notes I intended to have begun this with the continuation of my account of the different passes in the range of Mihtar Sulímán, commencing from the Kowrah Pass, and going northwards to Pes'háwar; but, for the sake of convenience and utility at this crisis, I shall, instead, proceed to give an account of the various routes between Afghánistán and India, commencing with that from Láhor to Kábul by Pes'háwar and the Khaibar Pass, after which Kábul will be the starting point for various routes.

For the reason mentioned above, I shall confine myself here entirely to those routes through the tracts lying south of the river of Kábul, with the exception of such as are connected with the Khaibar route, leaving the account of the routes into the countries north of the river of Kábul, which are exceedingly important, for the Third Section of these Notes. By this arrangement I shall be able to end the last portion with an account of the passes in the Sulímán range, from north to south, and thus complete the account of them down as far as the Kowrah Pass above mentioned.

I would have given the details of the route from Láhor to Kábul entire, but, as they are not absolutely necessary here, I propose to commence from the point at which, according to fact, not theory, Afghánistán commences. I have details of routes through all parts of the Panjáb and the country west of Dilhí, which are most interesting, as showing the state of that part of our Empire just ninety years since, and which details it may be hereafter desirable to translate.

1. *From Láhor to Kábul*, 260 *kuroh westward.*

Proceeding by way of Wazír-ábád, Jhilam, Ruhtás, Mánikyálah, Ráwal Pindí, and Hasan-i-Abdál, Burhán is reached. "From this place two roads diverge. The left hand one is the Sháh Ráh, or King's Highway, but, at present (when the writer made his survey) it is closed through the contumacy of the Khatar tribe.* By this route the Fort of Atak is distant 15 kuroh. The right-hand road, which the writer followed, is as follows."

Errors enough are made in the mode of spelling proper names in our own territory, but those west of the Indus are so vitiated, and after so many different ways, that I will give the vernacular mode of writing them, as well as the transliterated names.†

"From Harú two kuroh west is the Burhán, a considerable stream, which comes from the mountain range on the right hand (north), in the eastern part of the Gakhar country, and, flowing towards the left (south), falls into the Sind or Indus near the town of Níl-áb. It may be forded in the cold season, at which time it is knee-deep. From the before-mentioned river, three kuroh north-west, is Khogíání,‡ a karyah (a village with the lands appertaining to it)§ named after an Afghán tribe, a portion of which, consisting of some 2,000 families, dwell in this part, which is also called Harú.‖ For the distance of a kuroh on either side of this river the country is much broken, and full of ascents and descents, and from here Afghánistán commences.¶

"From Khogíání one kuroh north-west, inclining north, is Nitopá,** also inhabited by the same tribe; and from thence a kuroh and half north, inclining north-west, is Hazrao, a cluster of three or four large villages belonging to the Afghán sept of Ghurghusht;†† and this is where the dároghah, or superintendent, of the Chachh Hazárah district is located.‡‡

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* The Khatar, the name of a Musalmán tribe dwelling in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, in the hill tracts east of the Indus. In ancient times the town of Níl-áb was the seat of Government of the tribe, and also Bhatút. Níl-áb still remains in their possession, but Bhatút is in ruins.

† The vernacular names have been omitted in printing.

‡ Khagwania of the maps.

§ Instead of using karyah hereafter I shall merely use village, as its meaning will be understood.

‖ Incorrectly written Hurroh in the maps.

¶ This is not quite correct according to Afghán, as well as other Musalmán authors; but here we find Afgháns dwelling, who have been forced forward, so to say, by other tribes on their west, across the Indus.

** "Nikoo" of the maps probably.

†† A very general term, for the Ghurghusht sept of Afgháns contains ninety-five tribes.

‡‡ Under the Durrání Government.

"The river Abáe Sind flows at a distance of about a kuroh to the north north-west of Hazrao, and there is a ford over it, which is called the patan or ford of Hazrao.*

"The inhabitants of Hazrao, for the most part, speak the Pus'hto or Afghán language, but some also speak the Panjábí dialect; the former, however, is their mother tongue.

"Half a kuroh south-west of Hazrao is the small village of Pír Dád, on the left-hand side of the road; and, on the right hand, mountains appear about two kuroh distant. Proceeding from thence, another half kuroh west, there are two villages on either side; that on the right hand is Bhatí, and that on the left hand Kálú. Near the road, on the right hand side, is the small village of Amín.† Having proceeded another kuroh and a half west, you reach two other villages, that on the right hand is called Malhú, and that on the left, which is a large one, Shams-ábád;‡ and, continuing onwards for another kuroh and a half west, you reach Kamál-púr and Waisah, two villages, not far off, on the right hand side of the road.

"Two kuroh west of these villages is the small village of Parmúlí,§ named after the clan claiming to be Afgháns; and on the left hand side are hills distant about two kuroh. Proceeding west for another two kuroh you reach Khairú-Khel,‖ a large village named after a section of an Afghán clan, situated close to the bank of the river Abáe Sind. Another kuroh farther westward is the well known patan or ford of Bázár, so called after the Afghán village of that name, on the west bank of the river, situated on a high khák-rez, or artificial mound, and distant from Khairú-Khel two kuroh west.¶ It can be plainly seen from a distance of three or four kuroh. Through the dissensions among the Afgháns here, the ford has now become for the most part obliterated.

"From this ford, a kuroh and a half south-west, inclining south, is the fort of Atak.** It is a strong place built by command of Akbar Bádsháh on the Abáe Sind; and the walls have been carried from the water's edge to the summit of the hills on the east. Its walls are built of stone and lime (mortar), in which are two gates and two sally-ports. The gateway on the west side is called the gate of Kábul, and from this gate to the river side is 100 paces; and in this space is a graveyard. The east gate is called the gate of Láhor, and these two gates are the only means of entrance and exit for travellers and the inhabitants. The western sally-port opens on the river, and is kept constantly shut, and the eastern one, which opens out on the top of the hill, is also kept secured."

It is stated that the ancient city, the remains of the buildings of which may be seen about half a kuroh east of the present Atak, was called Banáras. It is also stated that Rájah Bírbal, the Brahman, who perished in the great defeat which Akbar's troops sustained in Suwát from the Yúsufzí Afgháns, under whose superintendence the fort was built, gave it the name of Banáras. It is certainly not mentioned by the name of Atak in any history prior to the time of its construction by Akbar Bádsháh, and that the passage of the Abáe Sind was forbidden to Hindús by their religion is clearly disproved by their constant passage of it, both in the case of Akbar's troops and those of his successors, and by private individuals of that creed.††

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* This is an interesting fact, showing that the Indus, in this direction, has encroached towards the west. Hazrao is now just five miles from the bank of the river, which, at this point, is broader than in any other part of its course, its bed being three miles wide, and full of numerous islands. This broad part extends from Atak upwards to Tor-belah, but its broadest part is between Hazrao and Uhandh on the opposite bank. It is turned into "Hoond" in our maps. Uhandh is the site of an ancient city of great extent.

† Written "Hameed" in the maps. I have noticed in most instances, that where the correct name begins with *a* it is turned into *h* in the maps or an extra *h* prefixed, and, where the word really begins with *h*, *a* is substituted in the maps.

‡ This has been incorrectly turned into "Shamshabad." The compiler of the map of course did not know that Shams is the Persian name for the sun.

§ Turned into "Promlia" in the maps. Farmúlí and Parmúlí, *f* and *p* being interchangeable, is the well known name of a tribe and their country, subsequently noticed.

‖ "Kara-Khel" in the maps.

¶ Bázár is three miles distant from Khairú-Khel as the crow flies. Here again we have more interesting facts. Khairú-Khel is close to the bank of the Indus, but the ford no longer appears to exist.

** This name too has been vitiated into "Attok" and "Attock," even by those who say that it is derived from Sanskrit Atak, signifying, "bar," "obstacle," "obstruction," &c., and whence comes the well known Hindí verb "ataknā," but we do not pronounce that "attockna" nor "attokna." When this same name occurs lower down the Panjáb it is turned into "Atuk."

Atak, when built, was considered a strong place, which it really was before artillery could be brought against it. Tímúr-i-Lang did not cross here, as some would make us believe, but Nádir Sháh, Afshár, did.

†† Those who put forward the theory that Hindús were prohibited by their religion from crossing to the west of the Indus, probably did not know that Kábul was the capital of a Hindú kingdom when the Arabs first invaded it; and that the Sultáns of Ghaznín had Hindú troops in their service.

"To the east of the site of the old city is the sepulchre of that holy man, Shaikh Yahyá, the Madaní. During the reign of Aurangzeb Bádsháh an edifice was erected over it, and an extensive *sarác*, or rest house for travellers, near it.*

"Near the fort of Atak are two small streams. That on the south side, which is near the Kábulí gate, is spanned by a bridge of burnt brick, and travellers going to Níl-áb pass over it. It is quite dry in the hot season. The other, which never fails, flows from the hills on the north side of the fort, and falls into the Abáe Sind. Adjoining the Láhorí gateway there is another brick bridge.

"The river at Atak is the width of sixteen boats (*i.e.*, it would require that number, according to the writer, to bridge it), and the mouth of the river of Kábul lies about half a kuroh to the north, where it joins the Sind, and loses its name. The village of Bázár, previously mentioned, can be seen from Atak, distant about three kuroh to the north.†

"On the opposite bank of the river, facing the fort of Atak, is another stone built fortification, erected by Nádir Sháh, Afshár, and they call it Khair-ábád. It lies on the left-hand side of the King's Highway.

"Having crossed the river by boat, with the little island of Kamálíah on the right hand, and the larger island of Jalálíah and the fort of Khair-ábád on the left, and proceeding a short distance northwards, you come to a little river, which flows from the left hand to the right, and joins the Abáe Sind. Having crossed it, on the north side of it is Khair-ábád. It was a large city in ancient times, but now, with the exception of a few Hindú grocers' shops, all is desolate and deserted. It lies within the jurisdiction of Yúsuf Khán, Khatak."

The high mountain facing Atak, and a little lower down than Khair-ábád, on the same side, rising up directly from the river, which washes its base, is Mount Hodaey, which gives its name to the whole range, stretching as far as Tí-ráh. There are many legends respecting Rájah Hodaey's castle, on the summit of the mount opposite Atak. Khushhál Khán, chief of the Khataks, in one of his poems, written while in exile in India, refers to the range in the following words,—

'Its dark mountain range of Hodaey runneth directly into the Tí-ráh country,
And the Níl-áb and Landey have, wonderfully, laid their heads at its feet.
The great high road of Hindústán and Khurásán is made along their banks;
And by Atak lieth its ford, which both kings and beggars hold in dread,' &c., &c.

His eldest son, Ashraf Khán, who was also exiled and imprisoned by Aurangzeb in the fortress of Bíjá-púr in the Dakhan, where he died in 1693, aged 60 years, also mentions Mount Hodaey in one of his poems written in his prison. It is somewhat out of place to assert after this that the Afgháns have no patriotism—no love of country,—

'Of the pangs of separation I became deserving that day,
When, weeping and sobbing, from my love I was severed.
At that time, for my life, in tears of blood I mourned,
When, turning my back upon Atak, I weeping began.
How shall I now pine after the rocks and shrubs of my country?
For, having made my parting salutation, I bade them farewell.
Embedded in my heart, from Roh an arrow I brought away—
I failed to bid adieu to my bower, or its sacrifice to become.
With much toil, in the world I had a garden laid out;
And, as yet, I had not smelt a flower, when from it I was torn
The blue heavens laughed from delight until they grew red,
When, facing Hodaey's mountain, I turned from it away,' &c., &c.

(*See* my "Poetry of the Afgháns," pages 247 and 263.)

"Setting out from Khair-ábád, and proceeding one kuroh north-west, inclining north, you reach the dry bed of a river. In the rainy season it contains water, which flows from north towards the south, and falls into the Abáe Sind, south of Khair-ábád. Having entered it, and proceeding in it for half a kuroh, and then issuing from it and continuing your route for another kuroh and a half farther, you reach Nara'í, a large village on the bank of the river of Kábul, which river, one kuroh and a half farther to the east, falls into the Abáe Sind.

"The river of Kábul, in the Afghán dialect, is called the Landey Sín (*i.e.*, Little Sín, or River), in distinction from Abáe or Abá Sín (the Father River), and the Persian

* These are, or rather the remains of them were, standing in 1849; and I took up my quarters in the latter for a day or two, in June of that year, when Adjutant to a detachment in charge of 45 lakhs of treasure for the troops at Pes'háwar, which had to be got across the Indus in boats, together with 150 camels, 11 tumbrils, and 13 native carts, which conveyed it from the lower provinces. The transfer across the river was effected without the slightest accident.

† It is just six miles and a quarter.

speaking people call the former the Daryá or river of Kábul, river of Jalál-ábád, and river of Lamghán; but, as the water of the Abáe Sind, from the quantity of earth with which it is impregnated, appears of a whitish colour, and the water of the Landey Sín, from its transparency, of a blue colour, the latter is also called the Níl-áb or Blue Water, or River. The village of Bázár, on the opposite side of the river, is visible from Nara'í, and is rather less than three kuroh distant on the right hand (west).

"From Nara'í, two kuroh farther, in the same direction as before (north-west, inclining north), is Shaidú, another large village on the banks of the river of Kábul; and on the left hand, at some distance, mountains appear. Between Nara'í and Khair-ábád there are also lesser mountains (hills), which lie on the right-hand side of the road.

"Three kuroh west from Shaidú, is Akorah, a considerable town, on the bank of the same river, the seat of authority of Yúsuf Khán, the Khatak chief. The fort of Akorah, which is not devoid of strength, lies on the opposite bank of the river, north of the town. North of the fort again is a long hill running east and west, rising abruptly from the plain, and under it, on the Akorah side, is the village of Misrí or Misrí Bánda'h. From Akorah two roads diverge, and, following that on the right hand, you cross the river at this point to go to the Do-ábah, Hasht Nagar, Shab Kadr, Buner, and Suwát. The left-hand route is as follows. Six kuroh west of Akorah is the Kalaey of Sháh-báz Khán, a small village on the river's bank. From Atak to this place the rule of the Khataks extends. They are subject and pay obedience to Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, Bádsháh of Kábul. *Kalaey*, in the Afghán language, signifies a village with its lands; and, in the Turkí dialect, *kalah*, which must not be mistaken for it, means a village and its lands, which, after having been ruined and deserted, is again peopled and cultivated.

"West of the Kalaey of Sháh-báz Khán, one kuroh and a half is Noh-s'hahra'h, two large villages lying on either bank of the river of Kábul. That on the north bank they call Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Hasht Nagar, and its inhabitants are Muhammadzí Afgháns. Two hills, rising abruptly from the plain, lie about half a kuroh to the north-east. The village on the south bank is styled Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h, and is inhabited by Tájzíks.* Two kuroh south of this place is the small village of Budrúsh, lying in the hills, and in that village is the tomb of Bábá Rahm Kár, which holy man they also style the Shaikh of Alingár. He was a pious man, and the Afgháns, who greatly venerate him, are his disciples.

"From Noh-s'hahra'h, two kuroh and a half west, inclining south-west, is Pír-páe, a large village belonging to the Dá'údzí Afgháns. The river of Kábul lies half a kuroh distant on the right hand. From the last-named village, one kuroh and a half farther on in the same direction, is Azí Khel,† which lies at some distance from the road on the left hand. From thence, proceeding another kuroh and a half, still keeping in the same direction, you reach Dágí, which also lies on the left-hand side of the road. A quarter kuroh west from thence is the bánda'h or village of Baní—Baní Bánda'h‡—which also lies on the left-hand side of the road. Another kuroh farther west is Pabbíán,§ a considerable village. From this place two roads diverge. That on the right hand leads to Hasht Nagar and the Do-ábah by the Do-bandí ferry, while the left-hand road—the King's Highway—goes on to Pes'háwar.

"From Pabbíán, one kuroh in the same direction as before, is Sháh-ábád, an extensive *rabát*‖ of burnt brick, but now in ruins. Another kuroh farther on is the village of Tiráhíán,¶ and from thence another kuroh farther on is Turná, and another two kuroh farther, still, keeping west, is Chamkaní.** This is a good sized town, called after the small Afghán tribe of that name, which is located in the hills south-west of

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* Jahán-gír Bádsháh crossed the river on a raft, when he went to Kábul in 1016 H. (A.D. 1607–8), and disembarked above the confluence of the river of Kábul with the Indus. He says in his Autobiography: "Getting on a raft with some of the most confidential of my courtiers, we passed the Níl-áb and disembarked on "the banks of the Kámah, which is the river that flows from the other side (north) of Jalál-ábád. A raft is a "structure formed of (a platform of) bámbús, and grass or straw, and beneath it inflated skins are placed. "This machine they here call '*shál*;' and, in rivers where there are many rocks or boulders, the raft is much "better, and much safer than a boat. Making one stage (*i.e.*, bringing up the raft) by the way, we disembarked "at the halting place of Bárah, opposite Bárah Saráe. On the other side of the Kámah is a fort built by Zain "Khán, Kokah, and named Noh-s'hahra'h."

† Mis-spelt "Aza Khel" in the Indian Atlas map.

‡ Turned into "Bunda Bala" in the maps.

§ "Pubbi" of the maps.

‖ One of those large caravansaries (kárwán-saráe) or inns for travellers, erected by the rulers of Dilhí in former years, of which several remain (or did a few years ago) more or less dilapidated, between Láhor, Pes'háwar, and Kábul.

¶ Incorrectly written "Tazadeen" in the maps.

** "Chumkunni" of the maps.

the Paiwar Kotal, mentioned farther on. It is also called Chamkaní of Mullá Muhammad-i-'Azíz, a God-fearing and holy man, whose tomb—a building of some size—is near the town, which looks a very pleasant and pretty place with the trees around it, as the traveller passes along. Up to this day the descendants of this reputed saint occupy his position, and devote themselves to the welfare of the inhabitants, and the people of the country round are their disciples. The revenue of this town, together with that of several villages, is assigned (was when the author wrote) for the support of the shrine.

"From Chamkaní three kuroh south-west is Pes'háwar.

"This is a large city of Afghánistán under the rule of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, and here all the precious and useful commodities of various countries are disposed of, and hither come the merchants of Irán, Túrán, and Hind, to buy and sell.

"To the west, adjoining the city, is a fortress of burnt brick, called the Bálá Hisár; and, by a cut from the Nahr-i-Sháhí or Sháh's Canal, water enough to turn three or four water-mills, if necessary, has been carried to the gardens and cultivated lands to the south and east of the city.

"On the way to the city this canal crossed the road. It has been cut from the river of Kábul, near Mícharna'í, at a point where the river issues from the western mountains into the plain of Pes'háwar. Previous to the time I write, this canal used to rejoin the aforesaid river near the village of Dilazák, but Tímúr Sháh had a large cut excavated, and brought the water farther on, into the lands near to the town of Chamkaní, and gave it the name of Nahr-i-Sháhí. A special dároghah, or superintendent, is appointed to the charge of this canal, which yields a considerable sum yearly to the State funds. The water of the Bárah river is also under the control of this same official.

"Wherever a fall of water can be obtained, the people here cut canals, and convey the water to the lands, and the revenue derived from them goes to the State.

"The Khatak and Afrídí hills lie about five or six kuroh from the city, on the left-hand side (the south), but those on the right hand are much farther off."

When the great division of the Afghán people known as the Khas'hí or Khak'hí sept, and comprising the great tribes of Yúsufzí and Mandar, Tarkalární, and Gag-yání, and their Muhammadzí and Jzadún allies, were driven out of the tracts in the neighbourhood of Kábul, after the slaughter of their chiefs and notables by command of Mírzá Ulugh Beg, the Kábulí, Bábar's uncle, and set out eastward in search of a new home and place of sojourn, the plain of Pes'háwar, the Do-ábah, Kálah Parní,—the district east of the Kal-Pární river, which joins the river of Kábul a few miles east of Noh-s'hahra'h,—half of Bájawr, Tí-ráh, and great part of Nangrahár, were in possession of the great tribe of Dilazák Afgháns;* and they, at the prayer of the then helpless and homeless Khak'hís, assigned them the Do-ábah district to dwell in, much to the delight of the Khak'hís. The Dilazáks had, in bygone times, been forced, by the forward pressure of other tribes, to remove into the parts just mentioned from Nangrahár, but some say from the present Wazírí country, which is not correct.

When the Khas'hís issued from the Khaibar defile, Ash-naghar, now known as Hasht-

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* Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., according to Captain Plowden, considers these Karlární Afgháns to be "Rajputs," and thinks that "their name of Dilazáks points to their original religion as Buddhists, Saki being "the name by which the disciples of Sakiamuni were formerly known in Yúsufzaí." Who is the authority for this opinion?

Afghán writers, as well as Bábar Bádsháh, Humáyún, Jahán-gír Bádsháh, and Abú-l-Fazl, say they are Afgháns.

The late Major H. James, on the other hand, considered the Dilazáks "the same race as that which peopled "the Panjáb, and became afterwards known as Sikhs. They are related to have been a strong and powerful "race, and worshippers of idols."—"Church Missionary Intelligencer," August 1854.

Was the Punjáb, then, not peopled before the Dilazáks moved to the east side of the Indus? If so, it must have been very recently peopled, because the Dilazáks only began to take up their quarters on the east side in the time of Bábar Bádsháh, who often mentions the "Dilazák Afgháns," and previous to his conquest of the Dihlí kingdom, at which period, and long prior, they were good Musalmáns. But I do not think any authority can be produced to show that they are either called Rájpúts, Scythians, or Sikhs.

I sent a person some few years since into Chachh Hazárah, where some still dwell, to make inquiries respecting them, a genealogical tree of their descent being in my possession. The following is an extract from his report to me:—

"I held a conversation with some Dilazáks at a place east of Hazrao. I said: "It nas been asserted that the "'Dilazáks are of 'Arab descent, and not Afgháns.' They replied: 'None but the ignorant could have made "'such a statement. We are Afgháns, and are of the Kir-rai sept (*i.e.*, Karlárnís). Akbar Bádsháh caused "'the greater part of the tribe to be removed into Hindústán from this district, and settled them at and around "'Shujá'-púr.' I inquired: 'Are they still to be found there?' They replied: 'Yes, some are still to be "'found there, but the tribe has become much dispersed.'"

Khushhál Khán Khán, Khatak, himself an Afghán, calls them Afgháns, as do many other writers.

Nagar, was in the possession of the Dihgán tribe of Shalmánís, who came originally from Shalmán (*i.e.*, Shalúzán) and Karmán,* which are dependencies of Tí-ráh, and they were subjects of Sultán Pakhal, sovereign of Suwát and its dependencies, of the dynasty of the Jahán-gírián Sultáns, of whom I shall give an account in my proposed history of Afghánistán and the Afgháns, whose capital was Manglawar, in Upper Suwát, a large and populous city, the ruins of which, in the shape of most substantial and well-built structures, may still be seen near the present village of that name.†

The Dilazáks were a numerous, wealthy, powerful, warlike, and independent tribe of Afgháns, yet in a few years subsequent to the arrival of the Khak'hís, and soon after the advent in those parts of the Ghwaríah Khel, the rivals of the former, with whom they were at feud, and comprising the five tribes of Khalíl, Mahmand, Dá'údzí, Chamkaní, and Zeráni (but the two latter did not settle in the Pes'háwar plain),‡ after sustaining several defeats, were under the necessity of retiring to the east bank of the Indus, and settled in Hazárah and the tracts north of Atak, where numbers of them are still located. This event happened in the time of Bábar Bádsháh, when the Khas'hís defeated the Dilazáks in the neighbourhood of Kátlang, and compelled them to retire into the two Hazárahs, so called, across the Indus, which tract was also included among their territories. Subsequently, in Humáyún Bádsháh's reign, when his brother, Mírzá Kámrán, held the fief of the countries west of the Indus, the Ghwaríah Khel overthrew them at Sultán-púra'í, and obtained possession of the whole country south of the river of Kábul, from Jam-rúd and Pes'háwar to the Indus. During the next two or three reigns of the Mughal sovereigns of Dilhí, the Dilazáks were nearly all compulsorily removed farther into India, on account of their raids on their enemies and on the country round, and their strength became completely broken, and the tribe dispersed. Numbers of them, in small communities, are still to be found scattered over parts of the Indian peninsula.

Bábar Bádsháh repeatedly mentions Pes'háwar by the name of Bagrám. In his day the rhinoceros was common in the *jangals* of the district. On one occasion he found and killed one in a small wood near the township. Jahán-gír Bádsháh also says that he hunted the rhinoceros in the Bagrám district, in company with his father, Akbar.

The A'ín-i-Akbarí states that the old name of Pes'háwar was Bagrám, and it was also called by that name, even at the time that the Shaikh Abú-l-Fazl wrote that work. The district, likewise, which was a dependency of the Sarkár or province of Kábul, was called the Bagrám Tomán. In more early times, however, it was called Burshábúr, and Purshábúr,§ or at least what is supposed to refer to the same place, and down to nearly recent times it was called Pas'háur and Pes'hour.

The Sayyid, Ghulám Muhammad, who was sent on two occasions by the Government of India, during the time of Governor Hastings, to Kábul, to the Court of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, and which journeys I shall again refer to, says Pes'háwar used, in times bygone, to be styled Shahr-i-Sabz (the Green City; this is not impossible, as a by-name, on account of the greenness and fertility of the parts around), and the province Bakhtar, or the East (with reference probably to other parts of what constituted Afghánistán, when he wrote), and that it is distant from Kábul one hundred and ten kos.‖

I now return to the account of the route.

"Three kuroh west of Pes'háwar is Tahkál, the name and site of an ancient city; and it is said that this city was the capital and chief place of the district before the founding of Pes'háwar.¶ At present, with the exception of a few families, the place is depopulated, and in ruins. A curious building, like that at Mánikyálah, called the Bádsháh's *Top* by the people of this part, lies some distance in front of the present village, on the right hand. It is somewhat dilapidated.

"The water of the Bárah river, which comes from the left hand (from the south-west), is diffused by means of numerous cuts throughout the cultivated lands of the

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* *See* pages 81 and 82.

† *See* my "Account of Suwát," page 21.

‡ Except a few families at Chamkaní, as mentioned in the preceding page.

§ *See* my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," pages 76 and 77.

‖ The author of the Nasab Námah says that, in his time, there were very few Afgháns dwelling in and close to the city, as in these days, and that a great number of the inhabitants of the city were of a race styled Kalál, who in Hindústán act as *chobdárs*, or mace-bearers, horse brokers, and jockeys. In the old Persian, *kalál*, with short *a*, signifies a seller of wine, and *kulál*, with short *u*, a potter. Besides these, he says, many other different races live there, and some intermarry; consequently, the inhabitants are of a very mixed race.

¶ I have not heard what success has attended the excavations which, it was lately stated, were to be carried on at Tahkál, but, from all accounts, this place would seem to be either the site of Bagrám, or of a place still more ancient.

district. It flows towards the right hand, and also irrigates the gardens and fields around and north of the city of Pes'háwar.*

"Proceeding west from Pes'háwar, there are numerous ascents and descents, and lofty mountains show themselves both to the right and to the left. The Spín Ghar range, which is covered with snow at all times, and upon whose slopes the Afrídí Afgháns dwell, shows itself on the left hand, above the other mountains, a long way off. This mountain range is also called the Koh-i-Tí-ráh, or Tí-ráh range, and it is of vast altitude.

"On the right hand, near by, is the mountain of Tahtarah, behind which the route so named, hereafter to be mentioned, lies. The Khaibar defile lies farther to the left hand.

"The village of Mícharna'í, near which place the river of Kábul issues from the mountains, lies twelve kuroh on the right hand, on the opposite side of that river. The village of Yalam Guzr, or the village of Yalam-ford, giving name to the ford, near which the Bárah river issues from the mountains into the plain, lies about five kuroh on the left hand.

"From Tahkál, four kuroh south-west, is Jam-rúd,† a large village, founded, according to tradition, by Jamshed Bádsháh, and a portion of the water of the Bárah river has been brought to the lands belonging to it.‡ From Jam-rúd the villages of Yalam Guzr and Mícharna'í lie about five kuroh on the right hand and left respectively.

"The country, from Noh-s'hahráh to this place (Jam-rúd) is called the Khálisáh of Pes'háwar.§

"From Jam-rúd two roads diverge, that on the left hand is called the Khaibar, and that on the right hand the Tahtarah route, which is difficult, and rather the longer of the two. Near Bísh Bulák or Bulágh‖ (Turkish words signifying Five Springs), it again joins the Sháh Ráh, or King's Highway, by the Khaibar. At the time that Nádir Sháh, Afshár, marched from Kábul on his advance to Dihlí, Násir Khán, the Súbah-dár of Kábul, who had collected a large army, took up his position near (in front of) Jam-rúd, in an entrenched camp, and supposed that he had effectually closed it. Nádir despatched 20,000 cavalry, guided by an Afrídí named Sarwar Khán, by this very route of Tahtarah, which force appeared in the rear of Násir Khán's army one morning just about dawn, attacked it unawares, and completely finished his affairs, while Nádir Sháh, himself, with the main body, advanced through the Khaibar pass, and encamped near Pes'háwar."

The author is mistaken as to the route followed by Nádir Sháh on this occasion, and is not correct in his version of that affair. There are two other accounts, but the Tárikh-i-Nádirí, which, however, at times eschews dates, says that Nádir Sháh having marched from Gandamak (as related farther on under the name of that place), after meeting with great opposition in the defiles and on the hills along the route, detached a force from thence, in advance, towards Jalál-ábád to occupy that place, while Nádir Sháh himself, with the bulk of his army, pitched his camp at Bihár-i-Siflah, or Bihár-i-Pá'ín, Lower Bihár, five farsakhs from Jalál-ábád.

Here he was rejoined by the troops which had been sent against Balkh, which had surrendered, and the Prince, Nasr-ullah, was now left in charge of the camp, the war materials, baggage, &c., while Nádir Sháh in person, early one afternoon (no date is given), at the head of a veteran force, set out by way of Sih-Jo-íah, over hills elevated like the heavens, and on the morning of the following day, two hours after dawn, having made a forced march of 30 farsakhs, fell upon Násir Khán and his army like a sudden calamity. Such is the version given by Nádir's Secretary, the Mírzá Muhammad Mahdí of Astar-ábád.

The more correct version is as follows:—Nádir Sháh marched from Bihár-i-Siflah, or Lower Bihár, to Jalál-ábád, and proceeded five farsakhs east of it, and encamped. A force, numbering 12,000 men (cavalry), was detailed to form the van column, and 6,000 to escort the camp baggage, war materials, and followers. The van moved on two stages towards Pes'háwar,—unfortunately the names of the stages are not given,—

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* These remarks are interesting as showing the state of the district nearly a century since, and for comparison with its present condition.

† The present fort at Jam-rúd was built by the Sikhs, and called Fath-púr, about half a mile nearer to Pes'háwar than the village of Jam, which, when the Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad went to Kábul by that route was peopled. Now the ruins of the village form only a confused looking mound of rubbish.

‡ A great change has taken place since the author wrote. The Jam-rúd, or the Jam river or stream, which rises in the Khaibar defile near La'l Beg, and receives two smaller streams south of 'Alí Masjid, flows past the village and fort of Jam-rúd, to which it gives the name, towards the Nahr-i-Sháhí, previously mentioned. The Jam is mentioned by Bábar Bádsháh and other writers.

§ Lands held directly from the Government are called khálisah lands.

‖ "Pesh Bolacke" and "Pesh Bolak," in the latest maps, and, consequently, totally meaningless.

but Nádir's forces met with the most determined resistance on the part of the Yúsufzís and other Afghán tribes, who held the Kazil-báshís at bay for over a month, when a Wurakzí Afghán, Sarwar by name, guided Nádir, at the head of 12,000 men, over the mountains to the south, by Sih-jo-íah and Bázár, through the valley of the Tí-ráh river, who suddenly appeared in the rear of Násir Khán's army, which was posted in front of Jam-rúd to prevent the Kazil-báshís from issuing from the pass.*

Another account is, that a Wurakzí Malik took Nádir Sháh by the Chúrah route, which is much the same, and a third is that the Wurakzí guided him over the Spín-Ghar range, and brought him into the same route that Amír Tímúr, the Gurgán, took when he invaded Hindústán, by Shalúzán and Karmán. If Nádir made his forced march from Bihár-i-Siflah, he would have got into Shalúzán and Karmán, but, even then, he would have had to pass down the valley of the Tí-ráh river to get to Jam-rúd, while Tímúr turned off to the south from those places towards Bannú, when he was on the way to Dilhí. The distance, too, over the Spín Ghar, by Shalúzán, and then through the Tí-ráh valley, would be much over 30 farsakhs or leagues, and could not have been done in the time mentioned in such a mountainous country.

From this it appears that the Yúsufzís and their confederates closed the Khaibar route against Nádir Sháh so effectually, that, in order to get the bulk of his army and equipage through, being unable to force his passage by a front attack, he had to endeavour, by a flank movement, to fall upon their rear. While the Yúsufzís held the defiles, Násir Khán's position was strong enough, but, after it had been forced, the Afgháns in the pass, probably fearing they might be attacked from two sides, retired, and thus was the cumbrous part of the Kazil-básh army enabled to get through. This is a lesson we may take counsel from.

Násir Khán was taken completely by surprise; his army was put to flight, himself and the greater number of his officers were made prisoners; and his camp, equipage, and military stores fell into the hands of the Kazil-báshís.

Before returning to the account of the route by the Khaibar Pass to Kábul, as given in the Sair-ul-Bilád, it may not be amiss to give a brief account of a few of the many military events in connexion with it and with Pes'háwar. I gave a somewhat detailed account of the Pes'háwar province and city, at the time of the annexation of the Panjáb, in 1849, which appeared in the "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society" for 1852, and need not enter into much geographical detail here.

History shows that the Khaibar route was seldom used by the earlier conquerors and invaders of India, those routes which I shall give an account of farther on being preferred. When the Macedonian Alexander invaded the Panjáb, the division "under "Hephæstion and Perdiccas, accompanied by Taxiles," which division is said to have been "conducted to the Indus through Peucaliotes," possibly referring to the Pes'háwar district, may have come, and very possibly did, by the Khaibar, but Alexander himself kept along the northern bank of the river of Kábul. Mahmúd, Sultán of Ghaznín, came through the Khaibar once, according to the Muhammadan writers, but on all other occasions he followed other routes. On the occasion in question he had an object in doing so—to encounter Rájah Jai-Pál, whose forces were concentrated in the Pes'háwar district.† Bábar and Humáyún passed through the Khaibar upon more than one occasion, and how Nádir came has been just related. Ahmad Sháh, Sadozí, Abdálí, came through it upon one or two occasions, as did his grandson, Sháh-i-Zamán, who invaded the Panjáb several times. These are the only occasions of invaders following the Khaibar route, and its difficulties were doubtless the cause. Nádir Sháh returned from Dihlí to Kábul by that route, but, subsequently, when proceeding into Sind from thence, he took the route by Bangas'h.

Humáyún Bádsháh, who, in 959 H. (A.D. 1552), had entered the Panjáb, with the intention of undertaking a campaign against the Afghán usurpers of his kingdom, having abandoned the attempt for a more favourable occasion, recrossed the Indus north of the Atak, and reached Pas'háur. Báyazíd, the Byát Mughal, who was in Humáyún's service as Bakáwal Bígí, and followed his master's fortunes through all

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* *See* the Eighth Route, page 94.

† Colonel Malleson, C. S. I., in his "History of Afghánistán from the earliest Times," just issued, has made a slip with respect to the Khaibar Pass and Pes'háwar Valley, as a writer can hardly fail to do who merely compiles from translations. Referring to the defeat of Jai-Pál by the Amír, Násir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, he states (page 55) that "Sabaktagín marched from Ghazní, towards Pesháwar," while "Jaipál marched" from Láhor "to the Pesháwar plain, and took up a position at Laghmán. Upon him here encamped "Sabaktagín issued from the Khaibar pass." Laghmán or Lamghán—the name is written both ways—is a district on the northern bank of the river of Kábul, and some miles west of Jalál-ábád.

their vicissitudes, composed a history of those events, which was dedicated to Akbar. His work contains some very interesting and valuable details respecting Humáyún's wanderings and expeditions and residence in the Kábul province, which I shall give extracts from as I proceed. Báyazíd also says that Pas'haur is called Bagrám; and that, "when Humáyún reached it, he directed that the fortress there should be repaired; "and all his force was employed in the work. It was completed in seven days; and the "corn of the Dilazák Afgháns—they were faithful subjects of the Bádsháh, and he was "well pleased with them—was reaped and stored there for security."

This was at the period that the Yúsufzís, and the other tribes of the Khas'hí sept, had become so powerful; but the Ghwaríah Khel had not yet arrived in the Pes'háwar district, but came soon after. Humáyún appointed an Uzbak officer, Sikandar, by name, as its governor, but Báyazíd says he was a Kazák.

About three years after the great battle at Shaikh Patúr, between the rival septs of Khas'hí and Gharí,* when Khán Kajú, the supreme chief of the former, overthrew and broke the power of the latter, he marched an army to Pes'háwar from the present Yúsufzí district of the Sama'h, on the north side of the river of Kábul, and invested Sikandar Khán, Uzbak, in the fortress of Bagrám. Khán Kajú had neither artillery nor fire-arms, indeed, such weapons appear to have been unknown to his followers, although Bábar Bádsháh had a few guns at Pánípat, and Sher Sháh, the Afghán sovereign of Hindústán, had used them, previous to this time, at the siege of Kálinjar. The Yúsufzí army, consequently, could effect nothing against Bagrám, and Khán Kajú gave up the investment.

The Shaikh Abú-l-Fazl says:—"There are five routes from Hindústán into the Sarkár or Province of Kábul, one of which is the Karappah route. . . . . The next is the Khaibar, and, formerly, it was exceedingly difficult, but, by the Bádsháh's (Akbar's) command, it was so improved by Kásim Khán, who had the superintendence of the work, that the road, which before that time was so difficult, even for horses and camels, wheeled carriages could pass over with ease, and the Túránís and Hindís generally use it.† In 997 H. (A.D. 1589), Akbar, after the road had been finished, proceeded to Kábul. He crossed the Sind river at Khair-ábád Saráe, and marched to Garhí Ilyás, then to the Gur-Khatrí (of Pes'háwar), and from thence to Dhákah. His next stages were Khwájah Yakút, the Jal-gáh of Safed-Sang, Bárík-Áb, and Kábul."

To continue the account of the Khaibar route.

"There are two routes from Jam-rúd to 'Alí Masjid through the Khaibar mountains, about one kuroh apart, which meet again near 'Alí Masjid, distant from Jam-rúd five kuroh.‡ The right hand one is called the Kotal of Shádí Bagyára'í,§ and, two kuroh from Jam-rúd, beneath the Kotal, is a post of the Afrídí Afgháns. The defile is much more confined than that to the left, and is only fit for men on foot, and camels. It leads by Sur-kamar across the Shaga'í plain.‖

"The left-hand road, and that usually followed by the Durrání troops, runs by the

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* The Ghwaríah Khel, for brevity, is written Ghwarí. They are not "Ghoris," nor "Ghúrís. What they are I have already stated.

† They scarcely ventured to use any other, and even that was continually closed against them by the Afgháns, as I shall mention farther on.

‡ When the Afgháns encountered the Sikhs, in April, 1837, on which occasion the latter lost their leader, Harí Singh, the Afgháns took up their position at Chatákí, while Harí Singh took post at Par Katah, which is a *nálah*, or cut from the Bárah river, and about half way between Jam-rúd and the Pes'háwar cantonment.

§ Shádí Batyára'í appears to have been the former and more correct name of the road, and it is said to have been so called after the Afghán Khel named Batyárí, dwelling in the Khaibar hills. They are referred to by Afzal Khán, Khatak, Khushhál Khán's grandson. A large portion of the Khaibar hills is held by the Mulágorí Afgháns. "Shadi Bagadi" is the mode in which a person ignorant of the Pus'hto language would write the name.

‖ When the late Colonel Sir C. M. Wade forced the Khaibar Pass, in July, 1839, with a mere handful of British Indian troops—380 men—consisting of a detachment of Native Horse Artillery, and four companies of the 21st and 22nd Bengal Native Infantry, and the raw levies enlisted for the service of the Sháh Shujá'-ul-Mulk, which made up his force to 4,000 men, with a few small guns, and a body of Sikh troops, whose hearts were not in the cause, numbering about 6,000 men more, his chief efforts were directed to the left hand or southern route into the Khaibar, by the bed of the Jam river from Kadam, which is that here referred to by Abú-l-Fazl, while a party under Lieutenant Mackeson (who was assassinated at Pes'háwar in after years) was sent by the Shádí-Bagyára'í route, which is shorter, but described as being a more confined pass, and only adapted for foot passengers and camels. This road has been lately improved.

Having carried the heights, the Colonel's force, on the 24th of July, encamped below La'l Chiney, and on the 25th, towards morning, a party pushed forward silently, from the positions gained after some sharp skirmishing during the day, and found 'Alí Masjid had been evacuated, just as we found it lately.

bed of the Jam river* near the village of Kadam, in the vicinity of which are some curious *smats* or caves. The stream rises in the mountains west of the Garhí or Tower of La'l Beg, and passes under the hill on which 'Alí Masjid stands.

"Proceeding from Jam-rúd by the left hand, or proper Khaibar route, five kuroh west, you reach 'Alí Masjid, so called after a small dilapidated masjid near the road. The fort named after it stands on the summit of a conical and almost isolated hill, in a commanding position, but the hills around overlook it.†

"From 'Alí Masjid, four kuroh west, is the Garhí or Tower of La'l Beg,‡ and a village, so called, lying on the right-hand side of the road. Here the hills open out a little on either side. Other villages, perched in the hills with a tower to protect them, are seen as you pass along.

"About half a kuroh before reaching the Garhí of La'l Beg you pass close to a large manár, which they call a *Top*, on the right hand side, like that at Mánikyálah, only this one stands on three square basements, the lowest being the largest, and out of these rises the *Top* of Shpola'h. It is built of a dark bluish stone, similar to the rocky spur from the mountains on which it stands, but one side of it has begun to give way. Near it, and extending nearly half a kuroh lower down the spur, on the north side, are the extensive remains of an ancient city.§ There are remains of buildings and houses, substantially built of stone, and the walls, some of which are about two *gaz* thick, are still standing to the height of three or four *gaz*. Idols, implements of bygone times, and coins are found among these ruins; and there are also the remains of several wells about the spot.

"One kuroh to the westward the Landey Khána'h Kotal commences. The road thus far is not very bad, being alternate ascent and descent, of no great elevation, over a stony road, and gradually ascending, but the Kotal itself commences with a sudden and abrupt ascent. The defile is narrow and difficult, in several places overhung with rocks, and with continual patches of tall grass every here and there, growing to the height of a man, or even higher. Farther on, the road winds along the mountain side on the right hand, with precipices on the left. The rise from the commencement of the ascent to the west of the Kotal is half a kuroh, and the descent is also very sudden. You descend to the small village of Landey Khána'h, giving name to the defile,‖ and which lies just under it. From thence, two kuroh in the same direction, is the small village of Gharíb Khána'h. The river of Kábul lies about three or four kuroh on the right hand, screened by the mountains."¶

This defile, in former times, was called the Gharíb Khána'h Kotal, and was the scene of the disastrous battle between the Mughals and the Afgháns, in which Aurangzeb's Súbah-dár was overthrown and his army annihilated. I will relate it briefly, but the accounts of the various battles and operations in and around the Khaibar, Tahtarah, and Karappah passes would almost fill a volume, and these historical details must be left for my history of the Afghán nation now under preparation.

Some soldiers serving under Husain Beg Khán, who was Fowj-dár, or Commandant of the Bádsháh's troops in the Kúnar district, had insulted a woman of the Sáfí tribe of Afgháns, who had come to the place at which they were stationed to buy and sell.

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* The lower portion of this river's bed is dry, except after heavy rains in the hills, but then the river comes down suddenly and with violence. This was the case in March 1849, when it rushed down in one great wave, and swept away some of the tents in the lines of our Bombay column, which was pitched in the bed of the river, and even endangered the lives of some of the men.

† At 'Alí Masjid a spider was seen by Jahán-gír Bádsháh which he says " was as large as a crab, and had a " very long and thin neck. It caused great astonishment to those who beheld it."

‡ It is also called the Garhí of Lalah Beg. La'l signifies " a ruby " in the Persian language.

§ These are the remains of a Buddhist city, and, probably, of a Bihár or Wihár likewise. These remains are very much like those on the Takht-i-Bihí, the intervals between the larger stones being filled with lines of thin stone, instead of lime, and fitted in with the greatest nicety. The stone used for the Shpola'h Top is blue slate, but on the Takht-i-Bihí the buildings are of a yellowish red sandstone. I visited the Takht-i-Bihí in December, 1849, and gave a brief description of it in my " Account of the Pes'háwar Province," previously alluded to.

The site of this city near the Garhí of La'l Beg offers a new field for antiquarian research, and by excavating here some interesting discoveries would doubtless be made.

‖ This is known to history as the Gharíb Khána'h Kotal, as I shall presently show.

Khána'h here is evidently the shortened form of rúd-khána'h, which signifies the bed of a river or stream, as well as the stream itself; and Landey is the Pus'hto adjective signifying "short," "brief," "little," "small," etc.

¶ The distance from Pes'háwar to Dhákah in English miles is as follows :—From Pes'háwar to Jam-rúd, 11 miles; Jam-rúd to 'Alí Masjid, 11 miles; 'Alí Masjid to Landey Khána'h, 13 miles; and from Landey Khána'h to Dhákah, 9 miles. These distances may be useful for comparing with the distances given in kurohs in these routes, and calculating other distances.

Some Sáfís, who are a very pugnacious tribe, and have for centuries been continually at feud with the Sulímán Khel Ghalzís, although reports from Jalál-ábád would make us believe their feuds to be quite a new thing, avenged the insult given to their clanswoman by killing the soldiers, and succeeded in getting off.

Husain Beg Khán called upon the Sardárs of the Sáfí tribe to seize the men and deliver them up to him. This they refused to do. Other Afghán tribes subject to the Kábul Government were summoned to join him in attacking the "refractory" Sáfís, killing them, burning their villages, and rendering their women and children homeless. They attended him as in duty bound, but sent word to the Sáfís, their countrymen, to tell them that they considered they had acted like men. They gave them a hint of what they might expect, and let them know that they would not draw sword for the Mughals against them, but remain passive spectators. This they did, and Husain Beg Khán was completely foiled. He then attempted to seize the Sardárs of the Afgháns along with him, but their clansmen crowded around them and prevented it.

On this he dispatched an exaggerated and one-sided report of the affair to the Súbah-dár, Muhammad Amín Khán, who held the office, nominally, of Mír Bakhshí likewise, and who was then at Pas'háur. He was the son of the diamond merchant, Mír Jumlah, Wazír of 'Abd-ullah, Kutb Sháh, of Gulkandah, in the Dakhan, whom the bigoted tyrant, Aurangzeb-i-'Alam-gír, took such a fancy to and raised to the highest rank in the State. Muhammad Amín Khán, a very dissolute person, was exceedingly arrogant and overbearing; no one dared to give an opinion contrary to his wishes, and he was much disliked. This Husain Beg Khán, likewise, was not held in much esteem by the Afgháns. It is related that on one occasion, when about to march from Jam-rúd to Kábul, the Afghán chiefs of the mountains came to pay their respects to the representative of their ruler. He was intoxicated at the time, and Husain Beg Khán was with him. The latter, seeing the Afgháns in attendance, said to him, "The Nawwáb's dogs desire to make their obeisance." This speech afterwards came to the ears of the Afgháns, and aroused their indignation still more against the Mughals.

At the time this report reached Muhammad Amín Khán, it was about the season for him to return to Kábul, and the Afgháns resolved to oppose his march through the Khaibar, well knowing that he was coming full of hostile intent towards them, and that the opportunity was not to be lost. They accordingly occupied the strongest points in different parts of the route before he began his march. The Shinwárís and Mahmands, within whose boundaries part of the Khaibar lies, also assembled at the time he was about to march, and took post in the Gharíb Khána'h Kotal,—what has been lately called the Landey Khána'h Kotal, and recommended as the most westerly position, in that quarter, for our new and "scientific frontier,"—and some other Afgháns were along with them.

Muhammad Amín Khán set out, and with him went the Arbáb of Pas'háur, Mustajáb Khán, Mahmand, and other chiefs of the Afrídís and Wurakzís, and Khushhál Khán, the Khatak chief and poet, was also present with some of his clan. The army encamped at Jam-rúd, and Mustajáb Khán, the Arbáb above referred to, and other men of note among the Mahmands (the Mahmands here referred to are that portion of the tribe located in the plain of Pes'háwar), were sent, as a *jirgah* (the word here signifies, in Pus'hto, a deputation, but it also means a party met for consultation, and a sort of democratic assembly. The word, in Persian, signifies forming a ring or a rank), to summon the Afgháns to retire forthwith, and leave the route clear for his army to pass. They refused. Muhammad Amín Khán resumed his march from Jam-rúd, determined to force the pass. He reached 'Alí Masjid, and passed on beyond La'l Beg Garhí without molestation, but, when he reached the spur of L'wargaey ("Luargee" in the Indian Atlas map; *l'war*, in Pus'hto, signifies high, lofty, beetling, &c., and l'wara'h, a hill, a spur, and the like; *gaey* affixed to a word lessens the importance of it, or conveys contempt—the Little Spur or Hill), he found that the Gharíb Khána'h Kotal was closed by *sangars* or breastworks thrown right across the defile. The army was accordingly halted, and the troops of the advance, the strongest in point of fighting men, were disposed on the right and left in readiness to attack these defences. Mahmúd Khán, the Kheshkí* (an Afghán of Hindústán in the Mughal service) led them. The elephants with the force were also placed in front, and the main body kept well up with the advance column.

* The Kheshkí tribe, which is again divided into several sections, is descended from Zamand, son of Kharshabún. They were much dispersed even at this period, and a good many of them were dwelling in Hindústán.

As soon as the troops were near enough, the musketeers (the matchlock men with the army, who are called "artillery" by the historian, but Muhammad Amín Khán had no artillery with him), under Mubáriz Khán, were sent to attack the right, and Mahmúd Khán, Kheshkí, the left. When the Mughals approached the breastworks, the Afgháns, who were commanded by Ae-mal Khán, the Afrídí chief, and other Sardárs, and who had piled up fragments of rocks and great stones or boulders ready for use, launched them down upon the Mughals. The elephants were forced back, Mahmúd Khán was killed, and his troops were repulsed with great loss. Mubáriz Khán, on the left, met with no more success, and was also forced back, and the Afgháns used their swords upon the assailants with disastrous effect.

The fighting, after a short time, was again renewed, and continued for nearly the whole day, but the Mughals could effect nothing, and their Afghán allies, for the most part, kept aloof. The pass could not be forced. Some one now represented to Muhammad Amín Khán that, from the place they were then in, a road led down to the Tahtarah river (or stream), and where they then were no water was procurable, but if that point could be reached matters might be remedied and a stand made.

This was a mere piece of treachery however, and the shattered force proceeded in the direction of Tahtarah, but it was the road to destruction. When Muhammad Amín Khán reached the spur or head of Batro, some Afghán Jama'dárs, who were with him, told him that if he went down towards Tahtarah he would be lost, but that if he would come along with them, they would take him through the Khaibar in safety, by a route known to themselves; and they brought him safely to Pas'háur without a single attendant of his own.

This disastrous affair took place on the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of Muharram, 1083 H. (the 18th, 19th, and 20th April, 1672, A.D.), from the march from Jam-rúd to the annihilation of the Mughal army in the Khaibar. Everything was lost—troops, treasure, elephants, camp equipage, family, including Muhammad Amín Khán's wife, mother, sister, son, daughters, brother-in-law, and servants, as well as the wives and families of the different nobles, officers, and officials serving under him in the Kábul province. In one day Muhammad Amín Khán became utterly destitute; his wife, son, and brother-in-law died, but respecting the other members of his family little is recorded. It appears, however, that after his entering into a truce, and paying a very large sum of money, the Afgháns released, and sent back his youngest daughter, who was a mere child, his mother, and some other females, but his wife, from a high sense of honour, refused to return—the reason may be imagined,—and, having donned the garb of a recluse, she gave up the remainder of her life to prayer and religious solitude.

The battles of Gand-áb, in 1084 H. (1673 A.D.), and Khápash, in 1085 H. (1674 A.D.), followed with similar disastrous results. These and other Afghán victories are celebrated by Khushhál Khán, in his spirited poem entitled an "Ode to Spring," from which the following is an extract:—

"The first fight was at the higher back of Mount Tahtarah,
Where forty thousand Mughals were scattered like chaff;
When their sisters and daughters fell into the bonds of the Afgháns,
With horses and camels, elephants, and baggage, string after string.
The second battle was with Mír Husain in the Do-ába'h,
When his head was crushed, like that of a venomous snake.
After that again was the affair at the fort of Noh-s'hahrah,
When from the Mughals I extracted my own inebriation.
And then came Jaswant Singh and Shujá'at Khán,
Of whom Ae-mal Khán plucked up the roots at Gand-áb.
The sixth was over Mukarram Khán and Shamsher Khán,
Both of whom, at Khápash, Ae-mal scattered to the winds.
These are the greatest triumphs that I hold in recollection,
But the lesser ones, in all directions, who shall compute?
Up to present time victory hath been always with us;
And for the future upon God is our dependence placed.
A year hath passed since Aurangzeb is encamped against us,
Disordered and perplexed in appearance, and wounded in heart.
It is now year after year that his nobles fall in battle;
But his armies swept away, who shall number them?
The treasures of India have been spread out before us;
The red gold muhurs have been engulphed in the hills.
It would not have entered one's head in eighteen guesses,
That such events would e'er have happened in these parts," &c., &c.

The whole of the poem will be found in my "Poetry of the Afgháns."

To resume the account of the route.

"From Gharíb Khána'h one kuroh and a half farther west is Haft Cháh*, signifying the (place of) Seven Wells, which previously had been a large and thriving village, but is now utterly desolate. There are some extensive ruins of a fortress here on a mound, and near by, several wells, hence the name. It lies on the left-hand side of the road.

"Proceeding from thence two kuroh, in the same westerly direction, there are two villages lying on either side of the river of Kábul, La'l-púra'h and Dhákah.

"West of Garhí-i-La'l Beg, some small streams rise in the mountains on either side of the Khaibar dara'h, which at Landey Khána'h unite into one bed, which increases in breadth as it runs to the northwards to join the river of Kábul, or Lamghán river, as it is also called at this place, east of Dhákah.

"From Landey Khána'h the dara'h begins to open, and in some places it is from half a kuroh to nearly a kuroh in breadth. The road lies in the sandy bed of this river, which is dry for great part of the year, but, during heavy falls of rain, like all similar river beds of this country, it is liable to be flooded. It is overgrown, and partly concealed, by the tall reeds before alluded to, but an occasional large boulder may be seen peeping through them, and indicating the river bed. As you proceed along, you suddenly perceive a village in front of you, and then, ascending a little to a small open space or plain, you can see over the Dhákah valley, the river of Kábul running through it, and another village on the opposite side. The village on the other side of the river is called La'l-púra'h,† the residence of Arsalán Khán, Mahmand, of the Tragzí clan. Halfway between Landey Khána'h and Dhákah you entered the Mahmand country or district.‡

"The village on the south side of the river is Dhákah,§ also belonging to the Tragzí Mahmands, and here the Khaibar dara'h terminates. From its eastern entrance near Kadam to this place there are numerous remains of ancient forts and other buildings, every here and there on the crests of the mountains, which rise on the right hand and on the left. Some of these ruins are of considerable extent, and numerous *smats* or caves are also to be found."

Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, half brother of Akbar Bádsháh, who held Kábul and Zábul, as far east as the Indus, as his appanage, having died in Rajab, 993 H. (1585 A.D.), Farídún, his maternal uncle, who ruled at Pas'háur for him, left for the purpose of proceeding to Kábul. It was usual with the governors of the Kábul province to make Pas'háur their *kishlák* or winter quarters, and Kábul their *ilák* or summer station. Farídún was, however, opposed in the Khaibar by the Afgháns, defeated, and compelled to return to Pas'háur again. He managed to reach Kábul soon after by another route, which is not specified, after losing seventy of his party, who died from thirst.

Akbar was now advised to annex Kábul, and the rest of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím's territory, to his own dominions, and he set out for Kábul in the month of Ramazán, 993 H. (1585 A.D.). The Kuṇwar,‖ Mán Singh, was directed to cross the Sind river, and advance to Pas'háur, and many Afgháns hastened to welcome him. The Khaibar route was infested by the Táríkís,¶ to whom I shall again refer, but, when the Kuṇwar, Mán Singh, marched through it, he cleared the route for the time, and proceeded on his way to Kábul.

Akbar reached Atak in Muharram, 994 H. (January, 1586 A.D.). At this time the

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* The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad says: "In advance of 'Alí Masjid dwell the Kásim Khel Afrídís, who "are arrant thieves. The next stage from 'Alí Masjid is the fort of La'l Beg, distant ten kos, and two kos "from the next Kotal is Landey Khána'h, and four kos from that Kotal is Haft Cháh."

† Four copies of the original distinctly state that La'l-púra'h is on the south side of the river of Kábul, and Dhákah on the north, although, at present, they are exactly the reverse. Strange to relate, the Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad, says the same, and Elphinstone likewise places La'l-púra'h on the south bank in his map, but leaves Dhákah out entirely. It strikes me there may be some truth in all this, and that the present La'l-púra'h, like Dhákah-i-Khurd, neither of which are mentioned in the histories of the reigns of Akbar, Jahán-gír, Sháh-i-Jahán, and Aurangzeb, are very modern places, or that the river of Kábul has altered its course in this direction, which seems very improbable, at least to any extent.

‡ The Táríkh i-Husain Sháhí states, that after passing the third stage in the Khaibar defile, which so far belongs to the Afrídís, and emerging from it halfway, and passing La'l Beg Garhí, which is also in the Khaibar, Landey Khána'h, and Dhákah, you reach the boundary of the Mahmand country. At the *manzil* or stage of La'l Beg Garhí there are no habitations, merely the watch-house or tower, because the people dwelling in this part are mostly nomads. *See* page 40.

§ This name, in the map contained in the "Geographical Magazine," for November 1878, is "Dukka," but in the map in the first number of the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," it is "Daka." A uniform system of spelling is most desirable.

‖ The son of a Rájah is called a Kuṇwar, especially of a high Rajpút family.

¶ *See* page 46.

chiefs and maliks of the tribes and clans of Khalíl, Mahmand, Gagyání, Sher-zád,* Khizr Khel, 'Abd-ur-Rahmání, Dzádzí (*vul.* Jajee and Jagee), Túrí, and others of the Ghurghust and Ghwaríah Khel septs, dwelling in the tracts between Kábul and Níl-áb, came and represented to the Bádsháh that the Yúsufzí tribe were in the constant habit of assailing them, and of attacking and plundering kárwáns, and other travellers and wayfarers, between Níl-áb and Bagrám, and that, on this account, they themselves got a bad name for the acts of the Yúsufzís. Consequent on these complaints, a force under Zain Khán-i-Kokal-Tásh, Rájah Bírbal†, and others, was despatched against them. This expedition will be referred to in the account of the Yúsufzís and their country, at the end of Section Third.

The mention of the Túrís here by Abú-l-Fazl proves the incorrectness of the statement made to the late Colonel Sir H. B. Edwardes, C.B., who mentions, in his report on the Míránzí expedition, that he was informed that "it is four generations since "the Toorees (Túrís) took root in Kooroom" (Kurma'h), and that "the Bangash had "rebelled against the Kábul sovereign, who sent a force, reduced them, imposed a "tax, to pay which they sold the village of Burrookzye, near Peywar (Paiwaṛ), to the "Toorees." The Túrís have been settled for centuries in their present seats.

To resume. "At Dhákah two other roads diverge to Pes'háwar. The first lies to the north of the Khaibar dara'h, and is used when that route is closed. It is called the Áb-Khána'h route, crosses the elevated valley or dara'h of Shalmán, then descends to the river of Kábul, which is crossed, and the road then leads along the north bank of the river to Mícharna'í, and will be subsequently described.‡ The other, which is extremely difficult, a mere footpath in fact, and by which horses and camels cannot be taken, follows the Áb-Khána'h route to the Shalmán valley, but then, instead of crossing the river of Kábul, you keep it on the left hand and the Khaibar dara'h on the right. Few people are acquainted with this route except the Tragzí Mahmands who dwell in that part."

Before leaving the Khaibar, and resuming the route, it may be well to say a few words on a subject which there seems to be some doubt about—the custom of paying the Afrídí, Shinwárí, and Wurakzí Afgháns, for guarding the Khaibar route.

As late as Sháh-i-Zamán's reign these tribes paid no taxes to the State, being exempted as a compensation for guarding the pass, and, besides these exemptions, they held *jágírs*, or free grants of land, from the Government, to the value of 12,000 rupees annually: indeed the Wurakzís held jágírs in the valley of Pes'háwar itself for performing this service, and, consequently, styled themselves *naukars* or servants of the State. The Khaibar tribes, however, were liable to furnish contingents of troops in time of war, for, in Sháh-i-Zamán's last invasion of the Panjáb, they furnished 10,000 men, of whom 2,000 were Afrídí infantry.§

The author of the "Nasab Náma'h," a general history of the Sadozí monarchy, refers to this payment for the care of the pass, and making good all losses sustained in proceeding through it, as "a very old custom," even in his day. He also mentions that the Afrídí bounds "extend as far as the third stage in the route."

The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad also refers to it as an "old custom," and adds that the Kásim Khel Afrídís, dwell immediately west of 'Alí Masjid, and that they are great thieves. I could quote many more proofs if space permitted.

The Sayyid computes the distance from Jam-rúd to La'l-púra'h at 24 kos.

To resume. "From La'l-púra'h,‖ three kuroh west, is Garwaey, a small village,

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* A section of the Khogíánís.

† Also written Bírbar.

‡ This route can never be preferred either by Government or by private individuals, as some persons, who style it, incorrectly, the "Alkama," "Abkhama," and "Alkana'" route, assume, unless the river is permanently bridged, for, at some seasons, it rushes down with great violence, is deep, and its bed dangerous. It is easy to get down from Jalál-ábád to Pes'háwar by raft, but to get up the stream by such means is not practicable. The river is dangerous at all times, and that it is so has been proved in a lamentable manner.

§ The Bárakzís, after they had overturned the Sadozí monarchy, stopped this grant, upon which the Afrídís and other Khaibar tribes closed the route against them and the Pes'háwar traders altogether. On one occasion, when Pír Muhammad Khán, and his brother, Sultán Muhammad Khán, invaded the Jalál-ábád district, one had to take the southern and the other the northern route, as they could not pass through the Khaibar. This affair is again mentioned farther on, at page 50, note **.

When Ranjít Singh invaded Pes'háwar, the Afrídís, one night, cut the dykes of the Bárah river, and laid his camp under water. Knowing what confusion was likely to ensue, they were on the alert, and succeeded in carrying off much booty. On another occasion they cut off the water from Ranjít Sing'h's new fort of Fath-púr at Jam-rúd, and he had to pay them 1,200 rupees a month to allow the water to run for the use of the garrison.

‖ The writer does not take his departure from Dhákah, it will be observed, because, as mentioned previously, he says La'l-púra'h is on the south side of the river of Kábul, and the Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad does the same.

also called Gard-áo, which lies on the left-hand side of the road. On the way you pass the Kotal called Khaibar-i-Khúrd, or the Little Khaibar, the road over which is somewhat difficult and narrow, but it does not extend for any great distance. There are some mounds there, apparently of ancient times, and some *smats* or caves. Another road leads to Gard-áo by keeping nearer the river of Kábul, and leaving the Kotal on the left hand, which does not require to be crossed, but the distance is greater.*

"From the last named village, one kuroh and a half in the same direction, is the village of Hazár-Khána'h,† signifying Thousand Springs—The Place of the Thousand Springs. It is also called Hazár-Ná'o, or The Place of a Thousand Channels,‡ which names are both derived from the numberless springs of water which flow from the hills on the left hand side of the road, and supply the numerous small canals or channels which intersect the *jal-gáh* or verdant plain which stretches away to the river on the right hand. On the left is a mountain range.

"The whole way along the road from Gard-áo the country is quite desolate and without inhabitant. After passing some small hills, you perceive several mounds in the plain or open space, on which are remains of ancient buildings.

"Leaving Hazár Khána'h, otherwise Hazár-Ná'o, and proceeding one kuroh and a half across the jal-gáh, in the same direction as before, but inclining northwards, not far from the banks of the river of Kábul, is Básaur, otherwise Básaul.§ This is a large village belonging to the Tragzí clan of the Mahmands, and is likewise called Bihsúd, and Bihsut (with the interchange of *d* and *t* as in the case of *r* and *l* above), and Dih-i-Ghulámán—or Village of the Slaves. The Koh-i-Be-Daulat (The Unlucky or Luckless Mountain Range),|| a small range of hills, lies two kuroh towards the south, on the left-hand side of the road.

"The route above mentioned is the most direct or lower road over the jal-gáh, and is therefore somewhat difficult on account of the numerous springs and cuts running through it. There is another road which leads through marshy ground, nearer to the river of Kábul, close to the northern part of the Koh-i-Be-Daulat, which approaches the river, and near which an opening leads into the more level and open country where the Chhár Dih, or the Four Villages, are situated, and the distance is three kuroh. The road thence keeps along the western skirts of the Koh-i-Be-Daulat.

"From the range of hills before mentioned (the Koh-i-Be-Daulat), three kuroh to the south-west is Bísh-Bulák or Bulágh. It signifies 'The Place of Five Springs,' *bísh* being five in the Turkish language, and *bulák* or *bulágh* a spring,¶ and from these five springs or bísh-bulák to Jam-rúd, by way of Tahtarah, is a well-known route, forty kuroh (to Pes'háwar)."

Towards the close of the year 994 H (end of 1586 A.D.), the Mahmands and other tribes of the Ghwaríah Khel, dwelling in the neighbourhood of Pas'háur, who had now made Jalálah, the Táríkí,** their leader, and had broken out into rebellion, invested

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There are two Dhákahs now, Dhákah-i-Khúrd, or Kam Dhákah, as it is called in Persian and Pus'hto respectively, or Little Dhákah, some miles east of La'l-púra'h, and Dhákah-i-Kalán or Lo-e Dhákah, or Great Dhákah, the name given to three small villages facing La'l-púra'h, which, between them, contain about eight or nine hundred dwellings.

* The Khaibar-i-Khúrd, or Little Khaibar, can be turned by this route, or rather pathway.

† Khána'h here is evidently, as in the case of Landey Khána'h, the shortened form of rúd-khána'h, the bed or channel of a river or stream, as well as a river or stream of water.

‡ Jal-gáh, the place of water or streams, a marshy meadow-like plain, in which is a spring or springs.

§ The former word bespeaks its Turkish origin, and there are several places with such names in this direction as I shall presently show, and *r* and *l*, in such words, are constantly interchangeable. At present, the letter ص, with which the author writes it, has been dropped for س, as in the word "Básaul" above.

Our latest maps turn it into "Bussowal," "Basawal," "Bussole," and "Bussoul."

When the Yúsufzís left Nangrahár on their way east of the Khaibar, they left the Muhammadzís in possession of part of Nangrahár, and the Gagyánís, who now occupy the Do-ába'h in the Pes'háwar district, took up their quarters at and around Básaul.

|| Jahán-gír Bádsháh says, in his Autobiography:—"I then proceeded by Jam-rúd and the Khaibar, and "encamped at 'Alí Masjid, and then proceeded by the Már-pech (signifying, in Persian, serpentine, twisting "and twining like a snake) Kotal, and reached Gharíb Khána'h. On Wednesday, the 2nd of Safar, 1016 H. "[18th May, 1607, A.D.], I reached Básaul on the banks of the river. On the farther side is a range of "mountains, which is entirely destitute of trees and verdure, and, therefore, it is called the Koh-i-Be-Daulat. "I heard my father say that such mountains generally contain deposits of gold."

¶ All our maps are incorrect with respect to this name, some have "Pesh Bulack," some "Pesh Bolak," others "Pesh Boolak," and the like. *See* my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," note 8, page 937.

** Colonel Malleson, at page 195 of his "History of Afghanistan," makes Jalálah, the Táríkí, chief of the "Mohmands and Ghoris," and the "Mohmands," to make a "successful raid on the city of Ghazní." He says: "Rájá Mán Singh reached Kábul in safety, and prepared at once to act on the instructions of his master, "but before he arrived there Akbar had entrusted Zain Khán with a second army to act against the Mohmands "and Ghoris, who, under their chief, Jalálúdín Raushání, had committed many depredations in the Pesháwar

the fortress of Bagrám, and killed the Sayyid Hamíd, the Fauj-dár, who had sallied out against them.

The Kuṉwar, Mán Singh, who had set out with his troops for Kábul, as stated at page 43, now faced about and moved back to Jalál-ábád. Continuing his march towards the Khaibar he was attacked with fever at Bísh-Bulágh, and became so dangerously ill that it was necessary to halt there for some time.

The boldness and audacity of the Mahmands, Khalíls, and others of the Ghwaríah Khel, after their success over the Sayyid Hamíd and his small following, knew no bounds. They decamped, however, from before Pas'háur, and entered the Khaibar, where they threw up *sangars* or breastworks, and some directed their course into Tír-áh, which is a most difficult and broken country. Sukat Singh, son of Mán Singh, on hearing of the state of affairs, when on his way towards Kábul, was for making a forced march through the Khaibar, and throwing himself into Bagrám, but was unable to do so because the pass was closed; and now the Yúsufzís, and other Afgháns, joined the confederacy.

By the time the Kuṉwar, Mán Singh, had recovered from his illness, the forces despatched from Láhor, on the news of the outbreak and death of the Sayyid Hamíd had not yet reached their destination. They were at Atak, but unable to proceed. Mán Singh, therefore, selecting 3,000 men from his force, and leaving the rest as an escort for Mírzá Sulímán, late ruler of Badakhshán, who was on his way to Akbar's court, proposed to march into Tí-ráh, and from thence to fall upon the Afrídí Afgháns, who were the yeast of the disturbances in that quarter, after which he would suddenly advance through the Shádí Dara'h (not the Shádí Bagyára'í route) to 'Alí Masjid, in order that the different bodies of troops might effect a junction there, and open the Khaibar route, which had been completely closed by the rebels.

Mán Singh, accordingly, without encumbering himself with much baggage, marched at night from his camp at Bísh-Bulák or Bulágh, and at daybreak reached the Kotal of Chhár-Jo-e, the Persian for four rivulets or springs. This, it may be observed, is nearly the same route as lately taken by part of General Maude's force, in his operations against the Zakhá Khel clan of the Afrídís, only its advance was from Dhákah instead of Bísh-Bulák. The Kotal was encumbered with snow—it was early in December—and the ascents and descents were great. With much difficulty the defile was cleared.

Mán Singh halted at Bázárak, the diminutive form of Bázár, for a short time, and the following day a force, led by Muhammad Kulí Beg, fell upon the Afrídís and captured a great deal of booty. Some of his officers wished Mán Singh to return, in order that they might conduct their booty to a place of safety, but he would not hear of it. He continued his advance, and, by the dara'h of Jzawara'h (the Pus'hto for

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" valley. . . . . Thus the frontier contests continued for fourteen years (and the events of fourteen years " are summed up in about as many lines), until a new turn was given to them by a successful raid made by the " Mohmands on the city of Ghaznī," &c., &c.

The author continually mentions that "the history of Afghanistan is a blank," but a volume might be filled with an account of the Táríkís alone, in and around the Khaibar. To those who know Afghánistán and the Afgháns I need scarcely mention who are meant when Táríkís and Ros'hánís are referred to, as I did so long since in my "Poetry of the Afgháns," published in 1862, but before giving an extract from it, I will give Mr. Dowson's explanation of Táríkí, which word occurs in his translation from the "Akbar-Námá," in Elliot's " Muhammadan Historians," Vol. vi., p. 101. He says, " Jalála is generally called táríkí, 'sectary.' Chalmer's " in his MS. translation, read the word as 'Tájik,' and, strange to say, Elphinstone has adopted that word in " one of his notes. Jalála's followers, as Elphinstone shows, were Yusufzáis, not Tájiks."

It is not Elphinstone, however (who calls the Tárikís "Roushenìahs"), who turns them into "Tájiks:" he has merely referred to that word (p. 457) as contained in the Chalmer's MS. translation referred to by Mr. Dowson.

The brief account I gave of the Tárikís, *alias* Ros'hánís, in the "Poetry of the Afgháns" is as follows:—

Báyazíd, or Bázíd, the Ansárí, was altogether a remarkable man. . . . . Bázíd's religion, which he instituted in 1542—43, A.D., spread rapidly among the Bar Pus'htún, or Eastern Afgháns, till at length he was able to assemble armies, and oppose the Mughal government. He held the same tenets as the Súfís, but having been a disciple, for some time, of the notorious Mullá Sulímán—known as Jálandharí Sulímán, from the town of Jálandhar, in the Panjáb, where he dwelt—Bázíd became initiated in the tenets of the Jogís, a sect among the Hindús, and became a fast convert to the creed of the Metempsychosis, or Pathagorean system of the transmigration of souls. On these doctrines, however, he engrafted some of his own, the most remarkable of which was, that "the most complete manifestations of the Divinity were made in the persons of holy men." The great opponent of Bázíd was the Akhúnd, Darwezah, the greatest and most venerated of all the saints of Afghánistán, who, in derision of the title of Pír-i-Ros'hán, or Apostle of Light, which Bázíd had himself assumed, conferred on him the name of Pír-i-Tárík, or Apostle of Darkness, by which name he is now chiefly known."

I may mention, once for all, that the disciples of Bázíd, the Ansárí, and his descendants are called Ros'hánís, by their friends, and Tárikís by their enemies.

deep, depressed, profound, &c.) reached the hills on which the Mahmands and Khalíls, and others of the Ghwaríah Khel had taken up their position. Upon this the rebels tendered their submission, and thereby saved themselves. But no sooner had the Bádsháh's troops penetrated these mountain tracts and defiles than Jalálah and his Táríkís fell upon their rear, and the whole of the Afghán tribes round about rose. Takhtah Beg, the officer in command of the rear-guard, and other warriors, showed great gallantry upon this occasion, and fought with determined obstinacy, but being hard pressed they had to close up on the main body, and be relieved by another detachment of troops. After a deal of fighting the enemy gave up their attacks.

The Kuṇwar, Mán Singh, now turned his face towards 'Alí Masjid, and gave the command of the rear-guard to his eldest son, Jagat Singh. Observing this retrograde movement, the Afgháns again assembled in great numbers, and the affair assumed a very serious aspect.* There was no open ground for the troops to act and get at the enemy, and, amidst volleys of stones and showers of arrows, the men had to mount the hills and grapple with the enemy as best they could, and every now and again they made vigorous onsets upon them.

At last more open ground appeared in sight, and there Mán Singh, contrary to the advice of some of the nobles with him, resolved to make a stand. Takhtah Beg, and a body of Kábulís in his force, in their turn, now became the assailants, and attacked the Afgháns; and after some severe fighting the enemy were defeated and compelled to retire to their fastnesses in the hills.

Some of the officers were of opinion that, as the day had nearly closed, they should bivouac for the night on the scene of their success, but others were for pushing on to 'Alí Masjid without delay. This was done, and, without halting, the Mughal force reached that place by the Shádí Dara'h.

Jalálah and his Táríkís followed them very quickly. About two hours before midnight he reached the vicinity of 'Alí Masjid, and took up a position where he and his followers lay in wait in battle array for an opportunity to molest the Bádsháh's troops.

Some of the leaders under Mán Singh were for sallying out upon the enemy at daybreak, but the troops were too much knocked up from the long march and their exertions to be able then to do so. At midday, Mádhú Singh appeared in sight with Rájah Bagwandás's division of troops from the side of Pas'háur, which had been detached from the Bádsháh's army, but, as previously mentioned, had been detained at Atak. At the sight of this reinforcement the Táríkís dispersed in all directions.

To continue the account of this route.

"From Bísh Bulák to La'l-púra'h the distance is eight kuroh (*i. e.*, by road), and the Spín Ghar, or Safed Koh, is about twelve and a half kurohs to the southwards.

"Continuing the route from Básaul, and proceeding five kuroh west, inclining north-west, you reach Bhatí-Kot,† the name given to several villages belonging to the Afgháns, and the Már Koh, the Mountain of the Serpent, halfway on the road, and the river of Kábul, lie on the right-hand side.

"A road from the left hand (south), which comes from Bísh Bulák, at Bhatí-Kot, joins the Sháh-Ráh, or King's Road again, and the distance by that way is six kuroh.

"The wind from the Már Koh is highly dangerous. It is said, by tradition, to have been 'infested, in ancient times, by a large dragon, which the Khalífah, 'Alí, slew with his famous sword, Zú-l-Fakár, but the baneful breath of the dragon, which is the simúm (wind), still continues, and nothing green will grow near the Már Koh nor on it.'‡

"Rather less than three kuroh to the west and south from Bhatí-Kot is the town of Baro, by which is another road, which again joins the Sháh Ráh, or King's Highway,

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* The Afgháns invariably follow the retreat of troops, and attack their rear if possible. It is their universal tactics, and has been for centuries, and should always be expected and provided for.

† Turned into "Batikot," and "Buttekot" in our maps, but, in the latest map, contained in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," for January 1879, it is "Barrikot."

‡ This range of hills is called Koh-i-Márán, or Mountain of Serpents, in the histories of Akbar's reign.

The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad states that, when his father, the Sayyid 'Abd-ullah Sháh, on his mission from Governor Hastings, reached this place on his way to Kábul, people were much afraid of the wind blowing from the Már Koh; and, it being then the hot season, and he being rather feeble, it was determined that he and his party should remain at Bhatí-Kot until the autumn set in, because there was danger from the simún wind, which, in the hot season, blows from the Már Koh.

Ghulám Muhammad, going to join his father by way of the Khaibar, set out from Pes'háwar on the 29th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 1196 H. (that year ended on the 6th of December, 1782, A.D.). He made one stage from Pes'háwar to the Dih-i-Ghulámán, and the next to the 'Íd-gáh, referred to farther on.

between Nímla'h and Jagdálik, at Safed Sang. Baro is the place where Muhsin Khán, governor of Kábul, defeated the arch heretic, Báyazíd, Ansárí, otherwise Pír-i-Ros'hán, or Saint of Light, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík, or Saint of Darkness. Báyazíd had invaded Nangrahár from Tí-ráh, and had sacked Baro, but the governor, making a forced march from Jalál-ábád, came upon him, and routed him and his followers with great slaughter. Báyazíd, with difficulty, reached the mountains again.

"Proceeding three kuroh north-west, inclining west, from Bhatí-Kot, you reach a religious edifice called, an 'Íd-gáh, which is in ruins, and from thence five kuroh in the same direction is the ancient Tájzík town of 'Alí Baghán, but, in the histories of Akbar Bádsháh's reign, and other writings, it is called Ilah Baghá. It is situated near the banks of the river of Káman (*i.e.*, the river of Kábul, which here is also called the river of Lamghán). It is also sometimes called Samah Khel.

"Between Bhatí-Kot and this town you first cross an extensive open tract, which is intersected by small streams running from the left hand, from the Spín Ghar range, towards the right. After having proceeded thus for about three kuroh, you enter ravines and broken ground, ascents and descents, and have to pass through a defile for about half a kuroh, with little hills on either side, and on one higher than the rest, on the left hand, are the ruins of a large fort.*

"This defile is called Ilah Baghá, and also Surkh Díwar or Díwal, signifying the red pass or defile,† and also Koh-i-Sang-i-Surkh, or the Red Rock Mountain (range), from the reddish colour of the rocks on either side of the defile.

"On clearing this gorge the town of Jalál-ábád can be seen, and also the town of Káman on the right hand.‡

"At Ilah Baghá you leave the Afgháns for a time, for you are now in Nangrahár where the people are Tájzíks, and speak the Persian language. They extend all the way as far west as Gandamak.

"Three kuroh west from Ilah Baghá or' Alí Baghán is Jalál-ábád, a large town, and the seat of government of the district of Nangrahár. From Pes'háwar to this place the distance is fifty kuroh, and the Spín Ghar range shows itself by the way on the left hand."

Nangnahár or Nangrahár.

This is one of the six provinces or territories inhabited by the Tájzík race north of the Safed Koh or Spín Ghar range of mountains, which provinces contain a number of dara'hs or valleys of considerable extent, with other smaller dara'hs opening into them.§ These territories will be more particularly referred to under the head of Kábul, farther on.

During the present Afghán crisis, new accounts of the country have been written and new maps have been prepared. In one of the former we are told that "Nungnehar" is "the hilly tract which extends along the northern base of Sufeid Koh, between the

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* This is, in all probability, the remains of the fort of Aghúz-ábád, so called after its founder, Aghúz Khán, a Mughal officer of Aurangzeb Bádsháh's reign, who was very successful in his operations against the Afgháns.

† Díwar or Díwal, *r* and *l* being interchangeable, as previously noticed, is Turkish for a pass or defile. This name has been hitherto written by Europeans "Sang-i Súrákh," which signifies "the stone or rock with a hole or perforation," but it is a great error. The former word, súrákh, would be written سوراخ, but the name of this place is written سرخ, red.

‡ On his return from Kábul, whither he had gone in 997 H. (A.D. 1589), having passed Gandamak and the Bágh-i-Wafá, Akbar Bádsháh entered the lands of Koshlak. From thence he turned aside to Bihár, a very old place (from its name, the site of a bihár or wihár of Buddhists), which was inhabited in the time of Sultán Mahmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín of Ghaznín. Akbar directed that a fort should be erected there, and he assigned to it the name of Sháh Bihár (being particularly partial to Hindús he must needs revive the name of their celebrated temple mentioned at page 63). Having passed Jalál-ábád, on the way back to Pes'háwar, he turned aside to visit the Lamghánát, *i.e.*, the Lamgháns, and Mandráwar, and proceeded as far as Mas'úd-ábád. He then came to the range of hills or mountains called Ilah-Baghá, and then went on by Bárík-Āb, and the Saráe of the Khwájah, Yakút, to Dhákah. While on his way thither a hyena was seen, and Akbar gave chase to it in that stony and broken ground. His horse fell with him, and the skin of his face was much abraded. He got up, and the wound was bound up, and he continued his journey. Another writer states that he was hurt a good deal, and kept his bed for six days.

§ A dara'h, as previously noticed, may well be compared to a leaf. To use the botanical terms, the *midrib* or *costa* is the river running through it, the *primary veins* are the smaller streams or rivulets, its feeders, flowing through still smaller dara'hs opening into the larger one on either side; the point of the leaf is the head of the dara'h, where is the jal-gáh in which the river rises, and the *petiole* is the river running from the dara'h, where lies the pass leading into it.

"Khyber and the Kurkutcha ranges." Then we are further informed that "the "most direct road from the Kyber Pass to Kabool lies through it, but it is little "frequented, in consequence of the great number of defiles, and the turbulent and "predatory character of the people"; and finally we are assured that it is a "sequestered district."

The new maps contain the "Khyber" and the "Kaibar" Pass, and several ranges of mountains and valleys appear, but they are mythical in many instances, and in the case of this territory particularly. The Safed or Spín Ghar range, in one map especially, is made to run towards the river of Kábul in such a manner that, from what is called the "Karkatcha Pass" to "Dukka" these mountains appear to divide the valley of the river of Kábul almost in a straight line, run in a broad belt filling more than half the space between the river of Kábul and the Siyah Koh range and the highest ridges of the Spín Ghar range, and terminate most abruptly on the northern side. The ridges are made to run in singular regularity, at right angles from this broad belt towards the north, with a river of wonderful uniformity between each ridge, altogether different to that portion of the India Atlas sheets, Nos. 4 and 14. Who would imagine, looking at these maps, that there were several routes from Kábul to Jalál-ábád, and farther east through this apparently inaccessible broad wall of Safed Koh, besides many cross roads? and who would suppose that the courses of these regularly flowing rivers, nearly all running due south and north, are for the most part imaginary?

According to one of the maps referred to, "Nungnahar" consists only of one third of the southern half of the area between the river of Kábul, near Chhár Bágh, and the highest ridge of Spín Ghar, and that the most easterly portion, while in another map, "Nangrahar" constitutes the whole of the southern half of the area, or a tract of country twice as large again in the one map as in the other!

The following are the correct geographical and ethnological boundaries of the country or province of Nangrahár:—

"It extends, from the village and lands of Bhatí-Kot on the east, to the Surkh-Áb-Kotal on the west (not, however, according to the line of the "Surk-ab" and "Surhab River," as the Surkh (Red) Áb (River) is laid down in the maps referred to), a distance of thirty kuroh; and from the mountain of Darúnthah, on the river of Kábul on the north, to Kajá, on the south, a breadth of ten kuroh, and these boundaries are precisely contrary to what has been written in some Gazetteers. In this space, although the district lies high, there are no lofty mountains, nevertheless the ground is stony and broken in many places, and not very level; and in it from 12,000 to 15,000 Tájzík families dwell. The cultivation is chiefly rúdí, that is land dependent on river irrigation, but there is a little lalmí, or such as is dependent on rain. On the produce of the former the government assesses one third and sometimes a fourth of the produce in money, but, on the latter, one tenth only is assessed, and that is in kind, not in money.

"The original name of this territory was Nek Anhár, *nek* signifying in Persian 'good,' 'beneficial,' and also 'many,' and *anhár* is the plural of *nahr*, 'a stream' or 'rivulet,' but that is an Arabic word, although commonly used in Persian. By degrees, through constant use, Nek-anhár became corrupted into Nangrahár. In former times it was likewise known as Jú-e-Sháhí. It consists of a number of dara'hs of greater or less extent, and these are peopled by Tájzíks and a few Afgháns. The Dara'hs of Lamghán and Káman, and, in the same manner, Shíwí, the tract of country in which the Shinwárí tribe dwell, which runs down south of Jalál-ábád, being also computed, they number nine various dara'hs, out of which nine rivers flow. All these meeting in this district, the combined rivers receive the name of river of Kábul. It is from these nine tributaries that the name of the territory is derived, not from the minor streams alone which flow from the Spín Ghar range, as has been hitherto supposed.

"The town of Adínah-púr was the ancient seat of government, but, as it was situated in broken and uneven ground, and distant from the river of Kábul, a new town was founded, half a kuroh north of the old one, adjoining the river, which was named Jalál-ábád after Jalál-ud-Dín, Muhammad, Akbar Bádsháh, whose founder he is said to have been. It is a small place. It is also called 'Ajá'íb-ul-Bilád—wonderful among cities—because the cold of winter is never severe, although snow falls within two or three kuroh of it.

"It is a fruitful tract of country, producing much grain, such as rice, wheat, barley, múng (*Phaseolus mungo*), and 'adas (lentils), in great quantities; and the quantity and quality of the various fruits who shall enumerate and sufficiently praise? Among

them are the seedless pomegranates, which are taken away into distant parts for presents, in such esteem are they held.

"The weights and measures of Nangrahár are similar to those of Kábul. The weight of 80 rupees they term one ser, 100 rupees weight a chárak, 2½ cháraks constitute 1 mann of Tabríz, 4 cháraks 1 Kábulí ser, 8 Kábulí sers 1 mann of the kingdom of Delhí. The measurement of land is after the following computation,—40 fingers of middle size constitute 1 standard gaz, 3 gaz 1 katth'ah, 20 katth'ah in length and the same in breadth 1 biswah, 20 biswah 1 bíghah, which they also term a jaríb.*

"The gross revenue of that part of Nangrahár mentioned in the fourth paragraph above, not including the other dara'hs, was, in Tímúr Sháh Sadozí's reign, just 100,000 rupees.† According to the assessment in Akbar Bádsháh's reign, as stated by the Shaikh, Abú-l-Fazl, the revenue of the Tomán of Nek-Nihár amounted to 1,18,94,003 dáms, which at 40 dáms the rupee makes it amount to 2 lakhs and 97,350 rupees. The contingent of militia amount to 200 horse and 5,000 foot, but of what tribe or people is not stated, but, doubtless, Tájzíks are referred to.

"The following are the dara'hs east of Kábul and south of Nangrahár; the others will be mentioned in the Third Section of these notes:—

"First. Hisárak-i-Sháhí. This dara'h is of considerable size; and, from north-east to south-west, is nearly sixteen kuroh in length. South-west and south of it is a vast mountain range, covered with perpetual snow, and styled the Koh-i-Tí-ráh. This is the Safed Koh of Persian writers, and Spín Ghar of the Afgháns, and from the south-west or head of the dara'h a river issues. Its water, from being impregnated with a red-coloured earth, appears of that colour; in fact, the colour is so deep that if a piece of white cloth be dipped in its water it turns it a red colour. This river consequently is known as the Surkh Rúd, or Red River.‡ Its water, however, is considered very good, and is not deleterious to the health of any one. It passes three or four kuroh west of Gandamak, and, flowing through a mountain range difficult to cross, joins the river of Lamghán (or river of Kábul) near the village of Darúnthah.§ In this dara'h are Hisárak-i-Sháhí, giving name to the dara'h, Chhár-tút, and several other villages of the Mahmad (Mandú) section of the Khogíání ‖ tribe, which will be farther referred to in the routes.

"The second dara'h, which is small, and to which no name in particular is assigned,¶ lies to the southwards of Gandamak, and through it a small river flows, which, passing east of Gandamak, joins the Nímla'h river, and subsequently enters the Surkh Rúd; and the stream in question they call the river of Gandamak.

"The third dara'h is called Kajá.** This is a great and long dara'h belonging to the Tájzíks, and the Afghán people call it Kagá (some tribes, particularly the Eastern Afgháns, use *g* where the Western tribes use the letters *j* and *jz*. *See* my Afghán Grammar, page 3). It is nearly ten kuroh in length, and, on the south side, it joins the Koh-i-Tí-ráh or Spín Ghar. It produces various kinds of delicious fruits, and in the winter much snow falls, and, even in the summer, the nights cannot be passed without a fire and a postín.

"From the south side of this dara'h, a small river issues, which, passing on the east side of the village of Nímla'h, joins the Gandamak river, and higher up (*i.e.*, farther north), beyond the village of Kangkrak, unites with the Surkh Rúd.

"From the village of Kajá to Nímla'h is four kuroh north, and Fath-ábád is four kuroh to the north-east.

"The fourth dara'h is Kajah-ah, a still larger one, in length from east to west fifteen kuroh. It has a great mountain range on either side of it, and in the ridges thereof a

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* Kattha'h, biswah, and bíghah, are Sanskrit words.

† Under the rule of the Amír, Sher 'Alí Khán, Bárakzí, the whole territory from Básaul to Jagdalaey or Jagdálík, including *all* the territory belonging to him on the northern side of the river of Kábul, yielded, I am informed, on good authority, nine lakhs of rupees.

‡ The "Surhab River" of the Indian Atlas map, and "Surkab" of Mr. Trelawny Saunders' first map in the "Geographical Magazine," but the "Surkh-rúd River" of his last map in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society." Strictly speaking it should be called the Surkh River.

§ The cartographer has placed the district, so called, on the wrong side of the river in his first map.

‖ It is sometimes called the Mandú dara'h.

¶ It might be very properly styled the dara'h of Gandamak.

** During the time that the late Dost Muhammad Khán's half brothers, Pír Muhammad Khán and Sultán Muhammad Khán, who held Pes'háwar and its dependencies, were conspiring against the former, and invaded his province of Jalál-ábád, Pír Muhammad marched to Kohát, crossed the Spín Ghar range, and descended into this dara'h of Kajá, where Sultán Muhammad, who had marched from Pes'háwar by the Karappah route by Mícharna'í, then was. The Khaibar had been closed against the Bárakzís, and consequently the brothers had to take these routes.

section of the Ghalzí tribe dwell. In the middle of it (*i.e.*, halfway through it), the Surkh Rúd issues from the mountains to the south, and flows towards the east.

"Every plot of land is called after the name of the person who cultivates it, and is known by that name."

Mr. Clements Markham tells us* that "the district of Jalal-abad is called Nangnahar, "not, as Lieutenant Wood supposed,† because it contains nine rivers, for the word is, "as Colonel Yule explains it, but a corruption of the ancient Indian name Nagarahâra "(the Nagar of Ptolemy), written in Babar's time Nagarhar," and that "Babar also "calls it Adinapur."‡

I will not go back as far as Ptolemy and ancient Indian names, or attempt to interfere with these ancient reveries, but I must dissent as respects Bábar. On looking into the Turkí original of his Tuzúk, and the two different Persian versions of it, I find in one place, where his setting out to invade Hind is mentioned, that Babár "set out from Kábul to invade Hind by way of Badám Chashma'h and Jagdálík, and, "in six nights, reached the fort of Ádínah-púr, in the tomán of Nangnahár." If a careless copyist leaves out one of the *n's* here, then the word will be Nagnahár, but to make "Nagarhár" it must be written نگرهار, and pointed with the vowels as well. In the Persian versions the name is Nek-nihár.

The Shaikh, Abú-l-Fazl, author of the Á'ín-i Akbarí, who is considered a very great authority, and who may be supposed to have had the best information on matters connected with the geography of the Mughal empire as well as revenue matters, calls the district the tomán of Nek Nihál and Nek Nihár. From the interchange of *l* for *r* in the second word, I should suppose Abú-l-Fazl took it to be a Turkish word. He does not mention its meaning, but he says it contained nine rivers. The first word, *nek*, in Persian signifies "many" as well as "good," and among other meanings of Nihár in the same language one is "an idol."

Báyazíd, the Byát, says that Humáyún Bádsháh built a fort at Jú-e Sháhí, where, in after years another fort was built, and called after that Bádsháh's son—Jalál-ud-Dín, Muhammad, Akbar Bádsháh—by the name of Jalál-ábad. Humáyún, he also says, built this fort in Rajab, 959 H. (June, 1552, A.D.), and that, having left Jú-e Sháhí, he arrived at Adínah-púr,§ near which his father, Bábar Bádsháh, laid out the garden called by him Bágh-i-Wafá; and that he reached Kábul on the 8th of Sha'bán.

Abú-l-Fazl also states that Adínah-púr was formerly the chief official place of Lamghán, but now Jalál-ábád is; and that near Adínah-púr is the Bágh-i-Wafá.

The Akhúnd, Darwezah, the celebrated saint of the Afgháns, who was himself a Tájzík, and a native of the territory in question, writes the word Nangrahár. His ancestors came from the town of Pápín, which appears to have been situated in the dara'h of Hisárak-i-Sháhí.

This place Sultán Bahrám, a descendant of the Sultáns of Pích, who claimed descent from a son of Alexander of Macedon, took possession of, and conquered the tracts up as far as the Safed Koh of Nangrahár, and drove out a tribe which predominated over the Nangraháris, as the Akhúnd styles the Tájzík inhabitants of that part, called Budní, which appears to have been a clan of those Turkish tribes which, before the Afgháns pushed as far north as the southern face of the Spín Ghar range, lorded it over those parts from very early times, as I shall presently proceed to show. The Akhúnd, Darwezah, was descended on the father's side from the Turks of Nangrahár, and, on the mother's side, from Sultán Bahrám, an account of whom I shall give in my History of the Afghán people and their country.

Sultán Bahrám died at Kot, in Nangrahár, and his descendants were still dwelling there in the Akhúnd's time. They continued to rule over those parts until the period of Amír Tímúr's invasion, when they became vassals to his government and that of his successors, but in course of time they lost this nominal power likewise.

Other writers, who composed their histories long before the time of the Akhúnd, also tell us about the Turk tribes, or sections of tribes, settled in these parts, and therefore the numerous Turk names of places are not to be wondered at.

When Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, Khwárazm Sháh, overthrew the Mughals at Barwán, near the source of the Logar river,‖ in 618 H. (1222 A.D.), a quarrel arose about

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* "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society" for January 1879, page 43.

† Wood calls it "Nanjhnehar," and, in a footnote, says, "Sultan Baber mentions that the name Nangenhâr "(*sic*) as he calls it, was written Nekerhâr (rather Nagarhâr) in many histories."

‡ Mr. Markham, doubtless, formed his opinion from the translation of Bábar's work.

§ Adínah-púr was the name of the chief town, not the name of the district or province.

‖ See my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 228, and note 3.

some of the booty between the Yamín-ul-Mulk, Malik Khán of Hirát, and Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Ighrák, the Khalj, who had joined the Sultán with 40,000 men, composed of Khalj and Kankulí Turks, Ghuzz Turk-máns, and Ghúrís, who were Tájzíks. The dispute not having been settled to the satisfaction of the Khalj Malik, Saif-ud-Dín, he, with the whole of the troops he had brought to the Sultán's army, left his camp in the night, and marched away in the direction of Pars'háwar, supposed to be the present Pes'háwar district, towards the mountains of Karmán and Sankúrán* (this is the Shalúzán or Shanúzán—both modes of writing the word are correct—of Amír Tímúr's campaign). With Saif-ud-Dín was the 'Azam Malik, the son of 'Imád-ud-Dín, the Balkhí, a Ghúrí chief, and several others. These disloyal chiefs proceeded into Nangrahár, which was the fief of the 'Azam Malik. Arrived there, the latter entertained them for a time, but, as enmity existed between Núh, the Ján-dár, who was at the head of a khel of some five or six thousand families, and Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Ighrák, the Khalj, the latter, with his 20,000 followers (his immediate followers) turned his face towards Pars'háwar, while Núh, the Ján-dár, stayed behind in the pasture lands of Nangrahár.†

Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, in consequence of this defection on the part of these Turks and Ghúrís, could not keep the field, and retired to Ghaznín; and after the Chingiz Khán had completely overthrown the unfortunate Sultán, he had these rebels exterminated, which was partly brought about by their own feuds. The particulars of these events will be found in detail in the last Section of my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," and at page 288, and note 3.

A portion of the Khalj tribe, and some of the Ghuzz, had been settled in these parts, about Spín Ghar, in Nangrahár and Karmán and Shalúzán, for a long period prior to this time. Some writers, however, who appear to have no special knowledge of the subject, seem to be unaware of these facts, and hence Khalj Turks are first turned into Ghúrís, who are Tájzíks, and then the same Ghúrís are re-transformed into "Ghilzai Afgháns."‡

The Akhúnd also says, "first the Dilazák Afgháns appeared in Nangrahár—as he "writes it—and passed on to the east; in after years came the Khas'hí or Khak'hí "Afgháns—the Yúsufzís, Mandars, and others—and they too passed on; and lastly, "came the Ghwarís or Ghwaríah Khel, and they likewise passed on. The Dilazáks seem "to have occupied those parts some time after the Chingiz Khán had destroyed the "Turk clans there located."

The Khas'hís appear to have moved from the tracts near Kandahár about the time

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* An account of these dara'hs will be found at pages 81 and 82.

† Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., in a recently published account of "Afghanistan and the Afghans." says, at page 195, that "Changiz, at the time of his invasion, found the "Peshawar valley held by Irac or Persian troops." He has made a mistake here over the name of Ighrák—Saif-ud-Dín, Ighrák, the Khalj—which Turks he subsequently turns into Ghalzí Afgháns.

‡ A portion of the Khalj tribe of Turks had been settled in the Garm-sír of Ghúr during the time of the Turk governors of those parts, previous to the time of Násir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín. In after years the Khalj tribe of those parts gave kings to Lakhanawatí or Bengal, and to Málwah. Portions of them are still to be found in different parts of Central Asia. Their name is written خلج, and its plural is Akhláj, اخلاج, and persons unacquainted with early Muhammadan history run away with the idea that they must be Ghalzí Afgháns, because, among the Turk tribes settled in and around the valley of the Kurmáh river, a portion of the Khalj was one. The name of the Afghán tribe is written Ghalzí, which is the plural form. Some Afghán tribes use the letter "j" in place of "z" in all words, and, as some pronounce the above name Ghaljí, those who know nothing of the Khalj Turks and their antecedents, assume that they are Ghalzí Afgháns, or rather that the latter are Khalj Turks.

In a book written by Mr. Bellew in 1857, "A Mission to Afghanistan," he says, at page 50, "Bíbí Matto "was married to Shah Husain, a Persian prince of Ghor, and to whom she bore two sons, viz., Ghilzai "and Ibrahim." At page 60 he says, "A few months after the marriage, Bíbí Matto gave birth to a son, who "from the attendant circumstances (the illicit connection) was named 'Ghalzoe' or 'the son of theft' "(in Pukhtú, 'ghal' means a 'thief' or 'theft,' and 'zoe,' a 'son'). From this son sprang the tribe of "'Ghalzoe' or 'Ghalzai,' at this day one of the chief and most powerful of the Afghán tribes."

All this is tolerably correct, only the Ghúrís were not "Persian" princes. At page 80 of the same book he says, "the Ghoride were Afghan princes," which they were not, in the opinion of Firishtah.

At page 175 of Mr. Bellew's book, he says, "of Afghans, there are families of the Ghalzai and Mahmand tribes," but, at page 220 of his latest book we have the following:—

"Connected with the Afghan, and generally reckoned as a Pathan (elsewhere we are told that 'Pathans are not Afghans') is the Ghilzaí. His language is the Pukhto, and his manners and customs assimilate to those of the Afghan, with whom he is an orthodox Sunni Musalman. But he is professedly of a different origin, and never styles himself anything but Ghilji. He has no knowledge why he sticks to this term as his patronymic, beyond the fact that he is not an Afghan nor a Pathan, though now he is more or less blended with them by intermixture of territory, and to a small extent by intermarriage also. The Ghilzais are supposed to have come into the country with Sabaktakin, the Turks in the tenth century, and to be representatives of the Turk tribe of Khilich which was anciently located on the upper course of the Jaxartes."

of Tímúr's invasion, and in the time of Mírzá Ulugh Beg's rule, we know, on undoubted authority, that they reached the tracts north and east of the Khaibar Pass, but the Ghwaríah Khel only reached their present seats towards the end of Humáyún's reign. "The Yúsufzís left the Muhammadzís in Nangarhár, and the Gagyánís took up their quarters about Básaul, but followed the Yúsufzís as soon as they had sufficient room in their newly acquired territory to receive them." At this time too it is remarkable, but a fact nevertheless, that we hear not one word as to the Afrídís being then located so near the Khaibar defiles, much less occupying them, and it is only in 925 H (1519 A.D.), that we hear of their being *just* settled in Bárah, where "they had sown much rice."

Any account of the town of Jalál-ábád, from the course of events at present, is unnecessary; therefore, after this digression, I shall continue my author's routes towards Kábul.

Several routes diverge from Jalál-ábád, and will be mentioned in their proper place, in the next Section of these notes, including those leading towards Kúnar, Chitrál, Káshkár, and the Káfiristán.

"One kuroh and a half west of Jalál-ábád is the Mazár, or Tomb of Rustam Khán,* a brick-built mausoleum, which is close by, on the right hand, adjoining the road. This place has been also called the 'Íd-gah, which means a building in which the religious festivals of the Muhammadans are celebrated; and near this place are the elephant stables of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí. The river, which is generally known here as the Lamghán river, lies at a distance on the right hand. After it passes Jalál-ábád, in the direction of north-east, near Ilah Baghá or 'Alí Baghán, it joins the Kámán river, and obtains the latter name, and also that of river of Jalál-ábád, as well as river of Kábul.

"To the west of the mausoleum of Rustam Khán, on the right-hand side, adjoining the road, is the little village called the Kalaey (in Pus'hto, signifying a village) of Madad Khán, to the west of which again is a small river, called the river of Rustam Khán, which comes from the left hand, from the villages belonging to the Shinwárí tribe, in the Shíwí Dara'h, and, running to the right, joins the river of Kábul. It rises in the mountain range of Tí-ráh, which is always covered with snow (Spín Ghar, or Safed Koh); and, except in the summer season, when the snow melts, it can be easily forded, the water being then less than knee deep.† The rivers and streams of this part all become swollen and flooded in the hot season when the snow melts.

"From this Kalaey, one kuroh west, inclining south-west, is Chhár Bágh-i-Safá,‡ a large village of the Tájzíks, and near it are four gardens—chhár bágh—as its name indicates, which are famous for their fruits, more particularly the garden known as the Bágh-i-Safá (which latter word signifies 'pleasure' and 'content,' as well as 'purity,' 'clearness,' etc.), which lies near the village on the west side, a heart-ravishing and delightful place, and therein are produced delicious fruits. A large canal has been cut from the Surkh Rúd, farther west, and water brought from it into these gardens.

"The distance from this place to Kábul is estimated at forty kuroh; and from here two roads diverge. The right-hand (northern) route they call the Ráh-i-Kaj-há, the Kaj-há Road, while that on the left-hand (southern) is as follows:—

"Leaving the Bágh-i-Safá of Chhár Bágh on the right hand, and proceeding six kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining west, and leaving Bálá Bágh likewise on the right hand, at some distance from the road, you reach Fath-ábád,§ a large village belonging to the Tájzíks. There are many ascents and descents by the way, and mountains on either side, distant about two or three kuroh. In proceeding direct from Chhár Bágh to Bálá Bágh you pass Sultán-púr,‖ where are numerous springs and many gardens, and cross the river called the Kará-Sú, the Turkish name for the Black or Dark River.

There is also a road from Bálá Bágh direct to Nímla'h, but it is bad after you reach

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* The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad computes the distance of this place from Jalál-ábád at two kos west.

† This river in the Indian Atlas map, and in some others, is made to flow east of Jalál-ábád instead of west, while a small stream, which runs only for a few miles, takes its place west of Jalál-ábád.

‡ There is a large village on the other side of the river of Kábul, also called Chhár-Bágh-i-Mas'úd, or Chhár-Bágh of Mas'úd, by way of distinction.

§ This is a very old place, once called Dínúr. Maudúd, son of Mas'úd, the Martyr, son of Mahmúd, Sultán of Ghaznín, is said to have defeated his uncle, Muhammad, here in 434 H., (1042-43, A.D.), and avenged the murder of his father, and named it Fath-ábád, or the Abode of Victory. See "Tabakát-i-Násirí," pages 96 and 97, and note 2.

‖ There are two Sultán-púrs now, one Bálá or Upper, the other Pá'ín or Lower.

about halfway, and descends into the bed of a clear stream, which has to be crossed. It has several ascents and descents until you approach near to Nímla'h."

When Bábar Bádsháh, in 925 H. (October, 1519, A.D.), was on his return to Kábul, having abandoned his intended expedition against the Yúsufzís, on receiving intimation of the intention of Sultán Sa'íd Mírzá, his kinsman, to invade Badakhshán, he passed through the Khaibar defile and encamped on the west side of it. He, on this occasion, determined to beat up the quarters of the Khizr Khel, Afgháns (there is a clan of the Soní or Suní Sarwárnís, called the Khizr Khel), for they had been acting very badly of late, cutting off stragglers who were passing to and fro, and had stolen horses from the Bádsháh's troops previously left in Tí-ráh. He marched, at dawn, from the west foot of the Khaibar defile, and pushed on by way of the village called the Dih-i-Ghulámán—"The village of the Slaves"—also named Básaul, where he halted to pass the midday. At the time of afternoon prayers the horses were fed, and he again set out; and he sent on a party to Kábul to secure the Khizr Khels in that quarter.*

That same night, at about the beginning of the third watch, he passed a little beyond Sultán-púr, and halted for the purpose of taking some repose, and allowing his force to do the same. The Khizr Khels were located from Bihár and Hích-grám, as far as Kará-tú, and he attacked them early the following morning. The surprise was so complete that only a few had time to betake themselves to the mountains, and most of their property and effects, they and their families, fell into the hands of the troops. Next morning the Bádsháh reached Kilághú—the Turkí text has Kílághú—where the heavy baggage and materials came up with the force, and there he halted.

The Wazírí Afgháns had always declined before this to pay any tribute, but now they sent in 3,000 sheep, as an offering (pesh-kash), to propitiate the Bádsháh. The next day the head-men of the Kharlakhí and Shamú Khel,† and some other Afgháns, accompanied by several of the head-men of the Dilazáks (who were in the Bádsháh's camp), came and solicited pardon. The Khizr Khel clan was accordingly pardoned, their families were restored to them, and their yearly tribute was fixed at 4,000 sheep. On the 18th of the same month, Bábar marched from Kilághú, and came back to Bihár and Hích-grám again, and halted for the day, and next morning reached the garden styled Bágh-i-Wafá, or Garden of Sincerity or Fidelity, a little west of Chhár Bágh, and then proceeded on by Gandamak and Jagdálík to Kábul.

Some time after Humáyún Bádsháh had defeated his rebellious brother, Mírzá Kámrán, at Kabchák and Shutar Grám, in the year 957 H. (1550, A.D.), he had to march from Kábul again to quell another outbreak which Kámrán had raised in Nangrahár.

Kámrán had fled into those parts through the dara'hs of Alingár and 'Alí Shang, and found shelter among the Khalíls and Mahmands. The former, at this period, was an exceedingly powerful tribe, indeed, the most powerful tribe among the Ghwaríah Khel, and, at this time they had not reached their present seats in the Pes'háwar district. They had followed the Khak'hís or Khas'hís, that is to say, the Yúsufzís, Mandars, and Gagyánís, constituting that great sept, from Gárah and Nus'hkí, after having compelled the latter to leave those parts many years before. They first occupied part of Bájawr with some of the Yúsufzís about 923 H. (1517 A.D.), but had again quarrelled with them, and the Yúsufzís had been driven out, but they subsequently recovered part of it. They were, at the period I refer to, occupying the country immediately west of the Khaibar. Báyazíd, the Byát, says,—"Humáyún, having reached the Siyah-Áb or "Black Water, or river of Gandamak, placed the van of his force under Haidar "Muhammad, the Akhtah Bígí, and then advanced across [that is, east of] the "Siyah-Áb, and halted. There is also a village called Siyah-Áb.

"Kámrán, with his Khálíl and Mahmand allies, was at Kará-sú (this, in Turkish, has the same meaning as Siyah-Áb in Persian), which is situated on the northern skirt of Safed Koh or Spín Ghar, on the other side of which lies Bangas'h, and, on this side, Jalál-ábád. He made preparations for a night attack upon Humáyún's forces, and, as the Bádsháh, with his troops, was on the other side of the Siyah-Áb (from Kámrán and his allies), in the darkness of the night he lost the road, and stumbled upon the van of Humáyún's forces under Haidar Muhammad. Standing at the entrance of the latter's tent, Mírzá Kámrán sent in Sháh Badágh and others of his own immediate followers, who fell upon Haidar Muhammad with their swords, and wounded him so in the right arm, that it was powerless for ever after. In the meantime his allies were plundering the baggage and cattle.

* *See* page 58. † *See* pages 58 and 72.

"The whole force being soon on the alert, Kámrán and his Afgháns had to beat a retreat; and the movement of the troops under Humáyún, on the opposite side of the Siyah-Áb, prevented them from reaching Kará-sú again, and so Kámrán, with the Khalíls and Mahmands, retired eastward, passed Jalál-ábád and Hindál-púr, and reached Bárík-Áb, where he took up his quarters among the Afgháns."

Humáyún followed in pursuit of him, and, having reached Jíryár or Jabíryár, of Nangrahár, which in other works is written Jabír-háe, on the hill slopes of the Spín Ghar range and Hindál-púr, there took up his position, and secured the safety of his camp by intrenchments and breastworks.

I regret I cannot identify this first-named place with any certainty, but somewhere about the "Jabbah" of our maps, five or six miles to the south of Baro, mentioned at page 48, appears to be the place.

Whilst here encamped, Kámrán and his Afghán allies made another night attack upon his brother's camp, on which occasion another brother, Mírzá Hindál, lost his life. Hindál was moving about within the breastwork held by the troops under his own command just at the time that the Afgháns attacked the camp at that very point. Hindál was not armed for the fight, and had merely his bow in his hand—carried by great men as an indication of rank—and two or three arrows. The Afgháns had reached the entrance of the camp, and one of them, on his left hand, cut at Hindál with his sword, on which the Mírzá, instinctively, raised his left hand to save his face. Báyazíd says, "the sword must have been a Barakkí blade, and newly sharpened, for it cut the Mírzá's forefinger lengthways into two slices. His assailant, swinging round his sword the second time in a horizontal direction, cut the unfortunate Hindál's head through from ear to ear, and the upper part rolled on the ground.

"The Yasáwal, 'Abd-ul-Wáhib, who was sent by Humáyún to see after the safety of his brother Hindál, in the confusion caused by the clamour and the yells of the Afgháns, was shot in the mouth with an arrow which came out at the back of his head, and one of the Bádsháh's soldiers, taking him for an Afghán, finished him.

"The din was so great that Humáyún rushed out of his tent, got on horseback, and took up his position on a mound which stood in the midst of the camp. It was previously determined that, in case of danger, the Bádsháh should proceed thither, and that there the troops would rally round him. Mun'im Beg, who was made Khán-i-Khánán 970 H. (1562–3 A.D.) by Akbar Bádsháh, came from his breastwork, and, joining Humáyún there, found him in tears. He inquired the cause, on which Humáyún said, "Have you not heard that they have killed poor Hindál"? The Beg replied, 'Do not grieve, for you have one enemy the less.'

"The attack did not succeed, and the Afgháns were beaten off with considerable loss. This event happened on the night of Sunday (our Saturday night: the night precedes the day in the computation of the Musalmáns), the 21st of Zí-Ka'dah, 958 H. (end of November, 1551 A.D.).

"The day after this untoward event Humáyún conferred the tománs of Ghaznín, Gardaiz, and other parts, the appanage held by his brother Hindál, upon his own son, the young prince Muhammad Akbar. Hindál was buried at Kábul near his father, Bábar Bádsháh."

After this affair Humáyún advanced to Bihsúd (Básaul) and halted, and remained there until the cold weather had passed. During this interval a strong fort was erected at Bihsúd, and after the cold season had passed the Bádsháh commenced operations against the Afgháns who had sheltered Mírzá Kámrán. He attacked them quite unexpectedly early one night in the neighbourhood of the Bísh-Bulák or The Five Springs. They had been left quiet so long that they were completely off their guard, and had quite settled down. The attack was completely successful, and 12,000 persons, male and female, and 300,000 sheep fell into the hands of the troops during that raid, and the wives and families of the Afgháns were ordered to be sold as slaves.

After this affair Kámrán fled to the Panjáb to Salím Khán, son of Sher Khán, the Núhání Súr, who had deprived his brother Humáyún of his throne; and Humáyún, after providing for the peace of that part of Nangrahár, returned to Kábul.

If it is determined to secure our hold on the Khaibar defiles now, once for all, the Bísh-Bulák is the spot for our position on the west side. This would not only command the Khaibar, but also the route into Tí-ráh, described at page 94.

After this digression I return to the account of the route.

"From Fath-ábád, likewise, two routes branch off. That on the left hand goes to Kajá, also written Kagá,* and the right-hand one is as follows. From Fath-ábád three

* *See* this route, at page 50.

kuroh west is Nímla'h, which is a large village of the Tájzíks, on the eastern bank of a little river which comes from the left hand, from the Tí-ráh range of mountains or Spín Ghar, and falls into the Shu'bah—signifying a cleft in a mountain range where water stagnates—of Kajá or Kagá. A small portion of the water of this river flows on to Fath-ábád, where it is drawn off for irrigating the fields and gardens of that place, and the rest flows past this village (Nímla'h) towards the east, and finally unites with the Surkh Rúd."

Jahán-gír Bádsháh says, respecting Nímla'h, that "the peasantry here are Laghmánís and Afghán Shál."

"There are also two roads from Nímla'h. The right-hand one runs to Gandamak, four kuroh west of Nímla'h. It is a large walled village belonging to the Khogíání Afgháns,* who also hold villages on the western bank of a little river to the immediate south, called the Nauyán, which stream also comes down from the great mountain range on the left-hand side, and, flowing to the left, enters the Surkh-Rúd.

"The left-hand road leads by Safed Sang, about two kuroh to the south-west, to Tútú, and on to Hisárak and But-Khák.

"Half a kuroh to the west of Gandamak, having descended to the bed of a rivulet and forded it, the ascent of the mountains begin, and this defile through which you pass they call the Surkh-Áb Kotal. It has an ascent and descent of three kuroh, and is tolerably even. On the west side of the Kotal is the Surkh-Áb or Surkh-Rúd—Red River—previously referred to at page 50. This river comes from the left hand and runs towards the right, and within three or four kuroh west of Jalál-ábád, near the Darúnthah mountain, joins the river of Kábul. It can be forded in the winter season, the water reaching to the knees, but in the hot season, when the snows melt in the mountains to the west, it is quite unfordable. At the point where the road crosses it there is a fine bridge of good width, some 200 gaz long, built of stone, brick, and lime, of one arch only. It was erected by 'Alí Mardán Khán, the first of that title, who gave up Kandahár to the officers of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, and they call it the Pul or Bridge of Surkh-Áb.

"At this bridge a road from Bálá Bágh again joins the Sháh-Ráh or King's Road. Setting out from Bálá Bágh you leave this road, which goes by Nímla'h, and you descend into the bed of the Surkh-Áb, and keep along the valley in which it runs, crossing some small streams coming from the mountain range which bounds the valley to the north. Continuing to follow the course of the river, you reach a Tájzík village called Kangkrak-i-Pá'ín† or Lower Kangkrak, where a small stream from the southward joins the Surkh-Áb, and where there are several *smats* or caves. There is a road (path) from thence over the hills to the village of Nímla'h three kuroh distant, and to Bálá Bágh two kuroh.

"Proceeding from Kangkrak, still going up the valley of the Surkh-Áb, with lofty hills on either side, you at last reach the high road again at the afore-mentioned bridge. Another route runs from this bridge to the southwards across the country to Hisárak, previously referred to, and then, leaving that place on the left hand, you can cross over the Kotal of Karkachah to Tezín. The village of Tútú, mentioned at page 96, lies two kuroh nearly due south from this bridge.

"To continue the route by the Sháh-Ráh.

"Three kuroh north-west and west of the Surkh-Áb is the Chaukí (signifying a post or place where a guard is stationed) of Báwalí,‡ which lies near on the left-hand side, the ascent being gradual. After proceeding another three kuroh from thence in the same direction, the road winding and still ascending, you reach the Chaukí of Kímah, the name of a halting place now wholly deserted. You pass by the way, on the left hand, the bed of a rivulet overgrown with reeds or a giant grass with a feathery flower, called *badá-gál* in Pus'hto, and *lúkha'h* in Persian, and from the latter word the place is known as Lúkhey.§ The village of Hisárak, which will be again mentioned in another route farther on, and lies about four kuroh over the hills, may be reached from this place. From it Jalál-ábád may also be reached in one direction

* The Ghalzí Afgháns have greatly encroached upon the country of the Khogíání tribe, which formerly possessed the tracts to the eastward of But-Khák, now held by the Jabbár Khel Ghalzís. No Afgháns, however, extend so far east as Jalál-ábád in the Nangrahár district.

† There are two villages named Kangkrak (*g* and *k* constantly come together in Turkish proper names, as in the name of the celebrated tribe of Kangkur-át, in that of Ungkút, Tingkut, &c., in lieu of *gh*), the village here mentioned, and the other styled Kangkrak-i-'Ulyá or Bálá, signifying "upper," distant from the village referred to above one kuroh west.

‡ Also written Bháwalí. Afgháns have an objection to aspirates—their language eschews them, and such words as the above are of Hindí origin.

§ Wygram Battye was killed here.

by another route, and, in the opposite direction, Jagdálík may be reached from Jalál-ábád by a route which joins this one at Chaukí-i-Báwalí.

"At Chaukí-i-Kímah the road lies close to and in the dry bed of a river, which, in the hot season, rushes down the valley to Kangkrak-i-Pá'ín or Lower Kangkrak (there is another village called Higher Kangkrak previously mentioned), and joins the Surkh-Rúd or Surkh-Áb. At other seasons it is dry or nearly so. The mountains show themselves on the right and left as you proceed along the road. You now begin to ascend higher; and one kuroh north from the last-mentioned Chaukí, at the top of the Kotal, is the Kala' or Fort of Chashan, a small hisár or fortress on the summit of an eminence of the mountains, and on either side, right and left, are immense abysses and ravines, and clefts, and precipices, and there is no other road for travellers save in passing close to this fortress.* This Kotal marks or forms the boundary between the Kábul and Jalál-ábád provinces. The village of Karkachah, which lies some distance on the left hand, high up on a ridge of the mountains, can be seen from this point.

"Having descended a quarter of a kuroh from the Kala'-i-Chashan, towards the north, the descent being steep, with dwarf trees on either hand, you proceed, still descending, in a westerly direction. Winding through a *tangí* or defile in the mountains, for half a kuroh, with similar trees still on both sides, the hills on the left hand being lower than those on the right, which are high and abrupt, you reach the dry bed of a river (dry in the winter season),† which (when full) comes from the left hand, and runs to the right, and joins the river of Kábul. Proceeding onward along the bed of this river for another kuroh, still descending, the road opening as you move onwards, you reach Jagdálík, also written Jagdálik, and Jagdalaey.‡

"Jagdálík, situated on a lofty mound, is the desolate site of an ancient ruined city. Near this mound, in the valley, there is a small river containing an unceasing supply of good water, which, farther down, joins the dry bed of the river previously mentioned (before entering Jagdálík), and runs towards the north. South of the village, on the south side or bank of the river, is one shop occupied by a Hindú chandler or grocer, and another by a baker. There are a few shady amlúk trees near, planted by Ahmad Sháh, Durrání; and at this place travellers alight and make it their halting place."§

West of Jagdálík the Sulímán Khel Ghalzí country begins. The greatest chief among them, at the time these routes were written, was 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, of the family of Mahmúd, Ghalzí, ruler of Kandahár, and conqueror of the Safawí dynasty. 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, incorrectly styled "Abdooreheem" by Elphinstone, bore the title of Ikhlás Kulí Khán from the Persians, rebelled against the Sadozís in 1801, and set himself up as king. The Ghalzís assembled in great force, and, in November of that year, threatened Ghaznín, but sustained a check, not a "crushing defeat," as we are told in the "Geographical Magazine" for November, 1878, in the engagement at Shujáwand, mentioned at page 72, from the Durránís under the Mukhtár-ud-Daulah.‖ They subsequently were overthrown, with the loss of 3,000 men killed in the battle and pursuit, near Kala'-i-Sháhí, within a few miles of Kábul. They were not crushed, however, nor completely overcome, until May, 1802, in an engagement at Mullá Shádí.

In the reign of Aurangzeb Bádsháh, on the occasion previously referred to, Fidá-e Khán, the Súbah-dár of Kábul, wanted to proceed from Kábul to Pas'háur by way of Jalál-ábád. Aghúz Khán was then occupying a fortified position at Gandamak, but Fidá-e Khán did not think fit (out of jealousy, apparently) to avail himself of Aghúz Khán's aid, proceeded onwards from thence towards Jalál-ábád, and soon after sustained a severe repulse, and had to obtain help from Aghúz Khán after all. In the

* During the reign of Aurangzeb Bádsháh, after sustaining so many defeats in the different attempts to force the Khaibar, and keep open the road between Pes'háwar and Kábul, the Mughals established a series of strong posts along the route. There was one at Bárík-Áb, another at Jagdálík, a third at the Surkh-Áb, and a fourth at Gharíb Khána'h, besides the fort and station of Jalál-ábád, and other smaller posts between the larger ones.

† Jahán-gír Bádsháh says: "I then proceeded by Surkh-Áb and Jagdálík. Although there were no defiles "to pass, yet the road was full of stones and boulders." From thence he proceded by Bárík-Áb, the Yúrat-i-Bádsháh, and Kábul-i-Khúrd, to Kábul city.

‡ The Sayyid, Ghulám Muhammad, says this place is twelve kos from Gandamak.

§ It was here that the unfortunate Sháh-i-Zamán was blinded by the Bárakzí faction, in A.D. 1800. His name was not "Zamaun Shah."

‖ Sir J. Kaye, in his "*History of the Afghan War*," writes this title in a strange manner, Mooktor-ood-Dowlah. Mukhtár-ud-Daulah signifies Director or Superintendent of the State. His name was Sher Muhammad Khán, and, as he knew the whole Kur'án by heart, he is styled Háfiz.—The Háfiz, Sher Muhammad Khán.

Jagdálík pass or dara'h (*see* Kala'-i-Chashan, page 57), a well known place, and one of the most difficult, great rocks were rolled down upon the Mughal force, but Fidá-e Khán was enabled to reach Jalál-ábád.

Bábar says in his Tuzúk that, when he set out from Kábul, in 913 H. (September, 1507 A.D.), with the intention of invading Hind, the Afgháns located between Kábul and Lamghán thought it a good opportunity to attack his force, thinking he was leaving for Hind, and so, the morning he marched from Jagdálík, he says, "the "Afgháns around, such as the Khizr Khel, Shamú Khel, Kharlakhí, and Khogíání, "sought to close the Kotal against us. They appeared in strength on the hills to the "north, with drums beating, standards waving, brandishing their swords, and showing "the Afghán gasconade. They were however driven off, and we reached the Tomán "of Nangnahár, and encamped before the gate of the fort of Adínah-púr."

When Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother, incited by Farídún, his maternal uncle, invaded the Panjáb, in 989 H. (April 1581, A.D.), and again retired to Kábul, on the approach of his brother, he made his way back by crossing the Bihat or Jhilam near Báhrah, and by the Kahár Pass and the Gahep route across the Indus. Akbar advanced towards Kábul by the Níl-áb, another name for the Sind river or Indus, which was anciently called the Sind-Ságar (the Sanskrit for sea or ocean), and at this time numbers of Afgháns presented themselves. Akbar gave orders for building the fort of Atak Banáras, near the junction of the river of Kábul with the Sind. The Kunwar, Mán Singh, was ordered to cross the river and occupy Pas'háur, and Prince Muhammad Murád, Akbar's son, was sent with him. He then proceeded by Daulat-ábád to the fort of Bagrám (near Pes'háwar).

While Akbar, who had crossed the Sind in the sixth month of 989 H. (middle of June, 1581, A.D.), was advancing by the Khaibar route, Muhammad Hakím proposed to leave Kábul and take the Bangas'h route into India, and foment troubles therein, but he appears to have abandoned the intention.

Akbar continued his advance by Jam-rúd, Dhákah, a long march to Láchí-púr, then to Jalál-ábád, and the next march the Bágh-i-Safá was reached. Here news reached him that the Afgháns (the Sulímán Khels probably) had closed the road in advance. His next march was to Gandamak, but how it fared with his troops in front is not stated. His son, the Sháh-zádah, Muhammad Murád, who nominally commanded the troops in advance, but the Kunwar, Mán Singh, in reality, had by this time, reached within seven or eight kuroh of Kábul by the same route. On this Muhammad Hakím came out of Kábul, with his forces, by the Khúrd Kábul route, and attacked Muhammad Murád, consequently Akbar, his father, did not deem it advisable to proceed farther until news of the capture of Kábul should reach him.

The particulars are thus given. Farídún was in ambush at Bíní-Badr, which is between But-Khák and Do-ába'h. On the day that the Sháh-zádah, Muhammad Murád, marched from Bárík-Áb, Farídún threw himself upon his rear, upon his equipage and baggage, and some of it was carried away. The rear-guard, however, succeeded in driving Farídún off, and he retired to Badám Chashma'h, whilst part of his force went to Korkíáe (another MS. has Korkasáe) and Ulugh-púr. The next night fires were seen lighted upon all the mountain sides, and there was great tumult and outcry made all around, in order to intimidate Akbar's troops, and a night attack was made upon them, both on the right and left of their position. The Kábul forces were however beaten off. On the 1st of Rajab, Mírzá Muhammad Hakím issued from the defile and showed himself with his troops, but, after some fighting, he was compelled to retire. The following morning, Farídún again appeared upon the scene, and Naurang Khán, one of the officers with the advance of Muhammad Murád, encountered him, but was overpowered and forced back. This raised the hopes of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím and his forces, and he again advanced from the head of the defile into the plain against the Sháh-zádah, and very nearly succeeded in gaining a victory. Mán Singh now put his own force in motion, and despatched a body of his best troops to the scene of action, and the elephants were also brought to the front. The upshot was that the Kábul troops were, in their turn, overpowered and repulsed with considerable slaughter. Mírzá Muhammad Hakím fled, and succeeded in reaching Kará-Bágh; and afterwards hastened to Ushtur-ghach, and from thence retired to the Ghúrband.

After this success, the Sháh-zádah advanced to the jal-gáh of Siyah-Sang,—we had a camp there at the time of the outbreak at Kábul, in November 1842, under the command of Brigadier Shelton,—and Akbar, who had received news of this victory at Jagdálík, as already stated, marched next day to Bárík-Áb, and from thence to But-Khák, and on to Kábul.

Mírzá Muhammad Hakím in a few days presented himself and was forgiven, and was left as before in possession of the territory of Zábulistán and Kábul. Akbar, after spending twenty days at Kábul, set out on his return to India.

Some of the writers of his reign state that Akbar was at the Surkh-Áb at this time, while Faizí, the Sarhindí, says a battle took place between the two forces outside the Shutar Gardana'h *tangí* or defile near Kábul-i-Khúrd, not the "Shooturgurdun" that we have heard so much of lately, for there are several gardana'hs, *i.e.*, defiles or gorges, of this name; that west of the Paiwar Kotal is quite out of the way of these operations. It was after this affair that Kásim Khán was sent to improve the road by the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah and the Khaibar defile, mentioned at page 39.

To return to the route again.

"Another road branches off from Jagdálík in the direction between west and north, called the Dara'h-i-Parián, the Defile or Pass of the Fairies, but it is a much more roundabout way, and by it to Bárík-Ab the distance is about twelve kuroh, but the route given under is the Sháh-Rah or Royal Road."

The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad computes the distance from Jagdálík to Bárík-Áb, in the direction of south-west, at eight kos, and by the Dara'h-i-Parián, in the direction of west and north, at thirty kos, which, certainly, is too great.

"From Jagdálík you descend into the dara'h or valley in which the stream runs, and ascend to the opposite side, and on the summit are the walls of two old forts.* Having proceeded three kuroh, in a direction north and afterwards north-west, passing the walls of a small square building, you reach the Taudah-i-Sang-reza'h—the mound or heap of stones or large pebbles—which lies near by on the right-hand side of the way. From this point the mountains of perpetual snow show themselves both on the right and left hand (the Hindú Koh and Spín-Ghar ranges), and the Tag-áo valley can be plainly seen on the right hand.

"Having passed the Taudah-i-Sang-reza'h, going over an open but uneven tract for half a kuroh, you reach the dry bed of a river, and from thence, proceeding up the river bed for two kuroh, in a westerly direction, you reach Bárík-Áb, which is also called Bárah Gáo,† the name of a desolate halting place or station. The former name is derived from a small rivulet, whose source is a spring which bubbles out here, and which flows towards the east and is lost. In the hot season, when the snow melts, the water of this stream increases greatly, and flows six or seven kuroh to the east to join the river of Kábul.‡

"Proceeding from Bárík-Áb and ascending half a kuroh to the north-west, and then descending in the same direction for one kuroh, you reach the Tezín, also written Teza'í, which is the name of a considerable river, which comes from the left hand from Khúrd or Little Kábul, and, flowing towards the right hand for three or four kuroh, and passing But-Khák on the east, joins the river of Kábul.

"At this point two roads branch off to the right and left, that on the left goes to Khúrd Kábul."

This route turns the Latah-Band Pass, as the Latah-Band turns this. The road commences beneath the Kotal, and proceeding by the Kabr-i-Jabbár—Jabbár's Grave§—near which are some *smats* or caves on the left hand, through a most difficult tract, opens out at last upon Khúrd Kábul.

The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad says it is exceedingly cold by this route at all times of the year, that even in the hot season few follow it, and that the Sháh-Ráh, or that pursued by Tímúr Sháh's troops, is by the Latah Band Kotal.||

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* This is the very place where the last stand was made in the disastrous retreat from Kábul, and the stream the identical one mentioned by Eyre in his narrative. He says, "About 3 p.m., the advance reached Jugdaluk, and took up its position behind some ruined walls that crowned a height by the road side. * * * * * The exhausted troops and followers began to suffer greatly from thirst, which they were unable to satisfy. A tempting stream trickled near the foot of the hill, but to venture down it was certain death." Page 224.

† Possibly meant for Bárík-Áb.

‡ The courses of the rivers marked in the Indian Atlas map, in this direction, are purely imaginary.

§ Invariably written incorrectly, as "Kubbur Jabbár," "Kubbur-i-Jabbar," "Kala Jabar," and even "Kubbur-i-Zubbar." In the Indian Atlas map we have two places for this one. "K. Jubar," and another about two miles south-east of it styled "Kuburi Jubar," and in the map to the first number of the "Royal Geographical Society's Proceedings" "Jabar" only.

|| It certainly is a much longer way from Kábul-i-Khúrd to Jagdálík by the Kabr-i-Jabbár, and very difficult, certainly more so than by the Latah-Band Kotal, and yet the former was chosen for the army to take in the disastrous retreat in the month of January too.

In the map of the "Kyber, Karkatcha, and Kurram Passes," in the "Geographical Magazine," for November, 1878, the whole route from "Barikab" to "Muradund" appears quite level, and yet, for greater part of the way, it is a maze of broken country, with hills of greater and lesser elevation.

" By the right-hand route you proceed half a kuroh from the river of Tezín or Teza'í in the direction of west, ascending until you gain the crest of the mountains, and then, descending one kuroh in the same direction, you reach a little river, which also comes from the left hand or south and runs to the right, and falls into the river of Kábul. You then proceed one kuroh and a half in a direction between west and south-west, and ascend for a distance of another kuroh and a half up the mountains, which having gained, you descend again in a direction north-west and west, and reach the Manzil-i-Ghalzí, or the Ghalzí Halting Place or Stage. At this place a little water issues from the foot of the mountains, which the Ghalzí tribe use in irrigating their cultivated lands, and this defile they style the Kotal-i-Latah-Band, signifying the pass where rags and tatters are hung up. It is called by this name because most way-farers, on reaching the crest of this Kotal, hang up their old clothes or rags on the branch of a tree. The elevation here is excessive, and the city of Kábul can be distinctly seen away in the west.* Proceeding from the Manzil-i-Ghalzí into the dry bed of a river in the direction of north for half a kuroh, you ascend the defile to the crest of the mountains on the left-hand side. This defile they call the Kotal of Mír Khán. It is extremely arduous and difficult, and you have to dismount and leave your horses, mules, camels, and other animals, to take their own course and pick their way as best they can.† The ascent is nearly half a kuroh, and parallel with the road, on the right hand, is a yawning precipice. The summit lies close by on the left-hand side, and on the right are abysses, and through them the stream from Zaffar Khán flows and joins the river of Kábul.

" From the crest of the afore-mentioned Kotal you proceed one kuroh in the direction of west and north-west, with a lofty mountain (range ?) close by on the left-hand side, and deep abysses on the right. After this you proceed half a kuroh to the north, and afterwards about the same distance in the direction of north-east, through a defile of the mountains, when you reach the kalaey or village of Zaffar Khán.‡ It is a small deserted village, lying near by the road on the left-hand side; on the right there is a little spring, which, issuing from the foot of the mountains, forms a small river, which, entering the gorge just before traversed, runs away to the right hand. It contains about water enough to turn one mill.

" Continuing onwards from this ruined village for about half a kuroh west and north-west, you enter a small gorge, which is pretty even, called the Kotal-i-Zaffar. The Ghalzí tribe extends as far as this defile in the direction of Kábul. After this, having got over another kuroh of ascents and descents, you reach open level ground again, with the mountains distant on either hand.

" From the Kotal-i-Zaffar to the city of Kábul, which is distant nearly seven kuroh, the road lies over this open tract of country, which depends chiefly on rain for irrigation, but there is some land irrigated artificially from the Logar river, which intersects it from north to south. It is in this open tract that the royal armies encamp.

" Khúrd Kábul from this point lies three or four kuroh on the left hand (south) side, hidden by the veil of mountains. Proceeding onwards for another kuroh and a half over this open tract, in the direction of south-west, inclining west, you reach But-Khák, a large village belonging to the Tájzíks, who extend as far as Kábul and beyond. The name, signifying Idol Dust, is derived, according to the traditions of the people, from the circumstance of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghaznín having brought some large idols from Hindústán, which he had broken up and pounded into dust at this place; and it is further affirmed that jewels, to the value of many lakhs of rupees, were found deposited in the bellies of these idols.§ From that day, they say, this place was called But-Khák, but some native authors, who exaggerate in all they write about, make this circumstance take place at Somnáth.

" From Gandamak to this place there are no villages by the way, and no habitations, and traders and travellers have to provide themselves with food and forage for the journey.

* The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad states that " the site of the ancient city of Zábul, referred to in another place farther on, lies forty kos south-west from the Latah-Band Kotal.

† It has been asserted that this route is only available for men on foot, but this shows that, although difficult, like the other roads, it is not impracticable, and is certainly much the shortest. No doubt a little engineering would soon render it practicable enough.

The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad considers the distance between the Latah-Band Pass and Kábul to be nine kos, six of which is ascent, and three descent towards the city. He says the road is not very difficult.

‡ Called the Chaukí-i-Zaffar by the Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad, who says it is a halting place for káfilahs and travellers, below or at the foot of the mountains.

§ It is very probably the site of the ancient idol temple of Shá-Bihár, referred to farther on.

It was at But-Khák that 'Alí Mardán Khán, after he had given up Kandahár, was received by the Sháh-zádah, Shujá', who had been deputed by his father, Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, for that purpose.

"The river of Kábul passes below the village (*sic.* in MSS.) in the direction of north-west and north, and the cultivators have cut a canal from thence, and conveyed the water into their lands. Khúrd Kábul lies about three kuroh on the left hand from But-Khák.

"From Jam-rúd to Bhatí-Kot, and from Gandamak to this place, But-Khák, the mountain ranges on either hand are lofty, and the defiles great. The snowy mountains on the right are a long distance off, but those on the left-hand side lie near by, and can be seen from most places by the way.

"From But-Khák, a kuroh and a half in the same direction as before (south-west, inclining west), is the kalaey or village of Táj Khán,* which lies near the road on the right-hand side, and the village of Úshínáh appears at the distance of one kuroh on the right hand. From the kalaey of Táj Khán, one kuroh west, is the brick bridge called the Pul-i-Bagrámí, over the river of Kábul, and this river they here call the river of Logar. The village of Úshínáh, just before mentioned, appears on the right hand, about half a kuroh distant.

"Bagrámí† is not the name of one village but of several, belonging to the Tájzíks, lying along the west bank of the before mentioned river, on the left-hand side, near the road. The cultivators have brought the water of this river into their lands as far as the Dih-i-(village of) Ya'kúb.‡

"From Bagrámí, three kuroh and a half to the west, is the Dár-ul-Mulk, or capital city of Kábul, which you enter by the Láhorí gateway. The Bálá Hisár or citadel, which is the place of residence of the Bádsháh, Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, lies near by on the left hand, while the old or ancient Hisár, which is separate from the city, lies at a distance, on a ridge of the mountains, also on the left hand. The villages of Kaláí-chah, Subúkí, also written Shúbúkí and Makara'í, also written Magara'í &c., six or seven in all, also lie on the left-hand side of the road."

Although Kábul§ does not possess, as far as we know or have discovered, any extensive remains of antiquity, it is known to Oriental history from the earliest times. Zábul, however, is mentioned as a distinct place, and should not be mistaken for it or confused with it, for we find Kábul, Zábul, and Ghaznín often mentioned in the same sentence.

Kábul is mentioned in the reign of Kai-Ká-ús, the second monarch of the Kai-ániah dynasty; and is afterwards referred to as the appanage of Rustam, whose mother is said to have been the daughter of Mihráb-Sháh, the Tází or Tájzík, of the race of Zuhák (*see* my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 308, note 2). Rustam is said to have held Sijistán and Nímroz, Kábul and Zábul, Hind and Sind; and up to this day tradition speaks of Rustam's possessions in the present Bannú district, and people point out the site of an ancient city of his, as will be mentioned farther on.

The name of Kábul, however, does not occur in the accounts of the Greeks unless Kábura refers to it, nor does it appear, I believe, on any of the coins of the Greek-Bakhtríán rulers.

Harmuz, son of Narsí, the fourth ruler of the Sásánián dynasty, married a daughter of the Malik of Kábul, and Kábul and Zábul are enumerated among the cities and provinces contained in the empire of Núshírwán the Just, the first of the Akásirah rulers.

When the Arab invaders appeared in Khurásán, Kábul, that is to say what constituted the Sarkar of Kábul under Akbar, including the Ghaznín district, was ruled by a Hindú king, whose authority probably extended farther east, and who most likely

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* Turned into "Tez Khan" in the Indian Atlas map.

† This name in maps and gazetteers is incorrectly spelt "Bugramee," "Baguramee," &c.

The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad says: "But-Khák is a village of the Tájzíks, who, in Hindústán, are styled Dih-kạns, and these people are very rebellious. South of this place is a mountain range, in which direction they possess several towns and villages, including Bagrámí and Kamárí or Gamárí."

‡ This place was Bábar's first march when he set out for India and conquered the Delhí kingdom.

When he marched from Kábul on his expedition against the Yúsufzís, which will be mentioned in connexion with the routes north of the Kábul river, he encamped in the *ulang* or *jal-gáh*, on the 13th of Ramazán, 930 H. (July, 1523, A.D.), on the Kábul side of the Dih-i-Ya'kúb, and here the Dilazák Afghán deputation waited on him. On the 16th he again marched, passed beyond But-Khák, and encamped, as he always did, when proceeding by that road, on the banks of the river of this But-Khák (the Tezín river). On the 21st he reached Badám Chashma'h, and next day Bárík-Áb, and went and visited the garden at Kará-tú.

§ The correct pronunciation of the name of this city in the original is Ká-bul, with long *a* and short *u*, but Elphinstone, who apparently endeavoured to give the Shírází Persian pronunciation to such Tájzík words, wrote it Cau-bul; but in lexicographical works it is explained in writing as I have rendered it. I mention it here because it appears in Government maps and official documents as Kabool and Cabool, with the wrong syllable lengthened, and Cabul, Kabul, and even Kábal.

was subordinate or subject to the Hindú sovereigns of the present Panjáb and Upper India. The title of the Kábul ruler was Sháh, and Ranbal, Rantil, Ratpal, Rantal or Rantil, as it is variously written by different authors, but Zantíl and Zanbíl by Yáfa'í and Fasih-í was the name of the dynasty or family. The correct reading may be Ratan-pál or Rin-pál.

In 22 H. (642, A.D.) Mukrán and Sind were subdued by the 'Arabs, and in the following year Sijistán. In 30 H. (650–51, A.D.), Hirát, and its dependencies of Bádghais and Fúshanj were given up. The treaty was dated 26th of Ramazán, 30 H. In 32 H. (652–53, A.D.) all the territory between Marw and Balkh was subdued, such as Marw-ar-Rúd, Tál-kán, and the Gúzgánán (Júzjánán of 'Arabs). In 43 H. (663–64, A.D.) the 'Arabs invaded the territory of Kábul, under 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, son of Sumrah, who was the lieutenant of 'Abd-ullah, son of 'Amír, governor of Khurásán. He marched from Sijistán after capturing the capital of that country. Kábul Sháh, at that period, was known by the title or name of 'Arij, but this appears to be an 'Arabic word, and signifies lameness from birth. He moved out with his forces to meet the Musalmán invaders, and after a severe battle retired within the walls of Kábul, and did not sally out again. 'Abd-ur-Rahmán continued before it for a full year, after which, his army having suffered great fatigue and hardships, the place was taken, The fighting men were put to the sword, and the women and children were made captives. The Kábul Sháh was also taken, and his head was ordered to be struck off, but he was spared on his agreeing to become a convert to Islám. He was then received into favour, a tribute was fixed, and the Musalmáns retired.

Subsequently, the countries lying near Hind and Sind were subdued.

In 78 H. (697–98, A.D.), the Khalífah, 'Abd-ul-Malik, sent 'Ubaid-ullah, son of 'Abú-Bakr or Bakrah, to Sijistán, and directed him to make war upon the Malik of Kábul, Zantbíl (Ratan-pál ?), who had become contumacious, although he had previously been obedient and paid tribute, to demolish his fortresses, and reduce him to submission. Others say that Hajjáj-i-Ṣafík sent him to Kábul.

'Ubaid-ullah in the following year set out with the divisions of Basrah and Kúfah for the Kábul territory, and as he advanced Zantbíl [Ratan-pál ?] retired, without fighting, in the direction of Hind (that is, eastward) until he had drawn the Musalmáns about 17 leagues among the defiles and passes (between Kábul and Jagdálík). The Malik of Kábul then gave command to his people to occupy all the passes and defiles in rear of the Musalmáns, and cut off their retreat. This proved most disastrous for them, for, after making one desperate effort to break through, they were reduced to a state of starvation, and 'Ubaid-ullah had to enter into an agreement with Zantbíl (Ratan-pál) to pay the sum of 700,000 dínárs to be allowed to retire from the Kábul territory.

It is said that, when his wearied and half-starved troops reached Musalmán ground, and their own people brought forth food and relieved their necessities, many eat their fill and fell down dead immediately after.

When the year 80 H. (699–700, A.D.) came round, 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, son of Muhammad-i-Ash'as, was appointed to avenge this disaster at the head of 40,000 men. Zantbíl (Ratan-pál ?) sent to him offering to pay the same amount of tribute as had been formerly fixed, and desired 'Abd-ur-Rahmán to retire under those terms. He refused. On this the Kábul ruler again tried his previous tactics, and receded as the Musalmáns advanced. 'Abd-ur-Rahmán was too cautious. He left garrisons in the places he subdued, and bodies of troops to occupy and hold the defiles and passes he left behind him. After having made considerable progress, and the season being advanced, he determined to carry on no further operations for that year, but await the coming one, in order to complete the subjugation of the Kábul territory.

He reported these matters to Hajjáj, who held the government of all the eastern parts of the Khalífah's territories, who harshly reprimanded him, and directed him to at once resume operations. This caused 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, who was already hostile to Hajjáj, to determine to rebel against the tyrant. He accordingly made peace with Zantbíl (Ratan-pál ?) on favourable terms, and openly declared against Hajjáj.

Between him and the officers of Hajjáj no less than eighty encounters are said to have taken place. 'Abd-ur-Rahmán was, in the end, reduced to great straits, and finally overcome by Yazíd, the son of Muhallab, in 81 H. (700–701, A.D.), and compelled to fly. He took shelter within the walls of Bust, which was held by one of his own subordinates named 'Iyáz. He seized and imprisoned 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, and proposed to send him to Hajjáj. Zantbíl (Ratan-pál ?) immediately, on hearing of this, marched his forces to Bust and invested it on all sides, and threatened 'Iyáz and all within the place with impalement if a hair of the head of 'Abd-ur-Rahmán should be injured, and

that he would never leave the place until he should be released. This had the desired effect, and he was set at liberty, and took refuge, with Zantbíl (Ratan-pál?). Hajjáj, some time after, sent an agent to that ruler making him very advantageous offers, and requiring him to give up 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, which he did, along with eighteen of his kinsmen, in the year 82 H. (701–702, A.D.), but on the road back, 'Abd-ur-Rahmán succeeded in throwing himself from the flat roof of a building in which they had alighted to rest, and dragged the agent with him. Both perished.

Kábul is again mentioned as having been "reduced," in 87 H. (706, A.D.). It consequently must have temporarily thrown off the 'Arab yoke. In the year 90 H. (709, A.D.) Zantbíl or Ratan-pál, or Rin-pál, or whatever his title may have been, agreed to aid the Maliks of Balkh, Marw-ar-Rúd, Tál-kán, Fáryáb, and the Gúzgánán (Júzjánán of 'Arabs), against Katíbah, son of Musallam-ul-Báhilí. Hajjáj died in 95 H. (713–14, A.D.).

In 150, H. (767, A.D.) Ma'an, son of Zá'idah-ush-Shaibání, the Amír of Sijistán, on the part of the Khalífah, demanded the tribute from Zantbíl (Ratan-pál?) ruler of Kábul and Zábul. The latter sent property and goods, the produce of his territory, instead of money, and set a very high price upon them. This enraged Ma'an, who marched his troops against him. He sent forward his brother Yazíd, in advance, into the territory of Rukh (I have read this Rukh, but the word is Zib —زخ,—and read either way will not enable us, at present, to understand with any certainty what territory is referred to, unless we add a ج, when it would refer to Rukhj, one of the districts of the territory of Bust*). Zantbíl (Ratan-pál?) fled from thence, and retired to Kábul. Ma'an overran the Rukh territory, slew a number of people, and obtained spoil to a great amount.

In 152 H. (769, A.D.), the Khalífah, Mansúr, sent Hamíd, son of Kahtabah, into Khurásán, and he penetrated into Kábul, and made holy war.

In the year 170 H. (786–87, A.D.) Hárún-ar-Rashíd sent Bú-Ja'fir, son of Muhammad, as governor to Khurásán. "He despatched his son 'Abbás, in Zí-Hijah (the "last month—July) of the same year, to Kábul. He seized the ancient and famous "idol temple of Shá-Bihár, in the neighbourhood of Kábul," which is also sometimes called "Sháh Kábul," the site of which most probably is But-Khák, for it is stated that around about the temple was an extensive uncultivated plain, or, possibly, the site known as Bagrám may have been the spot. 'Abbás made prize of all the wealth contained in it.† Hárún-ar-Rashíd soon after this recalled Bú-Ja'fir, and appointed 'Abbás, his son, governor of Khurásán in his place.

Ya'kúb, son of Lais, the suffár or brazier, ruler of Sijistán, son of Mu'addil, a man of unknown birth, in the year 256 H. (870, A.D.) possessed himself of Kábul, at which time also it was an important place. After the downfall of the Suffárís, the old rulers of Kábul, who were subject to that dynasty, appear to have again acquired some independence, for we hear nothing of Kábul or Ghaznín being subject to the Sámánís, who were Tájzíks,‡ for some time after they succeeded the Suffárís in Khurásán and Sijistán, and their dependencies. Subsequently Ghaznín is distinctly mentioned as part of the Sámání empire, and Kábul was subject to it, although its Hindú rulers still possessed it. Ghaznín was held by a succession of Turk governors from the time that Alb-Tigín, in 322 H. (934 A.D.), dispossessed a ruler there whose family name was Lawík,§ but of whom very little is known, except that they were Musalmáns,

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* I believe, after all, that what is supposed to be Rukhj, is correctly Zaranj, called after the city of that name. *See* "Translation of Tabakát-i-Násirí, page 318, note 6.

† Bihár (or Wihár), also written Bahár, signifies an idol temple, and an idol; and the chief idol temple of Chín, and principal átash-kadah or fire-temple of Turkistán, is also styled Bihár in the old Persian language. Possibly the Hindús of Kábul, at the present day, have some knowledge of the site of this famous temple, for there are many places near Kábul which they venerate and pay visits to. *Vide* Burhán-i-Kaṭi'.

It was on this same plain of Shá-Bihár that Sultán Mahmúd of Ghaznín, after his campaign against Nanda Rájah of Gwáliyúr, reviewed his forces in the year 414 H. (A.D., 1023), and 54,000 well-equipped cavalry were there present, together with 1,300 elephants in defensive armour. This force, the Gardaizí says, was quite independent of other troops doing duty in different parts, which were not assembled to swell the number for the occasion, and that the horses and camels were almost beyond computation.

There must have been other idol temples named Shá-Bihár, or probably it was the general name applied to such temples, for there was another two stages from Kal'át-i-Ghalzí, near the scene of the Ghalzís' defeat by Nádir Sháh, which will be referred to hereafter, near the Ghazín road. My Tokhí Ghalzí Maulawí informed me that he had often noticed the site, consisting of several mounds, and that the whole country near it is almost red with the fragments of bricks and tiles and other articles of pottery lying about.

‡ The Sámánís, it is said, were Mughs, or followers of Zardusht, before their conversion to Muhammadanism.

§ Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., in his "Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857," page 78,

Bíbí Máh-rú-e.* To the east of this range, and north of the city, is a large open plain, which is six or seven kuroh long, and about the same in breadth. Here the Bádsháh's troops encamp."

When Akbar Bádsháh left Kábul on his return to India, in Muharram, 998 H. (November, 1589, A.D.), he encamped at the jal-gáh of Siyah Sang, where three remarkable incidents happened. Kásim Khán, who had so much improved the road through the Khaibar and the route generally, was here nominated Governor of the province of Kábul, and the news of the decease of the Rájah, Todar Mall, the eminent revenue officer of Akbar, was received. Here, too, the Khán-i-Khánán or Khán of Kháns, 'Abd-ur-Rahím Khán, presented Akbar with the "Translation of the Tuzúk-i-Bábarí," written by his grandfather, Bábar Bádsháh, which he had rendered into Persian from the original Turkish.

At Siyah Sang likewise Akbar enjoyed the diversion of skating, at a place convenient for the purpose. Others joined it, for the Bádsháh gave permission to all who liked to join in it, and enjoy what he pronounced "exceedingly good sport, as such an "opportunity might not occur again."

"In ancient times there was no wall round the city, but, at the time that Ahmad Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání, set out on the campaign to attack the Mashad, the Sardár Jahán Khán, Khán-i-Khánán, who was appointed to the charge of Kábul and its district, built a curtain wall of stone, which was carried from the range of hills to the south, right across the plain to the summit of the hills on the north. It contains three gateways; the eastern gate is called the Láhorí gate, the northern, the gate of the Jaláír Sardár, and the southern, the Gázar-gáh gate.†

"The territory dependent on the Dár-ul-Mulk of Kábul is a dara'h of great size, extending from Kábul city, in the direction of north and north-east, as far as the mountains of Hindú Koh, in which is the Kotal or pass of Hindú-Kush, for nearly fifty kuroh, and towards the south, in the direction of Kandahár, nearly two hundred kuroh. This space is peopled entirely by the Tájzík race.‡

"In the parts around Kábul on the north and north-west, in the mountainous district, which is exceedingly difficult, dwell the people descended from the Mughal regiments or mings."

Ming is a Turkish word, signifying a thousand; and these corps or regiments were so styled from the number of men they usually contained. Some of these

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* About three miles north-west of the Bálá-Hisár-i-Pá'ín is the village of Bíbí Máh-rú-e, or the Moonfaced Lady, turned into "Beymaroo" by Eyre, and "Bímaru," by Masson. Jahán-gír Bádsháh says he went to see the *khiá-bán* (signifying a road leading through gardens) when at Kábul, and took the ladies of his family to the jal-gáh of Safed Sang. This jal-gáh is the place which was selected for the cantonment at Kábul after the first Afghan war.

We also had a camp at the Siyah Sang jal-gáh, when the Afgháns rose against us on the 2nd of November 1841, about a mile and half to the west of the cantonment. The Siyah Sang heights or hills were still nearer, being about a mile distant from the cantonment, and about a thousand yards north of the most northern bastion of the Bálá Hisár-i-Pá'ín. This Siyah Sang is a remarkable place in Afghán history, especially in the history of the Khas'hí or Khak'hí sept. After Mírzá Ulugh Beg had massacred seven hundred, less six, Yúsufzí notables, whom he had treacherously invited to an entertainment, he commanded that their bodies should be taken outside the city of Kábul and buried. Agreeable to this command, the corpses were interred "at a place about two or three arrow flights distant from the city, in the direction of north-east, and near the "village of Siyah Sang. That burying ground is called the Khatírah of the Sháhidán, or the Martyrs, to this "day." There also may be seen the tomb of the Shaykh 'Usmán, son of Mútí, the Molízí, Yúsufzí, one of their holy men, who was included in the number above mentioned, and to whose resting place pilgrimages are made.

Masson says, in one of his volumes respecting Kábul, that, leaving the Gate of Sháh-i-Sháhid, "we passed "the eminence and ziárat of Siyah Sang on our left, overlooking the Idgáh," etc.

In the neighbourhood of Kábul likewise a battle was fought between the Mughals of Mírzá Ulugh Beg and the Gagyání Afgháns on the one side, and the Yúsufzís on the other. It was fought in a verdant plain teeming with grass called kabl (*Agrostis linearis*, but this name is antiquated, the *dúb'* grass formerly so called is now generally styled *Cynodon dactylon*). It is called the battle of Ghwara'h Margha'h, or the Besmeared or Polluted Plain, because it was rendered slippery from the blood of the slain on that occasion. Ghwara'h, in Pus'hto, is an adjective agreeing with the feminine noun margha'h, the Afghán name for the kabl grass, and signifies greasy, slippery, etc.

The Yúsufzís gained the victory. This Ghwara'h Margha'h is quite different from another place of that name in the vicinity of the Koh-i-Surkh and Ab Istádah, one of the old seats of the Ghwarí and Khak'hí or Khas'hí septs.

† The Jaláírs are a well known Mughal tribe. This gate is miscalled "Derwâza Jabár" by Masson.

‡ There are very few Afgháns in the Logar district even now; and it is only in recent times that Afgháns have pushed on to the westward of Ghaznín, for, as shown in note † at page 85, there were people of Túrí (*i.e.*, Túránían) descent, the so-called Hazárahs, still settled to the east of Ghaznín in Humáyún Bádsháh's reign.

It is not much over a century ago since the same people held Wardag. The Afgháns have since been spreading westward, and they still continue to do so.

mings were permanently located in Ghúr by one of the Mughal Ká'áns, and the Tájzík people translated the word 'ming' into their own language, and called a ming hazárah. In the course of time the descendants of these hazárahs became styled by that general term. They will be referred to again in the Fourth Section of these Notes.

"On the east and south-east again, the Afgháns dwell, some few of whom are settled in permanent dwellings, but the majority are íláts or nomads.

"Every dara'h and every tract is known by a separate name. For example: to the north of Kábul are Paghmán, Shakar Dara'h, Káh Dara'h, Istálif, Chára'h-kár (also called Charía'h-kár), Panj-shír or Panj-hír, Nijr-Áb or Nijr-Áo, Ghúr-band, etc., which are several dara'hs famous for their fertility and for yielding a large revenue, and for the abundance of their fruits, which are proverbial throughout this country. The districts of Istálif, Shakar Dara'h, Káh Dara'h, and others, constitute what is called the Tomán of Dáman-i-Koh (the skirt of the mountains). In the same manner, to the south, are Gamrán or Jamrán—*g* being used by some Afghan tribes for *j*,—Logar, Gardaiz, and other smaller dara'hs, famous for their fertility and great revenue.

"Respecting the rivers of the Kábul country or territory, the river of the Ghúr-Band or the Ghúr Dara'h passes the city of Kábul at a distance of about six or seven kuroh on the north-east, which, in the mahâll or district called by the name of Tang-ghár, below But-Khák, joins the river of Kábul.

"The Logar river, having received the Khúshí, flows one kuroh to the south and east, passes north of But-Khák, and, in the afore-mentioned mahâll of Tang-ghár, joins the river of the Ghúr-Band. From this river (the Logar) opposite Zarghún S'hahr (in Pus'hto signifies the green or verdant town or city), a great canal has been cut, and the water conveyed into the gardens and dwellings of Kábul.*

"To the west of the city there is a collection of water or small lake which is styled the Gázar-gáh, and over it they have erected a wooden bridge (*see* next page). The water of this stream runs through the city, and over it, within the city walls, they have built a stone bridge, called by the name of Pul-i-Mastán—the Bridge of the Enthusiasts—and under it is the Gázar-gáh or place frequented by washermen, or, literally, the bleaching ground.† From this stream likewise a cut has been made, sufficient to turn about two water-mills, and the water has been conveyed into the gardens lying to the northwards of the said bridge. On the south-west, without the walls of the shahr-panáh or city walls, is the makbara'h or mausoleum of Bábar Bádsháh, consisting of a fine masjid, and an extensive garden. Fruits of many descriptions are produced therein, and are dedicated to the use of travellers. The sepulchre of the Bádsháh is contained within a small covered building, a chabútarah or sarcophagus of white marble, and that again is surrounded with a small enclosure. Several members of his family also lie buried there, including his son, Mírzá Hindál, who was killed in Nangrahár.

"A cut has been made from the Logar river, sufficient in volume of water to turn four water-mills, and brought into this garden, but, at present, Tímúr Sháh, Durrání, has drawn off three fourths of the water, and carried it into his Haram-Saráe, and into the Asiyá-e Khána'h Bágh, or water-mill garden, previously referred to as having been laid out by that sovereign, and there it is used for irrigation purposes.

"To the south, adjoining the mausoleum of Bábar Bádsháh, is a high mountain.

"It is stated that previous to the reign of Jahán-gír Bádsháh this tomb was built of stone and mud mortar only, but, when Jahán-gír came to Kábul, in 1016 H. (1607–1608, A.D), he gave orders for erecting this present makbara'h, and also a masjid of marble; and in a short space of time they were completed. A marble tablet was set

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* Our maps are much out here, and require considerable revision. This canal has been mistaken for the Kábul.

It was near the upper sources of the Logar river that the Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, Khwárazm Sháh, overthrew the Mughals in two engagements near Barwán. It is distinctly said to have been situated on the Áb-i-Barání or Baráni river, between Ghaznín and Bámíán, but nearer to the former place, not the Parwán defile in the Hindú Koh range, as some have imagined because Parwán and Barwán are something alike—one being written with *b*, and the other with *p*—and the defile in question being in a totally different direction. The writers of that period called the upper portion of the Logar river Áb-i-Baráni. When these battles took place the Chingiz Khán was occupied in the investment of the strong fortress of Nasír Koh of Tál-kán of Khurásán, and his main camp was at the Pushta'h-i-Nu'mán. European writers, with a single exception, I believe, unaware that there was a place called Tál-kán in Khurásán, and another named Táe-kán in Kunduz, which they have vitiated into "Talikhan," straightway transfer the investment to their Talikhan, which is only about five and a half degrees too far east, and then Barwán near Ghaznín is turned into the Parwán pass in the Hindú Koh to suit their blunder. Tál-kán of Khurásán and Táe-kán of Kunduz were well known places in the tenth century of our era. *See* my Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí, page 288, and note 3, note to page 988, and page 1008.

† Gázar-gáh also means a burying place, or rather catacombs where dead men's bones are bleached.

up there, engraved in the nasta'lík character of Persian, containing the following inscription :—

"'By grace of the boundless favour of Almighty God, when Abú-l-Muzaffar, Núr-ud-Dín, Muhammad, Jahán-gír Bádsháh, son of the Hazrat-i-'Arsh Ashiyání (*i.e.*, His Majesty, whose nest is in the empyrean heaven), Jalál-ud-Dín, Muhammad, Akbar Bádsháh-i-Ghází, attained the fulfilment of his desire of visiting the illumined tomb of the Hazrat-i-Firdaus Makání (*i.e.*, His Majesty, whose place is in paradise)* Zahír-ud-Dín, Muhammad, Bábar Bádsháh-i-Ghází, he directed this tablet to be placed here in the second year of his reign, equivalent to 1016 H. (1607–8, A.D.).'"

"The date is contained in the words "فردوس مکان جای بابر بادشاه" 'Paradise (is) 'the eternal place of Bábar Bádsháh.'

"The various delightful spots and heart-ravishing places which are to be found in this district, and in the neighbourhood of the city, are too numerous to be detailed here.

"The total revenue of the district is about twelve lakhs of rupees yearly, and every race of people here dwelling has to furnish a contingent of troops to the royal army.

"The language chiefly spoken at Kábul, and in the immediate districts, is Persian, which differs from that of modern Persia. It is the language of the ancient Tájzík inhabitants, but Push'to is the language spoken by Afghåns, some of whom know Persian colloquially, the upper classes well; and, in the same manner, many Tájzíks speak Pus'hto,† but Persian is always spoken among themselves."

I need not enter into more details respecting Kábul here, and now proceed to give an account of the important routes leading from thence into the Panjáb.‡

An Account of the various Roads and Highways of the Province which branch off from Kábul, consisting of Ten Routes.

First Route. From Kábul to Baghzan, which is the chief place in Irí-áb, a distance of thirty-five kuroh south, inclining south-west. This road leads also to Kurma'h and Bannú.§

"Leaving the Bálá Hisár of Kábul, and proceeding one kuroh south-west, passing by the way an exceedingly populous and well cultivated tract, with a high range of hills on the left hand,‖ and the bázár of 'Alí Mardán Khán and the houses of the city on the right, you reach the Gázar-gáh gateway, on the southern side of the city walls. The last quarter of this distance you pass along the side of the small stream which they have brought through the city and out again on the right-hand side, adjoining the said gateway, under the parapet of the city walls. On both sides are lofty hills, and the mazár or shrine, so called, of the 'Ashikán wa 'Arifán (lovers and pious persons¶) lies near by on the right hand.

"From thence (the Gázar-gáh gateway), a quarter kuroh south-west, is the Gázar-gáh,** a small pond or lake in the bed of the river, over which they have erected a wooden bridge; there are several dwellings of grain sellers, grocers, and fruit sellers there.

"At this bridge two roads diverge. The right-hand one leads over the bridge, and runs to Ghaznín by Urghandí, and the left-hand route is as follows. Proceeding a short distance south and south-east from the Gázar-gáh you reach the makbara'h

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* By these titles they are known. For example: Abú-Fazl would not write that such and such an event took place in the time of Bábar Bádsháh, but in the time of the Hazrat-i-Firdaus Makání. A similar title is applied to Jahán-gír, and his immediate successors, but they need not be mentioned here.

† But "Pasto," "Pukkhto," "Pukshto," "Pashtú," "Pakhto," and "Pakhhto" are unknown to them.

‡ I shall enter into greater detail on these matters in my history of the Afghåns and their country.

§ Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, who proceeded to Kábul in 1049 H. (1639–40, A.D.) by the Khaibar route, returned from thence by that of Logar and Bangas'h, the one described under, and reached Kohát on the 25th of Jamádí-ul-Awwal of that year.

‖ On a bluff of which the upper citadel, now in ruins, stands.

¶ Such is the literal meaning, but it appears to have been so called after some holy Súfís apparently—lovers in a divine love.

** Not to be mistaken for Guzr-gáh; Gázar-gáh has a very different signification.

Many alterations have taken place, it must be remembered, since this account was written, especially within the last few years, and many buildings have been removed, and others ruined, since the Bárakzís overthrew their sovereign's dynasty, and divided the Durrání kingdom among themselves.

or tomb of Bábar Bádsháh, near by on the left hand, while the Gázar-gáh lake and stream lie close by on the right. From the tomb, one kuroh south, is a cluster of villages styled Hindka'í,* which lie close by on the right hand. These villages are also called Chhár Dih, or the four villages, the lands of which are extensive, and yield a considerable revenue. The Áb-i-Madághaṉ (Madághaṉ water), the name of a large canal, which joins the Gázar-gáh, also lies near by on the right hand. Opposite Hindka'í a cut has been made from the canal before mentioned, enough to turn four water-mills, and carried to the left hand, towards the makbara'h of Bábar Bádsháh previously mentioned.

"From Hindka'í, or the Chhár Dih, three kuroh south, is Chhár Asiyá (the four mills), consisting of several Tájzík villages, and the canal above mentioned lies close by on the right hand. About one mill of water has been drawn off from the canal, and conducted into the fields and gardens of this district.

"On the left hand, likewise, are several villages, not one only, belonging to the Tájzíks, styled Masa'í, also written Masua'í. The Logar river passes from here one kuroh and a half on the left-hand side, behind the screen of mountains.† From thence (Chhár Asiyá), three kuroh south, is a little hill or rising ground on which are several graves of Musalmán people. This little hill lies on the left-hand side of the road, and the Madághaṉ Nahr or canal lies close by on the right-hand side.

"On the right hand, likewise, on the opposite side of the Madághaṉ Nahr, there are several Tájzík villages, known by the name of Nún-yáz, and from thence, one kuroh south, is Gumrán, the name of two large villages, lying on either side of the Logar river, on the left-hand side of the road at some distance off, while the Madághaṉ Nahr lies close by on the right-hand side.

"From this place there is a road, on the left hand, by which the Kabr-i-Mullá,‡ or Mullá's tomb, east of the Ghás'hí of Mi-yandzey Lár, referred to farther on, may be reached.

"From thence (Gumrán), one kuroh south, is the Logar river, which you can cross knee deep in the cold season, but in the commencement of spring, when the snows begin to melt, it becomes flooded and overflows (its banks). This river comes from the right hand, and flows towards the west, passing by in its course the villages and lands of Dih-i-Ya'kúb, which lies one kuroh east of Kábul, Bagrámí, and But-Khák. The Madághaṉ Nahr shows itself at some distance on the right hand.

"Two kuroh south from the Logar river are several Tájzík villages called Khúrdgán, which lie one kuroh on the right-hand side of the road. In this wádí, or broad valley, some of the Ghalzí tribe dwell as íláts or nomads, and they also cultivate a little land. From Khúrdgán, another three kuroh south, is Madághaṉ,§ a large village belonging to the Tájzíks, on the other (farther) side of the Logar river, which appears at the distance of about one kuroh on the right-hand side. A large nahr or canal has been cut from the Logar river to the village, and carried from the east side of that place to the houses and gardens of Kábul and the environs of that city, and which canal, as previously stated, is called the Nahr-i-Madághaṉ.

"About three kuroh south of Madághaṉ is Zarghún S'hahr,‖ a cluster of several large Tájzík villages. The Logar river passes at the distance of a kuroh and a half to the north-west of these, at the foot of the mountains. From this point they have cut a canal and brought the water into their fields and gardens. The village of Kalangar, which is the chief place in this district, shows itself on the farther (west) side of the Logar river, about three kuroh distant.

"From the Zarghún S'hahr two roads branch off. That on the right hand goes to Ghaznín and Kandahár. The left-hand route, by which the writer proceeded, is as follows. Two kuroh south of the Zarghún S'hahr the wádí or large open valley begins to contract, and a small river enters it from a dara'h on the left-hand side, and which, running to the right, near Kalangar, joins the Logar river. This small river is called the Rúd-i-Do-bandí, or Do-Bandí river. On both banks of it there are numerous gardens and extensive cultivation.

"The dara'h through which it runs is called Khúshí, and, in truth, it is a delightful (pleasant, etc.) place, and a charming situation, lying in the direction of south-east

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* Turned into "Indike" in the map.

† It will be observed that there is no mention of any Kábul river running through the city, and with good reason.

‡ *See* page 74. The Mi-yandzey Lár may be turned by that road.

§ Incorrectly spelt "Mazzagán" in the map.

‖ Zarghún signifies "green," "verdant," etc., in the Pus'hto language.

and north-west, and is four or five kuroh in length.* From Khúrdgán to the extreme end of this dara'h they term the Logar country, and its chief places are Kalangar, before mentioned, Hisárak, and Barakkai.

"You now cross the Do-bandí river, and reach Sa'ad-ullah Khán, one of the large villages of the dara'h situated on this river. It is inhabited by Sayyids.

"From Nún-yáz to Kalangar a great detached mountain range shows itself on the right-hand side (the west), and Khúrdgán, Madághan, and other villages are situated at the base of it.

"From the excessive cold prevalent on this range of mountains there is no grass, verdure, nor vegetation, and, indeed, on the mountains of this district generally trees and grass are scarce.

"In this dara'h of Khúshí there are several *smats*, or caves, and in the winter season the cattle and flocks of the inhabitants of the dara'h are kept in them.

"From this village of Sa'ad-ullah Khán to that of Kalangar, by way of the river, is seven kuroh, which is well known. By proceeding three kuroh south of the village of Sa'ad-ullah Khán, among the mountains, first by way of the before-mentioned river, and afterwards leaving it on the right hand, you ascend on the left hand a high mountain range where two roads branch off, that is to say, a road on the right-hand side comes from the village of Taghran,† which is one of the large villages of the Tomán of Logar, and joins this road (that is, the main route from Kábul to Baghzan, now under explanation), and between this dara'h (of Khúshí) and the last-named village is a very high (and deep) gorge or defile, called the Kotal-i-Uchagán. From this point, where the two roads diverge, to Taghran is a distance of seven kuroh, and from the village of Sa'ad-Ullah Khán to Taghran is also a distance of seven kuroh, which is well known.

"From this same point, proceeding half a kuroh east up the mountains to the summit, and again descending a similar distance in the same direction, you come again on the same river, the Do-bandí, and the right-hand part, from which direction the river passes, they call the Káfir or Infidel's dara'h, which lies in a mountain range of great altitude, and the roadway is very difficult.

"From the before-mentioned river, having proceeded onwards a quarter kuroh to the east, you reach Do-bandí, a fortress of great strength (in former times), situated on a ridge of the mountains, on the right-hand side of the road. Its foundation is attributed to one of the Gurgáníah Sultáns,‡ but it is now totally desolate and depopulated. This dara'h they call the Dara'h of Do-bandí, and the Kotal which has been just passed they call the Ghás'hí or Ghák'hí of Do-bandí (ghás'h or ghák'h is the Pus'hto for tooth, and ghás'haey or ghák'haey the crest of a mountain or pass, which, inflected, becomes Ghás'hí or Ghák'hí). It is three or four kuroh in length, and in this dara'h the Ghalzí Afgháns dwell after the manner of íláts or nomads.

"From Kábul to Do-bandí there are no tall trees; indeed, through the excessive cold, and the falls of snow in these parts, grass grows but scantily.

"At the Do-bandí Kotal, likewise, the Tájzík territory terminates in this direction, the Persian language ceases to be spoken, and the Pus'hto or Afghán language begins, but the Pus'hto of the ílát or nomads of this district is much affected by Persian speaking neighbours.§

"Opposite the old fortress of Do-bandí two roads branch off. That going to the right is called the Katah Sang road, and that going to the left, the Mi-yandzey Lár. From each of these directions a small river comes, which, east of the fortress of Do-bandí, unite, and then, under the name of the Rúd-i-Dobandí, flows through the dara'h of Khúshí, and finally unites with the Logar river.

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* It is a very easy march from this place to Kábul city.

Khúshí, Zarghún S'hahr, and Do-bandí, all three places, appear in the new map contained in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society" for January 1879, under the incorrect names of "Kachi," "Zurgun Shah," and "Doband."

† The peculiar manner in which the names of these two places, تغراً and بغزاً, and some others, are written,—with what is grammatically known, in 'Arabic, as tanwín or nunnation, by doubling the vowel with which the word terminates, and subjoining the letter ا, the vowel in such cases taking after it the sound of ن,—is meant probably to express some Turkish sound or pronunciation. In case of the other vowels, ٍ or ٌ, being used, the sounds become *iṇ* and *uṇ* respectively.

‡ The sovereigns of the house of Tímúr, the Gurgán, or Son-in-law, antecedent to the year 913 H. (1507–8, A.D.), when their territory was conquered by Shaibání Khán.

§ This, then, is the natural boundary in this direction of the country of the Afgháns, or tún of the Pus'ht, or Puk'ht, or Pás'ht, or Pák'ht, whence the Afgháns derive their name of Pus'htún and Puk'htún. *See* my "Afghán Dictionary," new edition, page 1113.

"Having proceeded for a distance of two kuroh east, inclining to north-east, from the old fortress, and following the course of the stream through a deep and narrow gorge, with the mountains overhanging the way, and ascending at every footstep, the gorge contracting as you proceed, you ascend in the direction of east by a zig-zag road to the crest of the pass. This defile and pass they call the Ghás'hí-i-Mi-yandz Lár* (meant, possibly, for "the middle road" into Hind), which is a defile exceedingly lofty, and from the summit of it the territories of Logar and Gardaiz, to the west and south-west, can be distinctly seen, spread out beneath like the courtyard of a dwelling.

"On this mountain range a species of tree (or shrub?) named nacha'í (tacha'í?) is found. Its leaves are large, of a red colour, and sour to the taste; and it spreads on rising out of the ground.

"From the summit of this Ghás'hí you descend in the direction of north-east for two kuroh and a half, and then reach Manzil-i-Ghalzí, the name of a dara'h and halting place of the ílát or nomad Ghalzís. It extends from east to west four kuroh in length, and from north to south it is about two kuroh in breadth. From the west side of this dara'h a river issues, which, passing through the hill tract to the east, runs on into Nangrahár, and obtains the name of Surkh-Rúd, or red river, which joins the river of Kábul at Darúnthah, a short distance west of Jalál-ábád.

"The people of this part call the mountain range to the south and east, which adjoins the dara'h of Irí-áb, by the name of Sirkai;† and that to the west and north, which lies towards or on the side of Kábul and Gardaiz, by the name of Shúbul.

"One kuroh and a half north, inclining north-east, and proceeding upwards, you reach Kabr-i-Mullá (the Mulla's grave), the tomb of some holy man; and here are two roads. That on the left hand side comes from the direction of Gumrán, but it is a difficult route. The other road is as follows. Proceeding one kuroh north-east, inclining east, from Kabr-i-Mullá, and then another half a kuroh to the south, you reach Kabr-i-Fakír (the Devotee's tomb), also the grave of some holy man. From this point likewise two roads branch off; the right-hand road, which is named Katah Sang,‡ comes from the fort of Do-bandí, as previously mentioned, and here again joins the road by which we have been proceeding. Upon the whole it is smoother and more level than the main route, and it is on this account that artillery and such like heavy materials are taken to and fro by this road.§

"They call the route from Kabr-i-Mullá to this place Rágha'h (in Pus'hto signifying the skirt of a mountain bordering on an uncultivated tract). A small stream of water comes from this side of Katah Sang and another from the Rágha'h, which, having united west of Kabr-i-Mullá, runs on to Irí-áb. A forest of chalghozah trees (*Pinus Gerardiana*), and the Irí-áb territory, commence at Kabr-i-Mullá.

"One kuroh and a half to the south of Kabr-i-Fakír there is a considerable river, sufficient to turn ten or twelve water-mills, which issues from a tangaey (a gorge of the mountains) lying on the left hand (north), and running to the south goes into Irí-áb. A stream at Kabr-i-Fakír likewise, at this place, joins this larger river, which then obtains the name of Rúd-i-Sirka'h, or Sirka'h river.

"From thence having gone half a kuroh to the south, along the before-mentioned river, you reach Shúmú Khel, a small village on the left-hand side, on a ridge of the mountains belonging to and named after a section of the Dzádzí tribe.

"Two kuroh and a half farther south from thence is another Shúmú Khel, belonging to the same tribe, on the right-hand side, and close to the before-mentioned Sirka'h

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* Lár, in Pus'hto, means "a road," "path," "way," "track," etc., and Mi-yandz, which is also a noun, signifies "the middle" or "centre" of anything. Mi-yandz-Ghálaey signifies a "chasm," "a gap," or "gorge," but Mi-yandz and Mi-yandznaey is the adjective for "middle," "mid," and the like. "The middle road" would be—lár being feminine—"da Mi-yandzey Lári," or "da Mi-yandz-na'í Lári." The writer appears to have merely given the name as it would be expressed in Persian.

It will be noticed here that there is no mention of a Shutar-Gardana'h pass. The author was too careful, as the minuteness and correctness of his descriptions show, to pass over such a fact, if the pass was so called in his time. It is probably a modern name in this part of the country.

I fully believe that the route west of the Shutar Gardana'h kotal will be found far more formidable than has been and is expected.

† Sirka'h, probably, which, when inflected, would become Sirkey. The Sirka'h river is also mentioned farther on. "Sarkhe," as it has been recently called, is not correct.

‡ South of Katah Sang is a defile through which a road leads to Bannú through Khost and Dáwaṛ, by the roads subsequently mentioned.

§ When the Kurma'h force pursued the fugitives from the Amír, Sher 'Alí Khán's garrison, from the Paiwaṛ Kotal towards the so-called "Shuturgurdan" pass lately, it was a matter of wonder what had become of the brass nine-pounders. The half burnt carriages were found, but not the guns, which had vanished. Some supposed they had been buried, and some declared that they had been "put on camels." The route these guns were removed by was, without doubt, this very road.

river, on the west bank. A third village named Shúmú Khel, belonging to the same people, lies one kuroh and a half farther on. The Sirka'h river, having made a bend from the left half a kuroh towards the south, joins the river of 'Alí Khel, the name of a large straggling village belonging to the 'Alí Khel section of the Dzádzís.*

"From this village of Shúmú Khel two kuroh towards the east is Spín Ghar, a lofty range of mountains, which are always covered with snow. The snow thereon, melting from the heat of the sun (in the summer season) in many places, falls down in several streams towards the south; and on the lateral ridges thereof, running in a southerly direction, the 'Alí Khel Dzádzís, and the Túrís, another tribe, have built their dwellings. In this part the cold is so intense in winter that it cannot be explained; it is beyond explanation.

"At Shúmú Khel (the last mentioned) also, two roads branch off. That on the left hand goes to Kurma'h, and the right-hand one is this. Proceeding from the last-named Shúmú Khel one kuroh and a half to the south-west, inclining south, you reach Khirmaná Khel, the name of two villages belonging to the Dzádzís, and the 'Alí Khel river lies close by, on the left-hand side. Here, likewise, two roads branch off. The left-hand one passes over the river of 'Alí Khel, and goes on to Kurma'h, over a great mountain range, the particulars respecting which will be given in the route farther on. The other road, the left-hand one, now under explanation, continues one kuroh and a half to Baghzan, a large village, the seat of government of this locality. To the west of the village is a lofty mountain range; and the 'Alí Khel river passes under the village on the east side. The rustics of this district likewise speak the Persian language as well as the Pus'hto.

Second Route. From Kábul to Ghaznín by way of Logar,† a distance of fifty kuroh south-west, inclining south; and this route goes on to Kandahár and Hirát.

"The road from Kábul to Zarghún S'hahr, where the route leading to Baghzan separates, has been already described.‡

"Setting out from Zarghún S'hahr, and proceeding one kuroh and a half in the direction of south-west, inclining west, you reach the Logar river, and cross it, the water being knee deep (in the winter season). Continuing onwards for another kuroh and a half in the same direction you reach Kalangar, a large village on the Logar river. South of the village, the water of the Khúshí dara'h, that is to say, the Rúd-í-Do-bandí, falls into the Logar river.§ To the north of the village is a high mountain range.

"From Kalangar three kuroh south-west is Hisárak, but rustics who cannot pronounce properly may call it Isarák. It is a large village in the tomán of Logar; and the river of that name flows on the south side of the village. From this point they style the Logar by the name of Áb-i-Gardaiz (the water or river of Gardaiz),‖ and the road follows the bank of the river.

"From Hisárak (literally, the Fortlet or Little Fort) distant two kuroh is Dih-i-Do-shína'h, which is likewise a large place. From thence four kuroh, along the course of the river, is the great village of Barakkai, belonging to the Tájzík people, like the villages previously mentioned.

"Seven kuroh from Barakkai in the same direction is Sugáwand, also written Sujáwand by 'Arabs, who change *g* into *j*, now a small village, lying under the mountains. South of it, on the top of a mountain, is a great fortress founded, according to tradition, by Jamshed Bádsháh, and named Kala'-i-Sugáwand or Sujáwand and Kala'-i-Jamshed. It is wholly desolate and deserted."

Sugáwand or Sujáwand is an important and well-known place in Muhammadan history and geography, and is mentioned several times by Abú-l-Fazl-i-Baihakí, and other historians.

Among the events of the reign of 'Umro, the son of Lais, the Suffárí or Brazier, who reigned from 265 to 287 H (878 to 900 A.D,), it is stated that he conferred the government of Zábulistán, which Ya'kúb, his brother, had annexed, on one of his

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* This is the place to which our new "scientific frontier" is to extend on the west.

† This word was originally Lohgar, but Afgháns have no aspirates in their language, and reject them in words foreign to their own.

‡ That is, the Kurma'h route. *See* page 69.

§ In the most recent maps the junction is placed a great deal too far south. It is made to join the Logar even south of Hisárak.

‖ Perhaps more correctly, the Gardaiz river here meets the Logar.

chiefs named Fard-ghán, and sent him thither with a body of 4,000 cavalry. There was a great Hindú idol temple in that part, which was called the temple of Sugáwand, and pilgrims from all parts of Hind used to flock there to worship the idols. Fard-ghán, as soon as he arrived in that part, seized this idol temple, broke the idols, sacked the place, and drove out the infidels. The booty, less the share of 'Umro, their sovereign, was distributed among the troops. On this "Ráe Kamlú, a Ráe of Hind" (probably Ráe Kamlú, who is said to have been one of the Buddhist rulers of Kábul and its dependencies), "assembled a great host to avenge the insults offered to his "gods and the sack of their temple, but, on his becoming informed, through some of "the fugitive Hindús, that the Musulmán invader had received large reinforcements, "and that his object was to entice the Hindú host among the defiles and passes, and "then slaughter them, Ráe Kamlú's energy waxed cold, and he finally retired without "coming into contact with the enemy."

Násir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, when commander of the forces of Amír Pírey, who succeeded, on the death of Amír Balká-Tigín, as ruler of the fief of Ghaznín and its dependencies under the Sámání sovereigns*—these three persons were the slaves of the Hájib or Chamberlain, Alb-Tigín, the Turk—was sent by Amír Pírey against Abú-'Alí-i-Lawík, the successor to the rights and claims of Amír Abú-Bikr-i-Lawík, who had been driven from Ghaznín by Alb-Tigín when he first took possession of it in 322 H. (934, A.D.)† Lawík is the name, apparently, of the family, or possibly of a tribe. There was also a poet of the same family or tribe.

Abú-'Alí-i-Lawík had been solicited on the part of the people of Ghaznín to come and deliver them from the tyranny of Amír Pírey, who was a great villain; and, having obtained aid from the Kábul Sháh, who sent his son along with him, and at whose court Abú-'Alí appears to have taken refuge, they marched towards Ghaznín. Násir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, with his forces, pushed on from Ghaznín through the Sugáwand dara'h or pass before they had time to approach it, and encountered them near Charkh,‡ which is mentioned elsewhere, at page 64, and overthrew Abú-'Alí-i-Lawík, and put him and his confederate to flight. Great booty was captured, and, among other things, ten elephants.

When Sultán Mas'úd, the Martyr, son of Sultán Mahmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín, was returning to Ghaznín from Hind, after the capture of Hánsí, he returned to Ghaznín by the dara'h or pass of Sugáwand. It was the beginning of the month of Jamádí-ul-Awwal, 429 H. (the first week in March, 1038, A.D.), and a vast quantity of snow had fallen, in such wise that the depth of it was unknown. Previous to the Sultán's arrival a letter had been despatched to the seneschal of the fortress of Sugáwand, directing him to bring out his men, and have the road cleared, which was done. Baihakí says, "Had it not been done no one would have been able to pass through it, "for the road is like a narrow street all the way from the Rabát-i-Sultán to the city."

This route by the Sugáwand pass was that followed by the first Muhammadan conquerors of India, who established their rule and religion therein. Mahmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín made thirteen expeditions into Hind, and probably came through the Khaibar on one of them, when he marched against Jai-pál, in 391 H. (1001, A.D.), and encountered him in the Pes'háwar province, which was the reason for his adopting that route (if he did follow it and not that by Kohát), but he certainly did not use it on the other twelve. His son, Mas'úd, used the Sugáwand route, as we have heard above from the historian Baihakí; Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, the Ghúrí Sultán of Ghaznín, never once took the Khaibar route, but the Sugáwand, the route by Gardaiz to Karmán and Sankúrán, and that by Naghar on all occasions; and his mamlúks, and successors to the thrones of Ghaznín and Delhí respectively, Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, and Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, never followed the Khaibar route.

The Sugáwand pass was the direct route to Irí-áb, Karmán, and Sankúrán, subsequently, and to this day, known as Shanúzán or Shalúzán (*l* and *n* being interchangeable), the fiefs held by Sultán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, during his master's lifetime. Soon after his succession to the Ghaznín throne, he had to leave Ghaznín and retire into those parts again, but soon after recovered it. Then hostility arose between

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* The Gardaízí says that Amír Pírey held "all Zábulistán, that is to say, Ghaznín, Gardaiz, Barwán, and "Bust."

† Dr. Bellew is quite mistaken in supposing that "Sabaktaghin," as he styles him, founded the city of Ghaznín in 975, A.D. See Note §, page 63.

‡ The Haft Iklím, says Sujáwand and Charkh are dependencies of the tomán of Logar. Under the revenue system of Akbar Bádsháh, Gardaiz formed a separate tomán, and was rated at 20 lakhs, and 30,032 dáms. The Afgháns dwelling in it furnished a militia of 200 horse and 1,000 foot. Ghaznín formed another tomán, but both were under the jurisdiction of Kábul.

him and his son-in-law, Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, respecting the possession of the province of Láhor, which I-yal-dúz claimed as a province of the Ghaznín empire, which it certainly had been from the time of its first conquest. Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, and Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, encountered each other in the Panjáb, the latter was defeated, and pursued by the former, who marched to Ghaznín and possessed himself of that capital for a few days, and I-yal-dúz had to retire into Karmán and Irí-áb again. His rival gave himself up to riot, and the people of Ghaznín, by whom I-yal-dúz was much beloved, sent to him secretly to make known the state of affairs, and urge him to return. I-yal-dúz did so, and came, without doubt, by the Sugáwand pass, the most direct road; and Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, after forty days' possession, had to retire precipitately by the route of Sang-i-Surákh, of which more will be mentioned presently.

Before closing these remarks on Sugáwand and its fortress and pass, I must refer to the "Geographical Index" to Volume II., page 575, of Elliot's "India," edited by Mr. J. Dowson, who remarks that "the following list will probably be found useful, and may obviate the necessity of reference or inquiry." Then comes, at page 578, the following quotation from Major-General A. Cunningham :—

"Sakáwand.—In the territory of Kábul, which belonged to Kumlu. It is mentioned "by Istakhrí and Ibn Haukal as one of the dependencies of Bámíán, along with Kábul, "Ghazní, and Parwán. Idrísí gives it as being seven days' journey from Kábul, and "the same distance from Khouïab, for which I would read Haríab, as I believe it to "be the Iryáb or Irjáb of Sharíf-ud-dín and the Haryúb of the present day,—which is "at the head of the Kuram valley, to the south-east of Kábul. Sakáwand would "therefore be at or near Jalálábád," etc., etc.

How erroneous this statement is, is sufficiently apparent.

To continue the account of the route.

"Proceeding four kuroh in the same direction as before (along the banks of the Áb-i-Gardaiz) you reach Haft Asiyá, or the Seven Mills, near which, on the right-hand side, the road from Kábul joins this route, and from thence another three kuroh is Shush Gáo, signifying, in the Persian language, a whitish red bullock or cow, also written Sh'níz Gáo.* It is the name of a dara'h of the mountains, and from it three kuroh is Dahan-i-Sher† (the Lion's Jaws or Mouth), a narrow, stony defile of great elevation. From thence another three kuroh, by a somewhat steep descent of about a kuroh, is the Rauzah-i-Sultán Mahmúd, son of Násir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, which lies close to the road on the left hand, consisting of a lofty building, at the side of which are a kárez, and extensive gardens. From thence one kuroh farther south-west is Ghaznín, a large city of the Tájzík race; and the villages along the road are also inhabited by that people."

An account of Ghaznín I must defer for the last Section of these notes.

Third Route. From Kábul to Segí, one of the chief villages of the Dara'h of Khost, a distance of ninety kuroh,‡ and consisting of two different roads.

Before commencing with the description of the routes, it will be well to give a brief description of Khost, and also of Bangas'h or Bangak'h, in which the Khost Dara'h is included.

The particulars respecting Bangas'h, strange to say, are very meagre in all the copies of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, the printed text edited by the late Mr. W. H. Blochmann, M.A., included. All the manuscript copies I have examined have the ruled forms for the details, but they are not filled in.

Under the head of "Sarkár-i-Kábul," Abú-l-Fazl says, that the tomán of Bangas'h has to furnish, or is assessed, rather, as being able to furnish 7,000 horsemen and 87,800 foot for militia purposes. He then enters into some details, but, from the names of the tribes given, there is evidently a misplacement of the text, for the details refer to the tomán of Bagrám or Pas'háur and Purs'háwur, as Pes'háwar was called in that day, and which was not included in Bangas'h.

Bangas'h or Bangak'h.

"This is the name given to a number of Afghán tribes, said to amount altogether to about 100,000 families, as well as to a tract of mountainous country in which they

* There is also the Sh'níz Dara'h, in which the Wardags dwell, and the Sh'níz river, which rises a little to the west of the Sher Dahan pass. What Sh'níz may mean I cannot say. Shaníz, in the old Persian, means "ebony," but that would be altogether inapplicable here. Perhaps sh'níz and shush are synonymous.

† The name of this pass, in the map contained in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," for January, 1879, which is said to be based on Major Wilson's new map, has been turned into Sher-i-Dana."

‡ By the most direct of these two roads is meant.

dwell. This is again subdivided into Bálá or Upper Bangas'h, and Pá'ín or Lower Bangas'h. The former name is applied to the people who dwell high up in the mountains and in the depressions of the hills, and the latter name to the people who dwell lower down, and to the tract into which the rivers flow.

" Bangas'h, so called, extends for upwards of one hundred kuroh in length from east to west, and about sixty kuroh in breadth from north to south. It consists of lofty mountain tracts, and extensive and sometimes broad dara'hs. It is situated chiefly in a cold climate, but a little of it is hot. Each dara'h is known after the name of the tribe or section of the tribe inhabiting it, while the villages are called after the name of the clans or smaller sections of such tribes as inhabit them.

" It is not necessary here to name all the smaller dara'hs, offshoots from the larger ones, as the former will be found noticed elsewhere during our route through them; but the larger dara'hs, through which the writer passed in making these surveys, are Khost, Dawaṛ, Maidán, Sibrí, Bakr Khel, and Kohát."

Khost.

" Khost is the name of a great cleft of an extensive mountain range, in length from east to west thirty kuroh, and will be about eight kuroh in width from north to south; and other smaller dara'hs, mentioned farther on, as they are reached, are connected with it. In the winter season much snow falls, and in the summer the cold even does not leave the air (the air is still chilly).

" From the mountain range on the west a small river issues, which, flowing between difficult mountains lying to the east of Khost, near Palimín, joins the Kurma'h river.

The inhabitants of this dara'h belong to the Karlárni division of the Afghán nation, and are sometimes called by the general appellation of Khostí, that is, inhabitants of Khost, but there is no tribe called " Khostwals." They are held in great repute for their bravery.

" The chief and largest village or small town in this territory is called Segí, and is situated about the middle of the valley, on the south side of the Shamal river, and the district is very productive and enjoys an exceedingly cool and pleasant climate. Some of the land is lalmí (dependent on rain for irrigation), and some rúdí (irrigated from streams). The latter lands produce rice and much wheat, of which the Government share is one fourth. The lalmí lands produce barley, lentils, and cotton in large quantities, and on the produce of these lands the Government takes one tenth.

" The people are of four septs. Those who dwell to the west of the town of Segí are styled Kuwátá (*see* page 91 and next road); those on the east of it Parayá, also called Paráyá; those located in the mountains to the north of it are known by the name of Dirmán; and Akobí* is the name of a clan who dwell north of the Dirmán clan.

" These four divisions number altogether about 20,000 families, and pay 14,000 rupees yearly as a tithe or tenth to the Durrání Government, and furnish a contingent of 200 horsmen in time of war to the Bádsháh's army.

" In the mountain tracts to the south-west (called Chittí at page 89), which is about ten kuroh distant from Segí, some hundreds of the Tárarn tribe dwell.† They are a very valiant people. Hunting falcons are taken in their locality. The Tárarns have neither taxes nor revenue to pay.

First road.—From Kábul to Segí, by way of Gardaiz, which is over one hundred kuroh.‡

" The road from Kábul to Do-shína'h has been given in the preceding route. From thence two kuroh south is Taghraṇ, a large village in the tomán of Logar, and you proceed along the banks of the river of that name. From thence, twelve kuroh south, inclining south-east, is Gardaiz, the name of a large dara'h belonging to the Tájzíks; and by the way are numerous ascents and descents. A great mountain range lies on both the right and left hand side, and on the route there is much water (many small streams, feeders of the main river), and much population and cultivation.

" From thence, another twelve kuroh south, inclining south-east, is Dera'í-i-Míah Khel (dera'í, in Pus'hto, signifies " a mound, " a hillock, " a heap," " pile," etc.)—the hillock

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* Not " Yakoobi."

† The Tárarn tribe are descended from Tárarn, otherwise Sayyid Táhir, one of the adopted sons of Kákar. They are subdivided into several sections, but are not numerous. This tribe must not be mistaken for Tarín.

‡ Farther on the author says, this route is not only the longest, but also the most difficult.

of the Míah Khel, inhabited by Afghans. On the road there is scarcity of water, and excess of hilly country. From thence, another ten kuroh to the east, inclining south-east, brings you to Namárá, the name of a number of villages belonging to the Jzadrárn Afgháns.* On the way is a defile of great elevation, and out of it a river flows, which runs towards the south in the direction of the dara'h of Khost, and obtains the name of Shamal. From thence, ten kuroh farther east, is Segí of Mullá Sa'íd, a large village or small town, the seat of Government of the tomán of Khost.

"On the way thither are some thirty or forty villages lying on either side of the Shamal river, and all these villages they style by the name of Kuwátá. To the west of the village of Segí is the tomb and shrine of Mullá Sa'íd. He was a person of wisdom and knowledge, and practised them. The Shamal river passes under the village on the south side, and mountain ranges show themselves at a distance on the right and left hand.†

Second road.—From Kábul to Segí by way of Irí-áb and Kurma'h, consisting of four different roads.

"I. The first of these four roads from Kábul to Segí, is by way of Chakkura'í, which is the nearest of the four.

"Setting out from Kábul and proceeding four kuroh (south) you reach Masa'í, the name of a cluster of Tájzík villages on the west bank of the Logar river. Crossing it below the villages, and proceeding twelve kuroh towards the south, you reach Chakkura'í, a large village belonging to the great Afghán tribe of Ghalzí, who dwell about here leading the life of íláts or nomads. On the way there are many ascents and descents, the country being very mountainous.

"From Chakkura'í twelve kuroh (in the same direction) is Babbur, another village belonging to the Ghalzís, and the road thither is of much the same nature as the preceding, with numerous ascents and descents. Here too the Ghalzís dwell as íláts or nomads.

"Another twelve kuroh south from thence is 'Alí Khel, previously mentioned (at page 72), at the foot of the Spín Ghar mountain range, which lies close by on the left-hand side. Three kuroh east is Balút, a large village in the territory of Kurma'h. The road is like the bed of a river, and the before-mentioned mountain range of Spín Ghar lies near by on the left hand, while on the right there is a great Kotal or pass (the Paiwar).‡

"Three kuroh east is Paiwar, which is also a large village; and by the way there is a vast cultivation, and the country is very populous. From 'Alí Khel to this place the Túrí Afgháns dwell. A river issues from the Spín Ghar range, which, passing Balút and Paiwar on the east side and flowing towards the east, joins the river of Shalúzán.

"From Paiwar five kuroh to the south-east is Istíá, a considerable village on the Kurma'h river. At this place two roads branch off. That on the left hand goes to Bázár-i-Ahmad Khán, the chief town in the Bannú district (a little south-east of the new station of Bannú). The right-hand route is as follows:—

"Having crossed the Kurma'h river from Istíá, and proceeding ten kuroh to the south-east, a large village is reached belonging to one of the Bangas'h tribes, and styled the Algad.§ On the way thither there is much ascent and descent, and the road lies over a very high defile. From the Algad two kuroh to the south is Maidán, a large village belonging to the Údzí Khel Dzádzís, who are accounted among the tribes of Bangas'h; and the dara'h in which it lies is also called the Maidán Dara'h.

"The Údzí Khel are a large section or clan, amounting to nearly 20,000 families.‖ Some portion of them dwell in the Maidán Dara'h, and a few to the west of the Kurma'h district, while a considerable number of them live in the Irí-áb district as cultivators of the soil. Some of them speak the Persian language as well as the

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* The Jzadrárn or Jzandrárn Afgháns belong to the Karlární division, and are one of the three sub-tribes of the Mangalí mentioned in note *, page 78. They spring from the same common ancestor as the Dilazáks, Wurakzís, and others.

† Near this village is the fort in which Major-General Roberts so lately left the Sadozí Sháh-zádah as our representative in Khost, which he had again to abandon.

‡ The writer must have come to what is now called the "Spin Gawe" Kotal. If a Pus'hto name is intended it must be Spín Ghwáwí, if the "White Cows'" Kotal is referred to. It was evidently not so called in the author's time. The name is written "Ispingwai" in the article on "The Mountain Passes of the Afghan "Frontier of British India," in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," for January, 1879.

§ The word *algad* is said to mean a deep ravine, but here no ravine is mentioned, but a high defile is. What the derivation of *algad* is I am unaware.

‖ This number must refer to the whole of the Dzádzi tribe, of which the Údzí Khel are but a section. *See* page 81.

Pus'hto. They have to pay tax to the Durrání Government, amounting to about 14,000 rupees yearly, and to furnish sometimes 300 and sometimes 400 cavalry, as a contingent to Tímúr Sháh's army, when called upon.

"The Dara'h of Maidán, sometimes also called Údzí Khel, from the name of one of the clans inhabiting it, is about twelve kuroh in length, and nearly the same in breadth. On the north side it adjoins a hilly tract of country, on the west the mountains in the district occupied by the Sibrí clan, and south the low hills and mountain clefts (defiles and ravines) in the country of the Bakr Khel, which is full of ascents and descents. On the east of the Maidán Dara'h is the range of Mihtar Sulímán, or Koh-i-Siyah, and on its highest slopes some of the Údzí-Khel dwell. The dara'h is very cold. In winter much snow falls, and even in the summer one cannot pass the nights without a blanket and a fire.

"The stream issuing from this dara'h runs from west to east, and near the village of Palimín* unites with the Kurma'h river.

"From Maidán village five kuroh south is Bakr Khel, which is also called Mának Khel, and is included in Khost; and on the road thither is a great Kotal or pass. One kuroh south from Bakr Khel is a small river called the Tsamair, which comes from the right-hand side (west), and, flowing to the left, joins the Shamal river which runs through Khost. The mountains on the right and left are seen at some distance off.

"Two kuroh south of the Tsamair stream is a cluster of villages called Akobí, the name of a section of the Dirmán Afghán clan, and on the way thither are many ascents and descents. Having proceeded from thence another kuroh to the south-west you reach the dry bed of a river. After heavy rains in the mountains during the rainy season, the water comes from the right hand (westward) and, running to the left, joins the Tsamair river, which is also known as the Bakr Khel river.

"From thence (the dry bed of the river) one kuroh to the south-west and south, you reach a small cleft or defile, and, having passed it, and gone another half kuroh south, and another kuroh south-west, you reach a high plateau, which is tolerably level. You then descend half a kuroh in the direction of south-west, and reach the bed of a river which is dry, except after rains in the mountains. On either side of it are springs of pure and cool water. This river bed comes from the right hand, and runs to the left to join the Shamal river.

"From this dry river bed one kuroh to the south-west, inclining to south, is Kalaey-i-Bákir Khán (the village of Bákir Khán). This is a place of considerable size belonging to the Mo-ton Afgháns; and half a kuroh south-west from thence is the dry bed of a small river which you cross. The source of this little river is in the Dara'h of Sakra'h, or Sakrá, which is a very fruitful and productive tract. In the upper part of the dara'h the inhabitants have made cuts from the river bed, and conducted the water into their lands; and hence, lower down, the bed is dry.

"Proceeding onwards from the dry bed of this river half a kuroh south-west, you come to Mando Khel, which is a large village. The Dara'h of Sakra'h is seen from thence one kuroh west, on the right-hand side.

"From the village of Bákir Khán to this place the Mo-ton Afgháns dwell.†

"After leaving Mando Khel and advancing two kuroh south-west, you come to the Shamal river; and, proceeding from thence, in the river (in the bed of, or at the side of, the river), for one kuroh to the west, you come to Segí afore-mentioned, situated on the river, on the left hand.

"II. The second of these four roads from Kábul to Segí is by the village of Khirmaná Khel.

"From Kábul to Khirmaná Khel the road has been already given (at page 72). From thence crossing the river of 'Alí Khel, knee deep, to the east side, you proceed for two kuroh in a narrow dara'h of the mountains towards the east, at every footstep ascending, and afterwards, still ascending, after proceeding another kuroh south, you reach the crest of the range. At that point, on the south side, there is a small stream of water, which runs down for a short distance towards the south and is lost. This defile or cleft is called Mang-yár, and the boundary of the territories of Kurma'h and Irí-áb is marked by the line of watershed of these mountains. The defile is very narrow in some places, and its widest parts are not more than about one hundred or

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* *See* page 75. This is turned into "Palliamone" in the Indian Atlas map.

† The town or large village of Bákir Khán would be spoken of as "the village of the Mo-ton clan," but not the village of, or called, Mo-ton.

one hundred and twenty *gaz* (ells) wide. The mountains rise precipitously on either side, in some places like a wall.*

"Having proceeded from the crest of this defile half a kuroh south, you reach the dry bed of a river, which, when the snows melt, contains water which comes from the right hand (south), and runs to the left, and enters the Kurma'h river. On the right and left hand you have lofty mountain ranges. The range on the right they call Kar-yá, and the people dwelling therein belong to the Afghán clan of Jzadrárn, one of the sections of the Bálá or Upper Bangas'h tribe of Mangalí. The mountains on the left hand they call Kurma'h. Proceeding from the river bed just mentioned one kuroh and a half south and south-east, you reach the small village of Pírán, peopled by Sayyids, and on the south side of the village is the river of Irí-áb, called the Kar-yá. It comes from the right hand, and, running to the left, obtains the name of Kurma'h. When in flood, it cannot be crossed, and at other times, although the water generally is not more than knee deep, it is, nevertheless, very cold and very rapid, in such wise that, except at the different fords, horses, camels, and strong men cannot cross.

"Having crossed the river you proceed one kuroh south-east, and reach Isárak (probably Hisárak, vitiated), the name applied to six or seven villages belonging to one of the Bálá or Upper Bangas'h tribes—the tribe of Chamkaní—and the Kar-yá, or Irí-áb river lies near by on the left-hand side. Going from thence half a kuroh to the south-east you reach the commencement of the little Dara'h of Kum-zí, which, from north to south, is about three or four kuroh in length. It contains some ten or twelve villages called by the general name of Dirmán Khel, after a clan of Afgháns. To the south of it is a high mountain range which is called Gabrá†, and the people dwelling therein, consisting of about 700 families, they also are called Gabrá.

"From that direction a considerable river flows, which runs towards the north, and joins the Kar-yá or Irí-áb river. The Dirmán Khel is a clan of one of the Upper Bangas'h tribes.

"Proceeding from Dirmán Khel or the Dara'h of Kum-zí above mentioned, two kuroh and a half along the river in question, in the direction of south-west, you reach a cluster of villages called Sikandar Khel, another section of one of the Upper Bangas'h tribes. The river lies near by on the right-hand (west) side. The people have cut canals from this river, and conducted the water into their fields.

From the Sikandar Khel villages you proceed a kuroh and a half south, inclining to the south-west, and having ascended to a plateau you reach Mangal Khel, the name of several villages belonging to and called after a clan of the Upper Bangas'h tribes, which villages lie on the left hand close to the line of route. A small river comes from the left hand, which, running to the right through the Gabrá mountain range, the abode of the Gabrá, as previously mentioned, runs into the Dara'h of Kum-zí, or Dirmán Khel. The Mangal Khel‡ consists of about 2,000 families, some of whom dwell in fixed habitations, and others roam as íláts or nomads, in this exceedingly cold tract of country.

"From Kábul to the Sikandar Khel villages the mountains are generally lofty, and the roads, like river beds, very narrow and often arduous, but from these villages of the Mangal Khel commences the ascent of difficult and narrow defiles and dara'hs such as cannot be described.

"From the Mangal Khel villages, four kuroh south-east, inclining east, is another cluster of villages belonging to a section of one of the Upper Bangas'h tribes, named Babbal Khel.§ Proceeding onwards from Mangal Khel you ascend up into a mountain tract towering to the clouds, where there is neither water nor inhabitants. It contains numerous forests of *chalghozah*, which the Afgháns term nak'htar and nas'htar, kash-lána'h, and tahtar (*Pinus Gerardiana*). The trees are of two species, one is exceedingly tall and straight, its leaves fine and slender, and its cones very small. Its wood is used for building purposes, and is soft and white. It burns like a torch, in such wise that the people of these parts burn strips of it in place of lamps and torches. The

* This is the scene of Major-General Roberts' skirmish with a small party of the Mangalí tribe, on the 13th of December 1878. It is fortunate on the part of our small force that the Mangalís were not very numerous on that occasion.

I may mention that the numerous and powerful tribe which has thus been turned into "Mongols" and "Mungals" is called Mangalí, and is descended from Mangalaey, the fifth son of Karlárnaey. The Mangalí are again divided into three sub-tribes, Mughbal, Jzadrárn, and Bahádur-zí, who again are subdivided into several sections. They all dwell contiguous to Khost towards the north, west, and south.

† See Note *, page 86.

‡ This must not be mistaken for the Mangalí tribe, it is but a section or clan of a tribe.

§ Such people as "Boobool" Khel are utterly unknown.

other species is less in height, and not so straight, but its leaves are still more slender, and the cones larger than those of the other. There is much similarity in the leaves of both, and the difference is scarcely noticeable except by those skilled in these matters. The *gandah fírúza'h*, or olibanum (*Boswellia serrata*), clings round and climbs upon the trees in such a manner that with axe and adze it cannot be cut away from them, and it is only after one has burnt the parasite by fire that the chalghozah itself comes forth (*i.e.*, becomes cleared). The wild apple (*seb-i-dashtí*) also grows in this part, and the *gargara'h* or sloe, in great quantities, which the people eat.

Two kuroh south-east from Babbal Khel, proceeding along the hill tops of this range, you reach a little river which comes from the right hand, and, half a kuroh towards the east, falls into the river afore-mentioned (the Sikandar Khel river). You then have to ascend on the right hand, up the mountains, in the direction of south-east towards a defile or cleft called the Traka'h Kotal or Traka'h Ghák'hí or Ghás'hí. Its ascent and descent will be about one kuroh; and two kuroh and a half from thence, in the direction of south-east and east, having entered the dry bed of a river, you reach Chína'h-i-Tsamair, the name of a small village so called after the *china'h*, the Pus'hto for a spring of water, which spouts out like a fountain, to the height of about an ell, from the dry bed of the Tsamair river, to the north of the village. The aperture is about two fists (a span) either way. Round about the spring the ground is dry, and there is no appearance of water, but on the north side of the mouth of the aperture there is a cleft, and out of that the water issues. It is perhaps enough in volume to turn a water-mill, but after running towards the south-east it becomes lost again. You are now in the Dara'h of Tsamair, which will be presently noticed.

" From Chína'h-i-Tsamair half a kuroh east is Kabr-i-Liwan,* the name of the burying place of a darwesh; and in the vicinity of it is a large graveyard. From thence half a kuroh farther east is a cluster of villages, named Liwan, belonging to the Sibrí Afgháns, who are a small clan, consisting of some 3,000 families, and dwell west of the Bakr Khel, mentioned farther on, in the dara'h or valley of the Tsamair river. Cultivation is scanty, and they are not called upon to pay tax or revenue. Their territory is named Tsamair, and is a dara'h seven kuroh in length, and on the east and west of it are lofty mountain ranges.

" From this place—the Sibrí villages—two roads diverge. That on the right hand leads to the village of Akobí, mentioned at page 75. It is the longest, being eight kuroh, but is the most level. The left hand road is this:—From Liwan half a kuroh to the east you come to the dry bed of a river, and, from thence, ascending the acclivity of the mountains for half a kuroh, you then descend on the east side of them. The highest point of these mountains is the boundary between the Dara'h of Tsamair and Bakr Khel.

" Leaving this point (the crest of the ascent marking the boundary) and proceeding half a kuroh to the east, you reach a small river, the water of which comes from the left hand and flows to the right, and joins the Tsamair river. From this small river another half kuroh farther east is Bakr Khel, which village they also call Mának Khel. The land of this dara'h they call Bak. From Bakr Khel to Segí has been already given (at page 77).

" The Bakr Khel clan of Afgháns numbers near upon 6,000 families, and the tract in which they dwell is likewise called Bakr Khel after them. The dara'h is about twelve kuroh long from north to south, and seven in width. On the south side it adjoins the territory of the Dirmán clan. It contains numerous ascents and descents, elevations and depressions, and is included in Khost. The land is for the most part lalmí, but some is rúdí; and the system of cultivation is similar to that carried on in Khost, previously described.

" The Tsamair river comes from the westward, and, flowing through this dara'h, in the direction of south-east joins the Shamal river.

" The Bakr Khel pay 3,000 rupees yearly as revenue, and have to furnish a contingent of 60 horsemen to the army of Tímúr Sháh, Durráni (when called upon).

" III. The third road is from Kábul to Segí in Khost by way of Baghzan.

" From Kábul to Baghzan, the chief place in Irí-áb, the route has been already given (at pages 68 to 72). From Baghzan, having proceeded one kuroh to the south, you turn towards the south-east, and then, having gone one kuroh and a half in that

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* Probably Lewanaey (mad, insane, crazy, frenzied). The Sibrí country is mentioned at p. 82 as lying west of the Maidán Dara'h of the Údzí Khel, and south of the Bakr Khel country. A comparison of these descriptions will show its situation pretty accurately.

direction, turn south again and proceed onwards for another kuroh. You then have to turn south-east again, and continue to advance in that direction for two kuroh, when you reach the 'Alí Khel river, and here the Dara'h of Irí-áb, in this direction, terminates.

"After this you proceed about eight kuroh, or rather less, along the before-mentioned river, after which you reach the villages belonging to the Chamkaní* tribe of Afgháns, referred to at page 35, and this dara'h they call Kar-yá (*see* also page 78), which is exceedingly narrow and difficult to pass. In the ridges of these hills the Jzadrárn section of the Mangalí tribe dwell. From the Isarák villages to the village of Paiwáṛ it is six kuroh to the north, and Istíá lies six kuroh towards the north-east.

"The route from Isárak to Segí has been already given at page 78.

"IV. The fourth road is from Kábul to Segi in Khost by the Kotal-i-Sin, or Sin Pass.†

"The route from Kábul to Khirmaná Khel has been given at page 72. Starting from thence, and proceeding one kuroh south-west, inclining west, you reach Azár Darakht,‡ a village belonging to the Ūdzí Khel, and the village of Baghzaṇ lies half a kuroh to the left.

"From Azár Darakht two kuroh south-west, inclining south, is the Kotal-i-Sin, the name of a great kotal or pass. On the way are forests of chalghozah or pine, and the air is exceedingly cold. From thence ten kuroh is the manzil or stage of Gardaiz; and the route from thence to Segí has been previously given at page 75. This route is not only the most difficult but also the longest.

Fourth Route. From Kábul to Bázár-i-Ahmad Khán, which is the seat of government of the district of Bannú, by way of Kurma'h, which is one hundred kuroh in the direction of south-east. This route also leads into the Dera'h-ját.

"From Kábul to the village of Istíá on the Kurma'h river the route has been already described, at page 76. From Istíá five kuroh east, inclining south-east, is Ūdzí Khel, the name by which several villages of the Dzádzís,§ a tribe of the Bálá or Upper Bangas'h Afghán tribes, so called, are known, and the Kurma'h river lies near by on the right hand. The road is very crooked and winding.

"The waters flowing out of the Dara'hs of Paiwaṛ, Shalúzán, also called Shanúzán, Zerán, and Kaṛmán, having joined together, come from the left hand, and on the west side, under the village (chief village) of the Ūdzí Khel Dzádzís, join the Kurma'h river."‖

Before proceeding farther towards Bannú, as we are at present in the Kurma'h district, it will be well to give our author's account of it, and its adjoining Dara'hs.

Kurma'h.

"Kurma'h¶ is the name of a large dara'h among the mountains, from east to west over forty kuroh in length, and there is very little level ground to be found in it. Among its chief towns are Zúmik'ht or Zúmis'ht, Sadá, Buland Khel, Balímín, Ūdzí Khel, Shanúzán or Shalúzán, previously mentioned, Paiwaṛ, and Istíá, sometimes called Astiyá.

"It has several considerable dara'hs on either side of it, which are very productive, yielding heavy crops, consisting of rice, barley, and wheat, and vast quantities of fruit, including cool and sweet pomegranates. Nearly every village is named after a clan, and every dara'h, generally, after a tribe. Kurma'h yields close upon one lakh of rupees to the treasury of Tímúr Sháh, Durrání, and each clan or section of a tribe has to furnish a contingent of troops, which, in time of war, have to present themselves at the bár-gáh, or place of audience of the Bádsháh.

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* The Chamkaní is a small tribe of the Ghwarí or Ghwaríah Khel, previously noticed.

† This Kotal is, I believe, what appears in the Indian Atlas map as "Kaseen (?)," and in older maps as "Kasien." Some native, probably, giving information about it in Hindústání, used the genitive particle *ká*—Sin ká Kotal—and thus *ká* became prefixed—"Kotal Kasin."

‡ This word is not written with *h*, therefore it must not be mistaken for "hazár darakht," or "thousand trees."

§ The Dzádzís, like the Túrís, claim other descent, which is referred to at page 82.

‖ This differs much from the maps of these parts, which require as much rectification here as elsewhere. From the nature of the country through which they flow these rivers could not have altered their coursemuch.

¶ "Kurram" and "Khurram" are equally incorrect.

"On the north side of this great dara'h three distinct ranges of mountains rise, one above the other, the farthest being the loftiest, which is for the most part always covered with snow, called Spín Ghar by the Afgháns, and Safed Koh by the Persian speaking inhabitants, signifying the white or snowy mountain range. From its proximity to the territory of Tí-ráh, this range is likewise known as the Tí-ráh range. The lower ranges are clothed with forests of pine and other forest trees.

Irí-áb.

"The Dara'h of Irí-áb, lying west of the Paiwaṛ kotal, is twenty kuroh in length from north to south, and, as in the case of the Kurma'h valley, very little level space is to be found in it, but it is very fruitful. The inhabitants cultivate the ground on the ridges or slopes of the mountains, and grow much rice, wheat, and barley. They are of the Dzádzí tribe, one of whose clans or sections is styled by the name of Údzí, Khel.

Paiwaṛ.

"Another dara'h is Paiwaṛ, whose inhabitants are of the Túrí tribe. They are notorious on account of their being of the faith (and mistaken for Shí'ahs) of the schismatic, the Pír-i-Ros'hán or Rok'hán, or Saint of Light, as he styled himself, but nick-named Pír-i-Tárík, or Saint of Darkness, by the Akhúnd, Darwezah, previously mentioned in note **, page 45, who lived in the reign of Akbar Bádsháh, and was the cause of many terrible misfortunes to the Afghán people, and others of these parts. The Túrís number about 6,000 or 7,000 families, and Paiwaṛ is one of their largest places. Baghzaṇ is their chief town.

"The east side of this dara'h joins Spín Ghar or the Tí-ráh range, out of which a considerable river issues. It passes east of the town of Baghzaṇ, enters the Kurma'h territory, and receives the name of Kurma'h, or river of Kurma'h. It flows by Bannú and Laka'í, and at last falls into the Abáe Sind or Indus, in the country of the 'Isá Khel Afgháns.

Shanúzán or Shalúzán.

"East of Paiwaṛ is the large Dara'h of Shálúzán* or Shanúzán—*n* being interchangable with *l*—about seven kuroh in length from north to south. It adjoins the Spín Ghar range on the north. A small river issues from it, through which, as the term dara'h indicates, it runs, and joins the Paiwaṛ river. Its inhabitants are Túrís, but there are a few Awán-kárs dwelling therein. They are a Jat tribe, the majority of whom now dwell in the Sind-Ságar Do-ába'h of the Panjáb†.

Zerán.

"East of Shanúzán again is another Dara'h, called Zerán, running in a south-westerly direction from Spín Ghar, and five kuroh in length. A stream issuing from Spín Ghar flows through it, and unites with the river which runs through the Dara'h of Kaṛmán. Its inhabitants also are Túrís, and some few Awán-kárs.

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* This is referred to by historians as Sankúrán, which is the name of a section of the great tribe of Ghuzz (*see* "Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 374, and note 5, and page 376), who overran great part of what is now called Afghánistán after their defeat and capture of Sultán Sanjar, the Saljúk. In 569 H. (1173-74, A.D.), Ghaznín was wrested out of the hands of the Ghuzz by the Sultán of Ghúr, Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, who made his brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, Wálí or ruler of the Ghaznín territory. In the following year, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad, acquired possession of the Dara'h of Gardaiz. In the year 571 H. (1175-76, A.D.), to quote the words of the author of the Tabakát-i-Násirí, "the Sankúrán—also written "Shalúzán in one of the oldest copies of the text of that work—tribe broke out into rebellion, and committed "great violence, until, in the year 572 H. (1176-77, A.D.), he (Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad) marched an army "against them, and fell upon that people, and put the greater number of them to the sword. They have "related that most of the Sankúrán tribe were manifestly confessors of the Kur'án creed, who, on this occasion, "obtained martyrdom; but, as they had stirred up rebellion, they were put to death, as a matter of exigency, "according to sovereign prerogative."—Pages 450, 451.

† Jahán-gír Bádsháh, in his Autobiography, states:—"Mahábat Khán sent me some apples from Bangas'h by "dák chaukí (by post), and they reached me fresh and juicy; and such rare and delicious apples I had never "seen. They say that in Upper Bangas'h, near the Shakar dara'h or pass, there is a village called Shanúzán, "and that there are only three trees producing these apples; and, notwithstanding all the efforts that have "been made to propagate them, they cannot get them to grow to such perfection anywhere else."

"*Kaṛmán.*

"The Kaṛmán Dara'h* is one of considerable size, lying north-east and south-west, and about nine kuroh in length. It adjoins Spín Ghar on the north, and out of it a river runs which unites with that issuing from the Zerán Dara'h, and the united streams, within three kuroh of the Údzí Khel villages, fall into the Kurma'h river. Its inhabitants are Awán-kárs."†

These districts and dara'hs formed the appanage of Malik Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, the mamlúk, and mihtar or chief of the Turk Maliks of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, the Tájzík Ghúrí, Sultán of Ghaznín and Hind, who established the Musalmán power and religion in Hindústán. Táj-ud-Dín, like his fellow mamlúk, Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, and several others, was a Turk. I have already mentioned that sections of the Khalj, Kankulí, Kárlúgh, and other Turk and Ghuzz tribes were settled in those parts at the period in question, and had been there for some centuries previous, and long before the Pus'htánah or Afgháns passed beyond their tún or original country, that is to say, the tracts from the koh-páyah or hill-skirts, immediately east of Ghaznín, to the eastern slopes of the range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah —Pus'ht or Puk'ht, or Pás'ht or Pák'ht.

For the reasons above mentioned, it is not surprising that so many places still retain their Turkish names, and that the Túrís (Túrí and Túrání are synonymous terms) and Dzádzís, descended from Túrí and Dzádzí, the adopted sons of Khogí, son of Mangalí, son of Karlární, the progenitor of the Khogíání tribe, are considered, on very good grounds, to be of Turkish descent.

Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz,‡ which latter name, in Turkish, signifies "a star," succeeded to the throne of the Ghaznín kingdom, according to the wish and request of his master and sovereign, while, for the same reason, Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, succeeded to the sovereignty of Hind. They were granted letters of manumission and confirmed in the sovereignties of those states by their suzerain, Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Mahmúd, son of Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, who succeeded to the sovereignty of Ghúr after

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* Major (now Lieutenant-General Sir H. B.) Lumsden, K.C.S.I., when on his "Mission to Candahar" in 1857, in this very dara'h of Kaṛmán, which he styles "Kirman," discovered "the shrine of Fahm i Allam, the "father of Nadir Shah," which is "considered very sacred by the Turi tribes." The name of Nádir's father was Imám Kulí, and he was not a saint; he did not die in Kaṛmán, and was never there in his life.

† Afzal Khán, chief of the Khatak Afgháns, states that, in the years 1112 and 1113 H. (1700, 1702, A.D.) when Bahádur Sháh, son of Auranzeb-i-'Alam-gír, was Súbah-dár of Kábul (that is to say, of all the territory belonging to Dilhí, west of the Indus), he set out from his home to attend that Prince, as commanded. The Prince wanted to relieve a post which was held by a Bárah Sayyid, in the Dawaṛ valley, and to settle the affairs of the Kohát district, and of Bannú. He was encamped at Angú when Afzal Khán presented himself, and subsequently broke up his camp, saying that he intended to proceed to Kábul by way of the Dara'hs of Zerán and Kaṛmán, and would pass the remainder of the summer there. Afzal Khán then says, "I received "my *congé*, with directions to make arrangements about the safety of the Resí route. I proceeded by way of "Balah-min to Khúrmah and Khachatú, and set out to arrange about the route in question."

Bahádur Sháh spent some time in Zerán and Kaṛmán, and employed the whole time in making the defile over the mountains to the north practicable. It is a road which leads from Zerán and Kaṛmán through the Spín Ghar mountains, and descends from thence down to Gandamak, but, unfortunately, the work was not completed before he departed for Kábul.

Now that I have pointed out this important fact, I hope one of the surveyors attached to the Kurma'h or Jalál-ábád columns will survey it, and "*palmam qui meruit ferat.*" See also under the head of Hisárak, at page 96. The roads require to be watched in case of accident.

‡ This name is written Yal-duz by the author of the Tabakát-i-Násirí, but historians dwelling among Turks, or belonging to those people, write it I-yal-dúz, as above.

The author above named was the contemporary of these two slaves and their master, the Sultán; and every writer, without a single exception, says they were Turkish slaves. Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, was first purchased by Fakhr-ud-Dín, 'Abd-ul-'Azíz, the Chief Kází of Níshápúr. When he grew up, some merchants brought Í-bak to Ghaznín, and Sultán Mu-izz-ud-Din, Muhammad-i-Sám, purchased him. General Ferrier, who wrote a "History of the Afghans," "informs us" (page 17) "that the Afghan rule in India commenced at the death "of Mahmood Gouree in 1205," and that "the Indian provinces fell to Koutoob, one of his generals of the "Afghan tribe of Lood." This is incorrect, as well as a statement by Mr. Bellew, in his book entitled "Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857," pages 80 and 81, where he says, "Nevertheless "another branch of this people ('Afghans of Ghor' he is referring to) conquered Hindustan, and in the person "of Ibráhím Loe, or Lodi (who belonged to an elder branch of the Ghor family of Afghans), established a "dynasty of emperors of this race at Delhi, about the year 1193, A.D.," etc., etc.

There never was but one ruler of Dihlí, named Ibráhím, and he was the son of Sikandar, son of Bah-lúl, the Lúdí, Afghán; and he succeeded his father to the soveignty of Dihlí in 923 H, (1517 A.D.). The Súr clan, which gave sovereigns to Dihlí after Humáyún's dethronement, were also Lúdís. Síání, son of Lúdí, had two sons, (1) Prankí, one section of whose descendants is called the Sháhú Khel, to which Sultán Bah-lúl belonged; and (2) Ismá'íl, from whose son, Súr, in the third degree, sprang the Shirá Khel, to which Sher Sháh and his successors belonged. The Ghúrís were Tájzíks and not Afgháns. See my paper, "Who were the 'Patan' or 'Pathán' Sultáns of Dihlí?" in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xliv., Part 1, 1875.

the death of his uncle, Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, above referred to. These events will be found in detail in my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," pages 297, 398, and 496.

Mr. Clements Markham tells us, in his paper on the "Afghán Frontier" in the first number of the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," on the authority of Mr. E. Thomas, apparently, that "it was from Kurram that Ilduz advanced over the "Shutar-Gardan and *conquered* Ghazni." He may have used the Shutar-Gardana'h pass, probably, for his government extended as far as the bottom of the pass leading into Gardaiz, but *no history says so.* As to his "conquering Ghazni," the following are the facts. On the death of his master and sovereign, two sons of the late Sultán of Bámíán and Tukháristán, Bahá-ud-Dín, Sám, of the house of Shansab, instigated by a faction, came and seized upon Ghaznín, and appropriated the vast treasures accumulated there. The author of the "Tabakát-i-Násirí," the contemporary of Sultán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, who was brought up at the court of the Princess, the daughter of Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, the sovereign of Ghúr and head of the family and dynasty, and whose father was Kází of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín's army in Hindústán, states in his work:—"In the last year of the reign of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, when "that monarch, on his last expedition into Hind, came into Kaṛmán and halted there, "he conferred upon Táj-ud-Dín, Yal-duz, a black banner, and it was the desire of "his august mind that Táj-ud-Dín, Yal-duz, after himself, should succeed to the "throne of Ghaznín. When the Sultán attained martyrdom, it was the desire and "disposition of the Turk Maliks (including Yal-duz himself) and Amírs that Sultán "Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Mahmúd, son of Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muhammad, son of Sám, should come "from the confines of the Garm-sír to Ghaznín, and ascend his uncle's throne. . . . "To this effect they wrote to the court of Fírúz-koh, and represented, saying, "'The Sultáns of Bámíán are acting oppressively, and are ambitious of obtain- "'ing possession of Ghaznín. Thou art heir to the dominion, and we are thy "'slaves.' Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Mahmúd, replied, saying, 'To me the throne of "'my father, which is the capital, Fírúz-koh, and the kingdom of Ghúr, is the most "'desirable. I confer the territory of Ghaznín on you;' and he despatched a robe "of honour to Sultán Táj-ud-Dín, Yal-duz, and presented him with a letter of manu- "mission, and assigned the throne of Ghaznín unto him."—Pages 501 and 502.

'Alá-ud-Dín, Muhammad, and Jalál-ud-Dín, 'Alí, the two sons of the late Bahá-ud-Dín, Sám, of Bámíán, arrived at Ghaznín two days after the corpse of the late Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad, had been conveyed thither, and the former usurped the throne. I-yal-dúz had not yet left his government of Kaṛmán. He was preparing to do so when pressing solicitations reached him from the Wazír of the late Sultán and the principal Amírs to come and deliver them from the Bámíán faction. He speedily appeared. 'Alá-ud-Dín, Muhammad, was vanquished, and he and his brother, and the Ghúrí Maliks, his supporters, were made prisoners. I-yal-dúz entered Ghaznín, and shortly after allowed his captives to return to Bámíán. He appears after this to have returned to Karmán, for, not long after, the two brothers again appeared before Ghaznín, and 'Alá-ud-Dín, Muhammad, despatched an army towards Kaṛmán against Sultán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz. He prepared to move against it, and detached part of his troops in advance, under the leadership of Aetkín, a Táttár officer, who came upon the Ghúrí Maliks at the Rabát-i-Sankúrán, otherwise Shanúzán, "drunk and senseless," seized them and put them to death, and dispersed the force. I-yal-dúz advanced to Ghaznín, and invested 'Alá-ud-Dín, Muhammad, therein for a period of four months, after which his brother, Jalál-ud-Dín, 'Alí, with an army from Bámíán, arrived upon the scene, to endeavour to raise the investment. He was overthrown and captured, and 'Alá-ud-Dín, his brother, gave up Ghaznín. I-yal-dúz again allowed the brothers to depart uninjured, after having obtained from them stipulations as to their future conduct. All this can scarcely be styled his "conquering Ghaznín," or his being merely "in charge of the metropolis of Ghazní," of which he was sovereign.

Why he used his master's name on his coins, instead of his own, after he succeeded to the Ghaznín throne, is detailed in the "Tabakát-i-Násirí" (*see* "Translation," pages 526, 527).

On one occasion hostility arose between I-yal-dúz and Í-bak, who was his son-in-law, about the possession of Láhor, when I-yal-dúz was defeated by Í-bak, and had to retire from the banks of the Indus, to which he had advanced, into Kaṛmán again. Í-bak, by another route, made a rapid march upon Ghaznín, and seized it.* He was only

* Through Khost or one of the routes farther north.

in possession of it for forty days, however, for, by this time, news of Í-bak's riotous proceedings had reached I-yal-dúz, and he had been entreated by the Maliks of the kingdom and the people of Ghaznín to come to their rescue. As the distance between Karmán and Ghaznín was short, I-yal-dúz arrived unexpectedly at the capital, from which Í-bak had to retire precipitately towards Hind, by the route of Sang-i-Surákh, or the perforated rock or stone.

I-yal-dúz, some years later, had to take this same route, when the troops of Sultán Muhammad, Khwárazm Sháh, suddenly marched an army from the side of Tukháristán and unexpectedly seized the routes leading into Hind by the Gardaiz and Karahah Dara'hs. The latter is possibly the place which appears as "Khurwur" in some of our older maps, north of Gardaiz, or Khurwur, rather, is intended to represent it.

A Sang-i-Surákh route, from the Derah-ját to Farmúl, is mentioned by Bábar Bádsháh.*

The history of the careers of I-yal-dúz and Í-bak will be found in the before-mentioned "Translation," pages 496 to 528.

These Dara'hs of Karmán, Zerán, and Shalúzán, in those days produced silk, and do so up to the present time. It is stated that every year that Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad, set out on his expeditions into Hindústán he used to halt for a time in Karmán, and Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, on these occasions, used to feast the whole of the Amírs and Maliks, and suite of the Sultán, and used to present one thousand honorary head-dresses and quilted tunics on such occasions. It is not improbable that these or a portion of them were the manufacture of the district.

Khost, Dawar, Maidán, Sibrí, and Bakr Khel have been already described in their proper places. Kohát is included in the great division of Bangas'h, but, for convenience, it will be mentioned further on, when I am describing the routes leading to it.

I now return to the description of the route to the chief town of Bannú.

"From Údzí Khel (*see* page 80) seven or eight kuroh east is Dirárín. You proceed along by the Kurma'h river, and the village of Sada'h lies two kuroh on the left-hand side. From thence (Dirárín) one kuroh south is Mukh-zí, which is also a large village on the Kurma'h river, lying on the right-hand side. From thence one kuroh and a half is the large village of Bal-yamain,† belonging to a section of one of the Bálá Bangas'h tribes, and the river lies near by, on the right hand. From thence fifteen kuroh, keeping along the course of the river, is Bug-zí, on the river bank, and one kuroh and a half farther on is Badá Khel, also on the bank of the Kurma'h river. One kuroh still farther to the south-east is the large village of Buland Khel, peopled by a clan of one of the tribes of Bálá Bangas'h, and here the Bangas'h territory terminates.‡

"On the way to this place there are numerous villages, and the road has many ascents and descents. The Kurma'h river lies close by on the right hand, and mountain ranges, towering to the sky, lie both on the right and left hand.

"From Buland Khel, seventeen kuroh south-east, is the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, a large town on the bank of the Kurma'h river, which you have to cross by means of a raft, north of the town. On the way thither you pass through a populous and cultivated district, and the river appears near by on the right hand. The people are of the Shítak tribe of Afgháns."§

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* *See* note *, page 86.

† Afgháns write it Balah-min.

‡ Afzal Khán, Khatak, relates in his history that, subsequent to his stay in Zerán and Karmán, the Prince, Bahádur Sháh, was desirous of sending some of his people from thence by the Buland Khel route to Bannú, whither he was himself about to proceed, but that he, Afzal Khán, recommended the route by Láchí (farther north), and offered to escort them by the Chautaraey road. But no: they went by Buland Khel; and, after they had passed it, found that the Wazírí Afgháns occupied the route in their front. They defeated the Prince's party with great loss of life. All their baggage and tents fell into the hands of the Wazírís, and they had to retreat to Buland Khel again. This opposition on the part of the Wazírís was caused through the bad faith of an upstart, called 'Alí Rizá, who was in the Prince's service, and entrusted with the management of important affairs. Some time before, under the promise of effecting an accommodation with the Wazírís, he had induced several persons of that tribe to come to him, and then he put them to death; and he, who was totally unacquainted with military affairs, was made the commander of the force despatched to Bannú.

§ Places situated between these long stages here are referred to in other cross routes.

*Fifth Route. From Ghaznín to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, by way of Dawar.**

"From Ghaznín, ten kuroh south-east, inclining east, is Rámak, a place (village ?) inhabited by the Ghalzí tribe, and here the ílát or nomad Ghálzís dwell.† From them eight kuroh in the same direction is Shor Kajá, likewise a large village. East of it is a deep kol or lake, which is formed by rain water. From this lake the people have made cuts, and conducted the water to their cultivated lands.

"From thence five kuroh is Sih Rauza'h, a large village, where there are, as the name indicates, the tombs of three holy men.‡ Five kuroh farther on, in much the same direction, having crossed a lofty mountain range bounding it on the west, you reach Urgún, also written Wargún and Wargín, but the former is the most correct form of writing it, a large village belonging to the Parmúlí or Farmúlí tribe, who are Tájzíks."

The Tokhí Ghalzí Mullá, to whom I have previously referred, and who was personally acquainted with the locality, would not admit that the Parmúlís were Tájzíks. His account is that they are Afghúns; he does not mean that they are Ghalzís, and that Urgún is also the name of the country or district belonging to the Parmúlís, and also the dwelling-place of the Parmúl Maliks of the great tribe of Ghalzí, the Maliks of the Ghalzí clans of Tarakí, Andar, Sahák, Sulímán Khel, and Sáfí, of whom, and of the kochís or powandahs of this great tribe, an account will be given in its proper place.§

There are pine forests around Urgún, and near it is an iron mine. "From the "time of the Hájí, Mír Wais, from the year 1120 H. (1708-9, A.D.) down to this "day," said my Tokhí Mullá, "the year 1284 H. (1867-68, A.D.), the descendants "of the Hájí enjoy the revenues of this part year by year."

To resume, however. "From Urgún three kuroh, much in the same direction as before, is Pír Kútai (Kútaey ?), and from thence another three kuroh, Kharotí. These are the names of Ghalzí villages on the Tonchí river, which issues from the mountain range west of this dara'h (of Parmúl or Farmúl). It passes west and south of Urgún, and lies near by on the right hand as you proceed along the road.‖

"From Kharotí five kuroh in the same direction is Marghah, a place inhabited by the Wazírí tribe¶ of Afghúns, and the Tonchí river lies near by on the right-hand side. From thence seven kuroh east is Kabr-i-Mullá Kalúb, and the river still lies near on the right hand. Four kuroh east is Pá'í Khel, and another three kuroh farther on in the same direction is Malakh, inhabited by the Dawar Afgháns, and here the Dawar territory begins.

"From thence two kuroh north-east is the Kalaey of Ahmad Khán, a large village on the left hand, on the Tonchí river.

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* All these routes are important, and this one in particular, for many reasons, and throw much light on the geography of the least known part of the old Afghán country. These routes are not referred to, I believe, in any accounts yet published.

† Báyazíd, the Byát, relates that the Chár-pá Hazárahs, whose temporary dwellings were situated between Tásán and Kalgháj, and distant about six kuroh from Ghaznín, had refused to pay their revenue. Humáyún Bádsháh commanded that a force should be sent against them. While a force was being moved from Ghaznín, the troops of the feudatory of Gardaiz concealed themselves behind the detached mountain of Rah or Rih, which lies between Tásán and Rámak. The latter set out, early in the night, by way of the village of Yúnán, a dependency of Gardaiz, and at midnight the force reached the village of Kalál or Kulál. The Hazárahs sent away their families and flocks to Sardah, Kará-Bágh (the Black Garden, Kará is Turkí), and Kal'a'h-i-Sangín, but themselves remained to withstand the Ghaznín troops, unaware of the ambuscade laid by the Gardaiz forces.

The success was but partial on the part of the former, and they returned to Ghaznín, and the Hazárahs to their temporary homes again.

‡ This placed, Sih Rauzah, is what appears in the map of Afghanistan, in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society" for January, 1879, as Surifza.

§ Afgháns generally, I may say for the most part, do not admit the claim of the Parmúlís to be considered Afgháns or Patáns. During the reigns of the first Patán Sultáns of Hindústán, namely, those of Bah-lúl and Sikandar, and again in the time of Sher Sháh, this claim of the Parmúlís was frequently discussed in the assemblies of those sovereigns, but was not admitted. In the genealogical tree of the Afghán nation, which I shall shortly publish, a Parmúlí or Farmúlí, both modes of writing being synonymous, is entered among the twenty-four sons of Kákar, son of Dánaey. He was probably an adopted son.

In his last book, Afghanistan and the Afghans," Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., makes out the Kakars (page 218), as he styles them, to be the same as "the Gakar tribe of Indians in the north Panjab," the same which Major-General A. Cunningham, C.S.I., pronounces "Indo-Scythians" like the Kárlúgh Turks. There is as much difference in the two people, and their names, as there is between the Ghalzí Afgháns and the "Turk tribe of Khilich, which was anciently located in the upper course of the Jaxartes."

‖ The maps are all incorrect here, as well as defective. This river, in the map in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," is made to pass in a totally contrary direction.

¶ This great tribe will be noticed in another Section of the Notes. I may mention that "Waziristan," as their country has been recently styled, is as unknown to the Wazírís as "Kakaristan" is to the Kákars.

" From Urgún to this place you follow the course of the Tonchí, and lofty mountain ranges lie near by on either side of this broad dara'h.* As previously mentioned, this river comes from the left, passes towards the right, and flows on to the east. The Wazírí tribe infest the route for some distance, and inflict injury on travellers.

" From the Kalaey of Ahmad Khán half a kuroh east is Pírán Sháh, consisting of two or three villages belonging to Pír-zádahs (descendants of a holy man or spiritual guide) of the Wazírí tribe, on the right hand side of the river Tonchí.

" On both sides of the river are several villages, named Músarí, belonging to the Afgháns of Dawaṛ."

Here it will be well to give a brief account of the Dawaṛ Dara'h.

The Dawaṛ Tribe and Country.

" Dawaṛ is the name of a numerous division of the Shítak tribe of Afgháns, numbering about 20,000 families, the descendants of Shítak, son of Kakí, son of Karlární. Every hamlet is called after the name of a section of the tribe. They are not under the authority of a single chief, but several, and have neither tax nor tribute to pay. This dara'h of the mountains or valley in which they dwell, in fixed dwellings as cultivators of the soil, lies in a very cold climate. It is extensive, and runs from the Bannú district up to the mountain tracts in which the Wazírís dwell, a distance of over forty kuroh in length. There is no level land in their country, it may be said, for they dwell on the acclivities, ridges, and in depressions of the hills, and cultivate such land as there is capable of cultivation. The Tonchí river comes from the left (the west), from the direction of the country of the Wazírís, and runs through the dara'h to the east, where it finally joins the Kurma'h.

" The people have cut canals from the river in all directions, and brought water for irrigation purposes into their lands. Rice, wheat, barley, lentils, múng (*Phaseolus mungo*), and cotton, are produced in considerable quantities. Wells are usual in the dara'h, nevertheless they do not irrigate their lands from them, and, on account of the stony nature of the soil, they are not able to plough, therefore they use the mattock and shovel instead in their agricultural work. They possess great herds of cattle.

" The chief place in this valley, which in ancient times was a large city, but is now totally ruined, they style S'hahr (the city).† The tomb of Malik Ajdar is in this dara'h likewise. They say that this holy man was of the Muhammadan faith, and hold his resting place in great veneration. They constantly offer up prayers there, and invoke his intercession.

" One of the choicest productions of this tract, however, is their horses, which are of two descriptions. One they call Gala'h-i-Duzd (the Stolen Herd, or Thief's Herd), which is short in stature, with large eyes, and capable of enduring immense fatigue and labour, swift-footed, and of good pace. This kind they hold most precious. The other species is called Barí Gala'h-i-Khizrí, but although they are tall animals, large-eyed, delicate skinned, and low waisted, they do not prize them nearly so much as the other kind."

Bahádur Sháh, while he held the Súbahdár-ship of the province of Kábul, under his father Aurangzeb, in 1112 H. (1700–1, A.D.), set out towards the autumn of 1113 H. (1701, A.D.), by the Khost route, for Dawaṛ, and after entering it found the route occupied by the Wazírí, Dawaṛ, and other Afgháns. He could not get on, and it was only after an arrangement with them, effected by the Nawwáb Násir Khán, that the Prince succeeded in reaching Bannú with his forces.

Subsequently, after having passed the winter in Bannú, the Prince set out for Kábul. On reaching the Hasan tangaey, or defile, the whole of the Afghán tribes of that part, the Wazírís, Dawaṛs, and Khost people, came and occupied the pass to bar his progress. He sent troops in advance, who attacked them, but the Afgháns repulsed them with considerable loss, and there was much fear lest the whole force should be destroyed. The Prince was obliged to treat with the Afgháns, and, after expending

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* According to the map just referred to, between Urgún and Pá'í Khel, " the Pushtú mountains, bounding Khorasan and India, according to the natives " must be crossed, but with all the minute detail here given they are never once referred to. Indeed, the contrary may be inferred, for I do not think the writer would have neglected to mention such a fact, if the supposed range had any palpable existence.

Bábar Bádsháh mentions two routes from the Derah-ját—the Dasht or plain, as he styles it—one of which, the Sang-i-Surákh road, passes Barak (Barak-zí ? *see* page 88), and goes to Farmúl, and from thence to Ghaznín. The other route follows the banks of the Farmúl river—the Tonchí,—and on to Farmúl.

† *See* pages 87 and 92.

much gold upon them, they left the passage clear, but from thence until he reached Kábul again, every here and there, his people were plundered of their baggage and stragglers were cut off.

To return to the continuation of the route.

" From Pírán Sháh one kuroh east, inclining south-east, is Khú-zí, a village named after an Afghán clan; and one kuroh east, inclining north-east, is Nek-zí, a small village peopled by the darweshes or recluses of this territory. The tomb (of their progenitor?) and burying place of this family are situated on the south side of it. The Tonchí river lies distant on the left hand.

" Half a kuroh north of Nek-zí are a few hamlets on the banks of the same river, called Drap Khel, after a small section of an Afghán clan of this part. From opposite the Kalaey or village of Ahmad Khán* a canal has been cut from the Tonchí, and the water brought into the lands of the Drap Khel, or Drap-zí hamlets.

" From Drap Khel one kuroh and a half south is another cluster of three or four villages on either side of the river, called Mírán Sháh, and from thence having proceeded three kuroh north-east, inclining east, you reach the shrine of Malik Ajdar, previously referred to, a holy man, whom the people say was one of the as'háb or companions of the Prophet Muhammad. It lies near by (the road) on the right hand, and the Tonchí river passes it on the south, on the farther side.

" From thence half a kuroh north-east is Tap-Ya'í, another cluster of Afghán villages. The river lies some distance away, on the right hand.

" From the Mírán Sháh villages to these the route is styled Taghraṇ,† and is dangerous to travellers through fear of the Wazírís, and therefore they take a badraka'h, or escort, to secure safety.

" From Tap-Ya'í three kuroh to the north-east is Mubárak Shí, the name given to several villages, being also the name of a section of the clan from which, in ancient times, came the Sardárs, or chiefs and rulers of the tribe of Dawaṛ. The Tonchí lies near by on the right-hand side. Two kurohs and a half from thence, north-east, is another cluster of villages, called Ídak, lying on both sides of the river. Half a kuroh farther to the east is the small village of Zerkaey (probably Zerka'í) on the right-hand side, adjoining the road, and another half a kuroh east, on the left-hand side, also adjoining the road, are the villages of Khudaey,‡ and Údzí Khel. East of the village of Khudaey, on the left hand, is a ruin named by the people the S'hahr, or city, which in ancient times was the seat of government of this territory.§

" From thence (Khudaey) one kuroh east is the village of Asírí, lying on the left hand, and one kuroh east, inclining south-east, are Mai Sagaey‖ and Aor-maṛ,¶ two villages on the left-hand side in a dara'h of the mountains, and from the latter place to Buland Khel, a distance of eighteen kuroh, is sufficiently well known, and on the way is a lofty mountain range. You proceed by this route by the aid and favour of the Wazírí tribe of Afgháns.

" From Aor-maṛ half a kuroh south-east is Alú Khel, a large village on the Tonchí river, and from thence another kuroh** east is Bará Khel, also called Idir Khel, on the bank of the river on the left-hand side of the road. Here two roads branch off. The left-hand one is this. From Bará Khel two kuroh east is the village of Abí Khel, on the same river, and another kuroh and a half east is Haidar Khel,†† also on the river; and here the Dawaṛ territory terminates.

" From the mazár or tomb of Malik Ajdar to this place, the Tonchí, or river of Dawaṛ, lies near the line of route on the right hand; in fact, you follow the course of the river nearly, and the road is like a dara'h—a narrow valley—being bounded by mountain ranges, which are close by, on both the right and left hand. In them the Wazírís dwell after the manner of íláts or nomads.

" From Haidar Khel one kuroh and a half south-west is Wazírí, the name of a

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* *See* page 85.

† The "Togra Tangi" of the latest map. It is somewhat remarkable that there should be two places so called so far apart, and the name written in the peculiar manner before referred to at page 70.

‡ "Kudree" of the map.

§ This, I am inclined to believe, is the site of Naghar, of Amír Tímúr's history, hitherto incorrectly called Naghaz, through some copyist adding an extra point to the *r* in that word.

‖ Turned into "Moosukhee" in the map.

¶ In two copies of the original it is written Aor-muz, but the above is undoubtedly the most correct, which is the name of a small tribe descended from Aor-maṛ, fifth son of Sharkhabún. The copyists must have mistaken the diacritical point over the last letter, ڑ and made ز of it. The correct name probably is "the Aor-maṛ village."

** *See* the note on "kuroh" at page 3. The kurohs seem less here than in other routes, judging from the distances between some of the places on our frontier here mentioned, and contained in the Indian Atlas maps.

†† This is the place which was burnt in 1870 by a force from the Panjáb Frontier Force.

halting place of that tribe, and on the way thither is a high defile called Rúchá,* which is passed with difficulty, and the river runs on the left hand close by. A canal has been cut from the bed of the river, and the water conducted into the lands of the Míří and Barak-zí clans.

"Four kuroh east, inclining south-east, from the Wazírí halting place, are several villages of a clan of the Shítak tribe, known by the name of Míří, and from them two roads diverge. The right-hand one leads by the Barak-zí villages to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, the chief town of Bannú, and the left-hand route is as follows:—

"From the Míří villages one kuroh east is the Tonchí Nahr or canal, which you pass, the water not being deep and of no great volume, coming from the right hand and running to the left. Four kuroh north-east from thence is Dá'úd Sháh, a large village on the bank of the Kurma'h river. From the north side of that village they have cut a great canal to the river, called Kuch Kit, and divided it into two parts or divisions. The one, containing a large volume of water, has been carried three or four kuroh towards the east. It passes through the cultivated lands of the district, and rejoins the Kurma'h river below the town of Bannú. The other, containing a much smaller volume of water, has been carried towards the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, into the lands and to the water-mills in that direction.†

"From the village of Dá'úd Sháh a short distance is Pírán Sháh, a small village lying near on the left-hand side of the road. The Kuch Kit canal, east of it, runs from the left hand to the right. From thence a quarter kuroh to the east is Abá-zaey, a small village on the left hand, close to the road. One kuroh and a half to the east, inclining south-east, is Fátimah Khel, the name by which several small villages of that section of the Afghán tribe of Shítak are known. The Kuch Kit canal lies near by on the left-hand side of the road, from which, having made a cut, the Fátimah Khel irrigate the lands belonging to them. On the road you pass a large dry channel (of another canal?).

"Leaving Fátimah Khel, and proceeding a quarter kuroh east, there is another large canal, which is exceedingly deep, but containing little water, and here they have erected water-mills. The water in this canal comes from the left and flows towards the right. East of the canal just mentioned lies the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, a large town, and the seat of government of this country.

"The right-hand route from the village of Bará Khel, otherwise Idir Khel, previously referred to, is as follows:—Leaving that village and proceeding one kuroh and a half south, keeping along in the dry bed of a river, and then half a kuroh in the same direction, ascending the acclivity of a mountain, you reach Ghurghura'í, a halting place of the Wazírí tribe, where there are several large trees. It is said that, in ancient times, there was a great city here; and a deep well, which is among the indications of antiquity, still remains on the right hand. Tradition asserts that a treasure hoard from ancient times is buried therein, and preserved from the use of man, and that, at times, awful noises emanate therefrom.

"This small tract, which is two kuroh in length from east to west, and about one kuroh in breadth, is called by the names Dær and Jzinda'h. On the east side of the Ghurghura'í halting place a small stream comes from the right hand and runs to the left into the Tonchí.

"Leaving the river, and proceeding two kuroh to the south-east and east, and passing through a small defile, you reach the Kewá river.‡ It contains water enough to turn ten or twelve mills, and comes from the right hand, from the mountain range of Kární-Gram§—the Stone-Town, the first word, *kární*, being 'stone' in Pus'hto, and the last is clearly derived from the Sanskrit, *grám*,—and, running into the Marwat district, obtains the name of Gamílá, sometimes written Gambílá, and Ganbílá.

"From the point above mentioned on the Kewá river, Kární-Gram lies three stages to the south, but the road thither is exceedingly rough and difficult.

"From the same point on the Kewá river one kuroh east is Sin,‖ the name of a

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* This is "Ucha" of the maps. The word may also be written Rúchah.

† Since this account was written, some ninety years since, the names of places have greatly changed in the Bannú district. The Sikh rule probably has had something to do with it, as well as other political changes.

‡ This river has no name assigned to it in our maps, unless "Khisora Algud" stands for it.

§ The name of this place also shows the necessity that exists for having names of places correctly written. Mr. Elphinstone, who is generally more correct than any other writer, calls it "Kannegoorrum;" Sir H. B. Edwards writes of the "snowy Kanagoram;" Colonel J. T. Walker calls the place "Kaneegoorum;" Mr. Clements Markham, "Kaniguram," and the maps, "Kanigoorum, Kanigoram," etc.

‖ This word also occurs in the name of the great kotal mentioned at page 80. In the map this name is turned into "Seyn."

small area, on the left hand, on the farther side of the river. Sin is the name of a Wazírí notable, or holy man, whose corpse was found buried there, on an acclivity of the hills, on the north side of this open space.

"From Sin half a kuroh north-east is Mámak, the name given to another space of open ground, on the right-hand side of the river, while on the left is another open space named Tang, and a little to the east of it is the Tangí-i-Kewá, or Kewá defile, where the Kewá river issues from the difficult mountain range.

"It must be borne in mind that as it is not the custom of the Wazírí Afgháns to live a settled life and dwell in houses, but to roam about as íláts or nomads, they cultivate only such small plots of land as can easily be brought under tillage. As there is excess of mountains in their country, and but little land capable of cultivation, almost every plot is called by the name of the clan or family who till it, and by those names such plots are known. The writer himself saw between Spín Won and Mámak, within the area of one kuroh merely, nearly fifty such plots of land, each of which was known by a separate name.

"From thence half a kuroh east is Spín Won,* the name of another of those areas of open ground, lying on either side of the Kewá river. Half a kuroh farther east is Kewá, the name of a halting place (of the Wazírís) on the Kewá river. Up to this point you proceed along by the river, and here the great mountain range terminates.

"Leaving Spín Won and proceeding one kuroh to the north-east you reach the Kabristán-i-Mírí, or Mírí Graveyard, a place where there are some large tombs, which graveyard lies near by on the left-hand side of the way.† From thence continuing two and a half kuroh north-east, inclining east, you reach the dry bed of the Tonchí river, which channel coming from the left hand runs towards the right and joins the bed of the Kewá river. Proceeding onwards another half a kuroh in the same direction, you reach Barak-zí (mentioned before on the preceding page), the name of a cluster of three or four villages belonging to the Mírís. The other villages of the Mírís, also previously mentioned, lie one kuroh and a half on the left-hand side.

"From Barak-zí four kuroh north, inclining north-east, is Dá'úd Sháh before mentioned (preceding page), and the village of Kot-kaey lies on the left hand. From Dá'úd Sháh to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán the route has been already described.

"On the way, by this right-hand route, there is but a scanty population, and little cultivation, and the Shítak tribe and the Wazírís infest the road."

Sixth Route. From Kábul to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán by way of Khost and Dawaṛ, which is one hundred and fifty kuroh, and consists of four different roads.

"*First road*, from Segí to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán by way of Dawaṛ.

"From Kábul to Segí, the chief place in the Dara'h of Khost, the route has been previously detailed, commencing at page 74.

"Having proceeded from Segí half a kuroh south, you reach the bed of a mountain torrent, or dry bed of a river, called Lalíjá, which comes from the right hand (west), from the mountain tract of Chittí, so called from being the place of residence of (a portion of) the Táraṟn tribe.‡ It runs away to the left hand and joins the Shamal river. The village of Sherak, which also belongs to the Táraṟns, shows itself at a distance of two kuroh on the right-hand side.

"From the said dry bed of the river Lalíjá three kuroh east is Zirka'h,§ the name of one of those plots of land belonging to the Wazírí tribe. From Segí to this point the country is tolerably level, and the mountain ranges on the left and right lie at some distance. One kuroh and a half south of this plot of land you enter a dara'h of the mountains, and there is a small defile or pass which you cross, and from thence, having proceeded a little to the south, you reach the bed of another mountain torrent, which is styled the Indirka'h. It comes from the right, and, running to the left, joins the river called Mughal M'lá,|| which enters the Shamal.

"Proceeding from the bed of the Indirka'h half a kuroh south, and entering the bed of the Mughal M'lá, you ascend, on the right hand, the acclivity of a mountain range, and

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* Perhaps the name was originally *wand*, signifying in Pus'hto an allotment, share, division, plot of land.

† "Tomb of Hassen Shah" of the map. "Hassen" is an impossible name, but Hasan is not, neither is Husain.

‡ *See* page 75.

§ In one copy of the original Dirka'h.

|| M'lá, in Pus'hto, signifies "the waist," "the loins." The writer does not mean to say that the river's name is Mughal M'lá, but that it is the river of the defile called Mughal M'lá.

reach a small defile, but it is difficult to cross. This river and defile they style Mughal M'lá, for this reason. They say that (a force from) the army of Nádir Sháh, the Afshár Turk-mán, when he invaded the empire of Dilhí, came into this mountain country to chastise the Afghans, and, at this place, encountered the Wazírí tribe, and retired.* From that day forth it obtained the name of Mughal M'lá. The river comes from the southward, and, running towards the north, meets the Indirka'h, and afterwards joins the Shamal river.

"Descending the Mughal M'lá defile on the south-west side you enter Gurbuz, the name of an open plain of some extent, which is a resort of a section of the Wazírí tribe of that name, who at times take up their quarters there. From thence half a kuroh south is the Tirkhú or Tirkho, the bed of a mountain torrent, which comes from the left and runs towards the right. The Wazírí íláts are in the habit of grazing their cattle in the neighbourhood of this river.

"From thence one kuroh south-east is Ghema'h or Ghíma'h Kirá, a small defile, but difficult to pass. The rocks there are black and stratified, which, on being fused, give forth iron. In the same way, in these mountains, there are whole hills of the same description, which, by fusion, would yield iron.

"Four kuroh south-east from Ghema'h Kirá is the bed of a mountain torrent called the Kární-gur. It comes from the left, and runs towards the right hand, and near and about it the ílát or nomad Wazírís dwell. One kuroh south from thence you enter a gorge in the mountains, and, proceeding two kuroh farther to the south-east and south, descending and ascending, you reach a spring of water, which lies on the left hand.

"At this point two roads branch off; the left-hand one leads to Drap Khel, previously mentioned (*see* page 87). You take the right-hand road from the said spring, and, after proceeding one kuroh to the south-west, and, after that, half a kuroh to the south-east and south, another half a kuroh towards the south is the large Kalaey or village of Ahmad Khán, at the foot of the mountains, on the river of Dawar—the Tonchí. From this place the route to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, has been previously given (page 85, and *see* pages 86 and 87).

"*Second road*, from Segí in Khost to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán by way of Buland Khel.

"Starting from Segí, and proceeding two kuroh to the east, you reach Ghazní, a small village on the bank of the Shamal river; and from thence another two kuroh, still farther east, is the large village of Lakhan, the river being still on the left-hand side, which, running towards the north for a distance of three kuroh, joins the river of Bakr Khel (or is joined by it), and then the Shamal makes a bend back again to the south-east.

"From Lakhan four kuroh, on the bank of the same river, is Aran, another large village; and on the way thither are many ascents and descents. Four kuroh south-east from thence are several villages belonging to the Afghans of Khost, named Landar;† and from this point the territory of Khost in this direction terminates. On the other side of the Shamal river, opposite Aran, are several villages known by the general name of Kadam.

"From Landar four kuroh east is Hasan Khel,‡ a place inhabited by Afgháns of Khost, and the Shamal river lies near by, on the left hand.

"Proceeding from Hasan Khel three kuroh north-west you reach the point where the Shamal§ meets the Kurma'h river. From thence six kuroh south is Buland Khel, and

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* No such expedition is specifically mentioned in the different accounts of Nádir's campaign, either by Afghán or Persian writers, but it is not impossible. It might, however, refer to one of Bahádur Sháh's unsuccessful expeditions against them, perhaps that mentioned at page 84, or the one mentioned below.

† The Landar Afgháns are mentioned by Bábar Bádsháh.

‡ Afzal Khán, Khatak, says that Mubáriz Khán, Gakhar, the Fouj-dár of Bannú, had gone from Bannú into Dawar by the Hasan Tangaey (defile). Afzal Khán himself had gone into Tí-ráh, and from thence home to Saráe in the Khatak country. There he heard that Bahádur Sháh had marched towards Kábul from Khost by the Shawák route. The Afgháns of Shawák (Elphinstone's "Sahauk," possibly), however, had occupied the dara'h and ghás'haey or pass; and after a month's fighting, off and on, and in attempts to dislodge them, suffering much loss from their constant attacks upon his camp, the Prince had to turn aside and go through the pass leading to Ghaznín, not being able to proceed towards Kábul by that route, and had to proceed thither by the roundabout way of Ghaznín, where a Fouj-dár was located. Ghaznín was under the Súbah-dár of the Kábul province, and never had a separate government, as some "master of Indian history" tells us.

After reaching Kábul, Bahádur Sháh again moved from thence in the beginning of winter for Pes'háwar, where the Súbah-dárs of Kábul generally passed the cold season. At Kábul-i-Khúrd he encountered a fall of snow, and lost a number of men and animals. He succeeded in reaching Jalál-ábád, and passed the remainder of the winter there.

§ This river is called the "Shamil, in Sheet 5 of the Indian Atlas, but in Sheet 15 it is styled the "Kittee."

the road follows the course of the river. From Buland Khel to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán the road has already been described.

"*Third road*, from Segí to Urgún; and this road leads to Ghaznín.

"Ten kuroh west of Segí is a cluster of villages lying on either side of the Shamal river known by the name of Namárá, inhabited by the Jzadrarn Afgháns (*see* page 76); and on the way thither there is much cultivation, and there are several villages, styled by the general name of Kuwátá or Kuwatá (*see* pages 75 and 76). From thence twelve kuroh south-west is Paras Khel, a place also inhabited by the Jzadrárn clan of the Mangalí tribe. Eight kuroh from thence, in the direction of south-west, inclining west, is Pus'hta'í, and another six kuroh in the same direction is the considerable Purmúlí Tájzík town of Urgún. The routes from this place to Kábul and to Dawar have been previously given; and by the way are many lofty defiles to pass, over a mountain range towering to the heavens.

"From the Namárá villages ten kuroh west, inclining north-west, is Dera'í-i-Míah Khel, previously mentioned (at page 75); and twelve kuroh north, inclining north-west, is Gardaiz, the road passing as before, through a tract of very mountainous country.

"The route from Gardaiz to Kábul has been already given."

It was in the vicinity of Gardaiz that Bábar Bádsháh, on one occasion, made a raid upon the 'Abd-ur-Rahmán Afgháns.* He says in his Tuzúk that the 'Abd-ur-Rahmán Afgháns dwell on the boundary of the Gardaiz Dara'h, and that instead of paying revenue, they molested the people of kárwáns and other travellers. On Wednesday, the 29th of the month of Rajab, 925 H. (July, 1519, A.D.), he set out from Kábul, and halted to refresh at Bek wo Wughchán.† After afternoon prayer they set out again, but lost their way in the night, and suffered much annoyance and trouble, in consequence, among the hills and dales to the east and south of Pátkháb Shahnah. After a time they got out again upon the road, passed the Kotal of the Chashmah-i-Tarah or Gardaiz Kotal (Chashmah-i-Tarah lies under the Kotal on the north side), and moved towards Gardaiz by the Dara'h of Bákísh Lík, and, at the time of morning prayer, emerged on a plain, and the light troops were sent out. Another party of troops moved towards the Koh-i-Karmásh (or Karmásh range, in some copies written Karmás) which lies south-east of Gardaiz. A strong body also moved towards the east of Gardaiz, towards the upper part of a jal-gáh (a grassy plain containing springs of water, or the upper part of a dara'h where there are springs, is so called), and he despatched others after them, and after they had passed followed himself, as the upper part of the jal-gáh was the greatest distance off. Only about forty or fifty Afgháns showed themselves in the plain, and most of these were killed, and a tower was made of their heads. That portion of the force which went towards Karmásh obtained a little plunder, in the shape of some sheep, and other property, but not much. Bábar set out for Kábul the following day, and, sending the bulk of the force by the regular route (which, unfortunately, is not named, except that the Chashmah-i-Tarah Kotal is again mentioned, where the troops were to wait for him), he determined to proceed himself, slightly attended, by way of the Maidán-i-Rustam,‡ or Rustam's Plain, which is different from the Maidán Dara'h referred to at page 76.

The Bádsháh says that this Maidán lies in the midst of, or between two mountain ranges, near the head or top where they meet, and that it is an exceedingly pleasant and broad jal-gáh. On the south side of the maidán, at the skirt of a detached hill or bluff, there is a spring, around which are several large poplar trees. On the way that leads from the direction of Gardaiz, and comes out upon the Maidán-i-Rustam, there are also some springs, and the trees are numerous, but not very large. Although the jal-gáh on that side is the most contracted, nevertheless, lower down, the trees are exceedingly green and fresh, and the jal-gáh, altogether, is an extremely pleasant *ulang*—the Turkí for a mead or jal-gáh. The exit from this place lies over the mountain range bounding the Maidán-i-Rustam on the south; and from it the Kohistan (hill tract) of Karmásh and the Kohistan of Bangas'h, which are in that direction, lie

* There is more than one tribe, sub-tribe, and clan styled 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, but the one here referred to seems to be the Khogíání sub-tribe of 'Abd-ur-Rahmán. The Khogíánís spring from the same ancestor as the Mangalí tribes.

† These names can scarcely be depended on, and are certainly not to be identified at present. I have used three manuscripts here, as follows:—The Khán-i-Khánán's translation has تنك و عجان, پارخاب شعنه, and يامبر respectively; the other Persian version has بيك ووغچان, پانجاب شعنه, and ياقيش لق as above; and the Turkí original, Kázán edition تنك و غجان, پانجاب شعنه, and ياقيش لق. The translation by Leyden and Erskine has "Tang Waghchân," "Pânjâb Shekhneh, which is Patkhât Shekhneh in the Persian," and "Yakishlik."

‡ Báyazíd, the Byát, distinctly says it is called Maidán-i-Rustam Koh—the maidán of the Rustam mountain range.

spread out at your feet like a carpet. Bábar says there is no rainy season in this part, and no clouds.

This jal-gáh is probably the source of the Shamal river.

Having rejoined his forces, he set out and reached Honí and halted. Next morning he again marched by way of the dih or village of Muhammad Aghá (or Aká, both forms are right), and reached Kábul on Sunday, the 3rd of Shabán.

He says nothing of having crossed any river, and therefore, it is evident that the Logar was not crossed, and that his route was quite to the east of that river.

One of Humáyún Bádsháh's expeditions into these parts throws much light upon this expedition of his father, and contains much valuable geographical information, which is nowhere else to be found except in Báyazíd's work.* It took place during Humáyún's residence in his territories west of the Indus, before his restoration to the throne of Hindústán. Báyazíd's account is as follows:—

" The Bádsháh again set out towards Hind in 959 H. (1552, A.D), from Kábul. On reaching Pánká and Shahnah, belonging to the tomán or district of Logar, he encamped there. A body of troops was despatched in advance by way of the Gardaiz Kotal for Naghar, the same place as is mentioned in the Tímúr Náma'h. When the troops arrived there they found a vast quantity of provisions abandoned by the 'Abd-ur-Rahmán clan of Afgháns; and they, and the Wardag tribe, and Búbú Khel, and others who resided in the vicinity, fled with their families towards Buland Khel.

" Without halting at Naghar, the force pushed on towards Buland Khel. Early in the forenoon of that day the Sardár of the 'Abd-ur-Rahmán Afgháns made a stand with his fighting men in the Kotal which is called Atáwah, which lies at the head of (the road leading to) Bangas'h, Naghar, Dawaṛ, and Sunbala'h; and Báyazíd, the Byát, was present. The Mughals did not obtain any booty, although the Afgháns were repulsed.

" The Darsamand people knew nothing of what was going on, and therefore it was determined to beat up their quarters. Setting out at the time of afternoon prayer from near Buland Khel, they reached the dara'h of Darsamand † at dawn the next morning. The people had, however, got wind of the affair, and were found collected from all parts around, and posted on the hills and on their skirts. They received the invading party with shouts of defiance.

" Darsamand is so situated that on one side of it is Tí-ráh, on another Bangas'h, and on another Dawaṛ, Sunbala'h, and Dín-kot."

The Afgháns, on this occasion, were defeated, partially driven back, and some cattle, flocks, and other property taken. It is not said that Darsamand was actually captured, but it is to be presumed that the people had evacuated it beforehand.

The Mughal troops continued in this part for three days, when the rest of the advance force, previously alluded to, joined them. "The feudatory or governor of " Nangrahár prepared to set out in order to join the royal forces by way of Tí-ráh; and " the Sháh,‡ Abú-l-Ma'álí, who commanded the advance troops, hearing that the " Bádsháh had reached Bútak-zí-i-Pá'ín (perhaps Búbak-zí—the words are without " the diacritical points),§ which is a village of Lower Bangas'h, and had halted there, " set out with his force to join the Bádsháh, and the feudatory of Nangrahár accom- " panied him. At this place (Bútak-zí-i-Pá'ín) the Khwájah, Jalál-ud-Din, Mahmúd, " was appointed governor of Kábul, and was despatched thither to assume his duties. " Báyazíd, the Byát, accompanied him. Having set out, they reached, at the time of " afternoon prayer, the kot, or fortlet, of Matah-i-Zakhmí, or Matah the Wounded, so " called from a legend that the Khalífah, 'Alí, struck with his famous sword, Zú-l- " fakár, an infidel named Matah at this spot. It lies on the west frontier of Upper " Bangas'h."

Báyazíd also says :—" We proceeded from thence by the Dara'h of Irí-áb, and reached " the fort of Safed Gáh, a dependency of Gardaiz, and from thence pushed on to Chash-

* The history by Báyazíd, the Byát Mughal, has never been translated, and moreover it is very rare (I know but of one copy of it). The other historical extracts contained in these " notes " are from original manuscript works, not from any translations.

Báyazíd may be considered a very good and trustworthy authority. He had been long in Humáyún's service, and his brother, Sháh Bardí Beg, had held the government of Gardaiz, Naghar, and Bangas'h under Mírzá Kámrán, Humáyún's ingrate brother.

† This appears as "Upper Meeranzai" in our maps and in official reports, but that is not really correct, and that name is simply the name of the sub-tribe of Míján-zí, which will be noticed hereafter. Had it been styled "the dara'h of the Mírán-zís," it would have been more correct, for they dwell in it.

‡ Sháh, as well as Bádsháh, is a title by which Sayyids are styled, not to be mistaken as indicating the possession of sovereign power, which has caused some ridiculous errors.

§ Possibly Búg-zí, meant for Bug-zí, mentioned at page 84, the Boghzi of our maps.

" mah-i-Tarah, which lies under or below the Kotal of Gardaiz (the same as Bábar, " Humáyún's father, mentions) on the Kábul side."

From this place Báyazíd was sent on, in advance, to Kábul, but he does not say by what road, so we must presume it was the ordinary one. In the meantime the Khwájah, Jalál-ud-Dín, Mahmúd, moved into the Lághrí Hazárah tomán or district, which lies between Wardag and the Maidán of Rustam Koh (this is the same place as is mentioned by Bábar), and returned, after a successful expedition, to Kábul.

" Humáyún Bádsháh did not proceed farther into Hind during this year, 959 H. (1551, A.D.), than the Sind-Ságar Do-ába'h; and returned from thence, crossing the Sind or Indus between the manára'h of Khán Kajú*, now known as Prata'h Manára'h, or the Fallen Manár, and the mountains of Buner."

" *Fourth road*, from Buland Khel to Maidán; and this road likewise goes on to Ghaznín.

" The road from Buland Khel to Kadam has been previously given (at page 90). From thence 15 kuroh north-west is Bakr Khel (*see* page 75); and by the way, along the bank of the Bakr Khel river, you pass many villages and much cultivation. The route from Bakr Khel to the Maidán villages and dara'h, and thence to Kábul, has been already detailed (at page 77, which see)."

Seventh Route. *From Kábul to Kohát by way of Kurma'h, one hundred and ten kuroh east; and this route leads into Dera'h-ját and Hind.*

" The route from Kábul to Údzí Khel has been already described (at page 80. *See* also page 77). From thence proceeding twelve kuroh to the east, and passing numerous villages by the way, on the left-hand bank of the Kurma'h river, is Sada'h,† the seat of government of the Kurma'h province. A small river comes fron the north-east, and passing immediately north of Sada'h, joins the Kurma'h river. Twelve kuroh farther east is the large village of Zúmus'ht, or Zúmuk'ht (by eastern Afgháns), so named after a clan of the Afgháns of the Bálá Bangas'h; and by the way are several high defiles and lofty mountains towering to the heavens.

" From thence ten kuroh farther east is Turáwarí, a considerable place; and from thence another three kuroh, in the same direction, is the large village of Nara'í Aoba'h,‡ signifying, in Pus'hto, the narrow or slender stream, the name of a little river so called, giving name to the village. Another twelve kuroh east, inclining north, is Angú, also called Hangú,§ another large place. It is a small town with numerous orchards and fruit gardens, lying in a recess of the hills, and has a small stone fort. The lands around are well watered. It contains about 1,500 inhabitants. West of it is a white tomb, which can be seen from a great distance. Ten kuroh farther east is Kákh-zí, also called Kágh-zi,‖ a large village and small dara'h called after a section of one of the Bangas'h tribes;¶ and, from the Tí-ráh mountains, a small river flows through the dara'h, and runs on towards Kohát.

" Three kuroh east from thence is the town of Kohát, the place of residence of the Nawwáb, the Khán of Bangas'h, and seat of government of the district.

" From Údzí Khel to Angú the road to this place lies through a succession of dara'hs and beds of small streams. On the left hand towers the great range of Spín Ghar, covered with perpetual snow, and on the right hand likewise are great mountain ranges. The cold in these parts is very great, and the defiles are much elevated.

" The territory of Bálá or Upper Bangas'h ends at Angú, and here you enter Pá'ín or Lower Bangas'h, in which Kohát lies."

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* This is the famous Chief of all the Yúsufzí tribe, both Yúsuf and Mandar, the Chief of the 100,000 spearmen. In Pus'hto *one* is written *yow*, and this was read by Elphinstone for *nau*, which is *nine* in Hindí. and so he made out that "the whole numbers of the Eusof-zyes are reckoned by the Afghauns at 900,000." "Caubul," vol. ii., page 32. State Councillor Von Dorn, in his translation of Ni'mat Ullah's History, followed him, but the original is یو سته This is how errors are handed down.

† Turned into "Suddur" in the maps. I may mention here, once for all, that words like this ending in ه (*há-i-hawwaz*) were, by command of Aurangzeb-i'-Alam-gír, directed to be written with ا (*alif*) instead, hence the apparent discrepancy in Sada'h and Sadá, Dhákah and Dháká, Nímla'h and Nímlá.

‡ "Nuriab" and "Nariol," in the maps and official reports.

§ "Hungoo" in the maps.

‖ Now "Samilzi," according to the maps. The names of places, as well as the people who inhabit them, are different now, or the names have been greatly changed. The correct name is Shámil-zí, not "Samil-zi," and is the designation of one of the sub-tribes of the Bangas'h tribe of Kohát.

¶ The Kágh-zí clan are descended from a daughter of Malik Mír, son of Sulímán, son of Kakí. Sulímán was the progenitor of the Wazíris, Bá-í-zís, Malik Mírís, and others, who are styled the tribes of Bangas'h.

Eighth Route. From Kábul to Kohát by way of the Kohistán or Highlands of Tí-ráh, a distance of one hundred kuroh. This route is very difficult.*

" From Kábul to Bhatí-Kot the route has been previously given (page 48). From thence six kuroh south-east is Bísh-Bulák† or Bulágh, two Turkí words signifying five springs of water; and in that language *k* is often changed into *gh*, and *vice versâ*. From this point two roads diverge. The right-hand road is as follows :—From Bísh Bulák eighteen kuroh east is the Kalaey or village of Shafí' Khán, one of the large villages in the Dara'h of Tí-ráh, belonging to the Afrídí Afgháns. On the way thither the towering mountain range of Spín Ghar or, as it is also called, the Tí-ráh range, covered with perpetual snow, has to be crossed; and you have to pass through lofty defiles, the sides of which are well wooded with forests of oak, wild olive, ilex, and other trees. One great mountain, higher than the rest in this direction, lies near by on the right-hand side of the route, which, from the excess of snow thereon, looks clearer and whiter than crystal.‡

" From thence Kákh-zí or Kágh-zí is twenty kuroh south-east, inclining east. The road from thence to Kohát has been previously mentioned."

By this route, although so difficult, the Khaibar can be turned from the south.

" Between the Kalaey of Shafí Khán and Kákh-zí or Kágh-zi is another (branch of this) mountain range, also covered with perpetual snow; and some water flows from it towards that small dara'h, but such water as falls down towards the Kalaey of Shafí' Khán forms the river, which, having passed Yalam Guzr,§ receives the name of Bárah, and its water having been drawn off by means of canals it is expended in the irrigation of part of the western portion of the Pes'háwar district.

" There is a route from Pes'háwar to this place, which is as follows. From the city of Pes'háwar eight kuroh south-west is Yalam Guzr, the name of a small village called after the ford just named, belonging to the Afrídís. On the way you pass through vast cultivation; and the Bárah river, coming from the Tí-ráh mountains, flows to the east of the village, and is expended in irrigating the rice fields and gardens of Pes'háwar, and cultivated lands of Mataní. The best description of rice, which is famous, is produced by the water of this river. Jam-rúd lies from this place four kuroh on the right hand.

" Proceeding along the course of the river into a dara'h in the mountains for a distance of four kuroh south-west, you reach the small village of Gand-áb, also belonging to the Afrídís, and from thence six kuroh west is the large Kalaey or village of Shafí' Khán. You follow, as before, the course of the stream, and have high mountains near by both on the right and left hand. The Koh-i-Tí-ráh—the Tí-ráh range or Spín Ghar—covered with perpetual snow, lies adjoining on the south and west.

" It may be well to give here a brief notice of the Afrídís, Wurakzís, and Shinwárís inhabiting these parts.

Afrídí.

" This is the name of a large and valiant tribe descended from Mánaey, son of Kodaey, son of Karlárnaey, and it numbers near upon 40,000 families. They dwell on the east and north of the mountain tract of country, lying in a cold climate, part of which is situated south of Pes'háwar, and some part to the west of it. Some live in permanent dwellings, but others lead the life of íláts or nomads. The western portion of their territory is called Tí-ráh, which is a large Dara'h, and exceedingly cold in winter. It is about thirty-two kuroh long and nearly twelve broad.

" Another portion of the Afrídís dwell as íláts or nomads, in the Dara'h of Khaibar (which perhaps leads some people to imagine, because they see no houses, that the " Khyberies," as they call them, " live in caves like savages"), and they hold a jágír or grant from the Bádsháh of Kábul for guarding a portion of the route. They have

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* This might, with more propriety, be called the route from Bísh-Bulák to Kohát.
† Turned into " Peshbolak," in maps and Gazetteers.
‡ This is the Spín Ghar, or White Mountain, giving name to the range.
§ This is sometimes written 'Alam Guzr.

consequently neither tax nor tribute to pay. Their knives and swords are remarkable for the keen edge they take.*

Wurakzí or Urakzí.

"This Afghán tribe contains some thousands of families, and they dwell in the mountain tracts of Tí-ráh, the Khaibar, and Jalál-ábád. They have to furnish a contingent of soldiers to the Bádsháh of Kábul, and their Sardárs hold jágírs or fiefs in the Pes'háwar district for guarding and keeping open the passes within their boundaries."†

In the reign of Akbar Bádsháh the Wurakzís, or Urakzís, as they are also styled, were included in the tomán of Kohát, and are estimated as being able to furnish 300 horsemen and 5,000 foot for militia purposes.

Shinwárí.

"This tribe numbers about 12,000 families, and they dwell to the west of the Khaibar Dara'h, and in the mountains south of the Nangrahár Dara'hs, called Shíwí (*see* page 52), as íláts or nomads. Some 3,000 or 4,000 families dwell in fixed habitations, in villages, in the Dara'h of Shigal, a dependency of Kúnaṛ. The nomad portion, who roam about the hills bounding Nangrahár to the south (south of the Bísh-Bulák), have to furnish a contingent to the army of the Bádsháh, but those dwelling on the northern side of the Kábul river pay obedience to the Sayyids of Kúnaṛ.

"The Shinwárís are famed as being a very valiant tribe, and, in alliance with the Afrídís, gave infinite trouble to the Mughal rulers of Dilhí in former times. They are bounded on the west by the Khogíánís.

"The Tí-ráh range of mountains, also called Spín Ghar, extending from near Kohát to Irí-áb, is nearly eighty kuroh in length, and on its summits snow constantly falls. Out of this range four rivers flow,—the Surkh Rúd, so called from the colour of the earth with which it is impregnated, which, passing through the Gandamak district, a few miles west of Jalál-ábád, joins the river of Kábul; the Kurma'h, already described, which runs through the districts of Irí-áb, Kurma'h, Bannú, and Laka'í, and joins the Sind or Indus; the small river, which issues from the dara'h of the Kágh-zí, runs through Kohát and Sháh'í Khel, and also joins the Sind, and is known as the Kohát To-e (from the Pus'hto intransitive verb, *to-yedal*, to flow, to well, to glide along, etc.); and the Bárah, which rises a little farther north, and issues from the mountains near the village called Yalam Guzr, from the ford near by, and is expended by means of canals in the irrigation of a portion of the Pes'háwar district.

"The left-hand road is called the Tahtarah, and Tatarah route, and leads to Jam-rúd and Pes'háwar; and some say this was the route by which Nádir Sháh, the Afshár, sent a force and surprised the Nawwáb, Násir Khán (*see* page 37), who, having closed the Khaibar route, had taken post at Jam-rúd. It is also called the Báz Dara'h—the Falcon Dara'h—route.

Ninth Route. From Kábul to Jalál-ábád, by way of the Áb-i-Zindagání (Water of Existence, or River of Life).

"Leaving the Láhor gate of the city of Kábul you proceed to But-Khák, an account of which, and the road from thence to Kábul, has been given (at page 60). On the way thither, the villages of Kala'-chah, Shewah, the Dih-i-Ya'kúb, Gamrí, and other

* The Afrídís and the Wurakzís were not considered very orthodox in former days, and were followers of the Pír-i-Tárík, or Saint of Darkness, the nickname given by the Akhúnd, Darwezah, to Báyazíd, Ansárí, the arch-heretic previously alluded to, who assumed the name of Pír-i-Ros'hán, or Saint of Light.

Khushhál Khán, Khatak, says of these two tribes in one of his poems:—

"The call of the mu'azzin is not to be heard throughout Tí-ráh,
Unless thou listen to the crowing of the cock, at the dawn of day.
As to the Wurakzís, they are altogether from orthodoxy astray;
And the Afrídís, than those heretical ones, are more heretical still.
They neither say prayers over the dead, nor ministers have they;
Nor alms, nor offerings, nor the fear of God within their hearts," etc., etc.

(*See* my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 212.)

† Surgeon-Major Bellew, in his last new book, "Afghanistan and its People," states that the "Arakzai," as he styles them, are "Afridis." They are a totally distinct tribe. The Wurakzís are descended from Kodaey, son of Karlárnaey, and the Afrídís from Mánaey, son of Kodaey.

villages of the Dáman-i-Koh, or Hill Skirt (east of Kábul), and famous for the fruitfulness of their lands, appear in the distance on the right hand.

"At But-Khák two roads diverge. The left-hand road leads to the Latah Band pass, previously mentioned (at page 60), and the river of Kábul lies on the left.

"The right-hand road is this. From But-Khák, three kuroh south-east, is Kábul-i-Khúrd—Little or Lesser Kábul—a large village of the Tájzíks, situated in a dara'h, or valley, between the mountains, and from which a direct route leads into the Logar tomán.

"From Kábul-i-Khúrd eighteen kuroh east, inclining south-east, is the Kalaey or village of Muhammad Amín Khán, a place inhabited by Ghalzís; and you pass through a very mountainous tract in which, by the way, there are deep ravines and gorges, and lofty mountains, some covered with pine forests. For the first half of the way you proceed along in the bed of the Tezín river (*see* page 60), and hereabouts the Ghalzí tribe dwell after the manner of íláts or nomads.

"Fourteen kuroh from the Kalaey of Muhammad Amín Khán are several villages belonging to the same tribe, and styled by the general name of Hisárak,* signifying, in Persian, the little hisár or fort,† the final *k* being used to express contempt or to form diminutives.

"At this important point a road, on the left hand, comes from the direction of Karkachá, or Karkacha'h,‡ and Jagdálík; and another, on the right hand, from the side of the Dara'h of Irí-áb, and they meet here. There is also a road from Hisárak to the bridge over the Surkh Rúd, or Red River. (*See* page 56.)

"From Hisárak, three kuroh in the direction of east, are several villages lying on either side of the Surkh Rúd, or Red River, which comes from the right hand (the southwards). Proceeding along that river for a kuroh and a half you reach some other villages known as Hisárak-i-Sháhí (the Sháh's, or the Royal Hisárak), situated on either side of the Surkh Rúd, and inhabited by the Mahmad (Mandú ?) section of the Khogíání tribe of Afghans. The above-mentioned river runs to the left hand, and enters an exceedingly difficult mountain tract.

Proceeding another kuroh and a half, almost in the same direction, you reach some two or three more villages belonging to the same tribe, and known as Ashpán—(this is how a non-Afghán would write Shpán§—the correct name of the place; it is a word which foreigners, Persians or Hindís, cannot pronounce without the aid of an initial vowel),|| and in the route are many deep gorges. Through this dara'h likewise a stream falls from the mountain range to the right, and flows on towards Gandamak.¶

"From Ashpán (Shpán) another kuroh and a half, still in the same direction, is another cluster of villages, on the river just named, called Tútú, and the village of Gandamak lies three kuroh distant on the left hand. From these villages there is a way to the bridge over the Surkh Rúd (mentioned at page 56), which is about three kuroh distant, and in going thither some *smats* or caves are passed.

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* Mentioned previously, at page 56, and note †, page 82.

† This name is incorrectly spelt "Izharuk" in the Indian Atlas map, and in several others; indeed, not only is this and many other names spelt after the same fashion, but the course of rivers and the position of mountains in this direction are, for the most part therein, purely imaginary. The Surkh Rúd, in particular, has been incorrectly laid down from its source downwards, except possibly at the very points crossed by our troops in the first Afghán war.

‡ *See also* page 56.

This is the road taken by Wood, who says, with respect to surveying the route by the Karkacha'h pass:—"That of the Karkatcha, the highest and most northerly" (there is an error here in Wood's account, a printer's error probably. He says, at page 107, that the Lattaband is the most "southerly," and the Karkatcha "the most northerly." The reverse is the fact) "was allotted to me. Parting with my companions, I turned "off to the left, and, having passed through the vale of Hisarak, entered the bed of a stream tributary to the "Surkh Rud river. Up this we wound our path to near the summit of Karkatcha. On entering among "the mountains the bed of the stream contracted to a narrow defile not more than ten feet in width, the "sides of which were naked, craggy, and precipitous, while its bottom was encumbered by the trunks of "huge fir trees, and here and there crossed by ledges of rock. On nearing the ridge of the pass, we "quitted the defile and kept to the right, along the face of mountains which here assumes a more open "character."

§ On one occasion, Sháh Shujá'-ul-Mulk was defeated near these villages, on the 10th of September, 1801, by the rebel Bárakzís, who had set up Sháh Mahmúd.

|| There are scores of words of this description in the Pus'hto language, which a Hindí cannot pronounce correctly.

¶ This is the Áb-i-Zindagání. Masson, in his journeys, on one occasion, crossed over from the high road between Nímla'h and Jagdálík on his way by the Karkacha'h Kotal to this stream. He came to a place (vol. i., page 184) where there was a mill, a dwelling, and the tents of some nomads, and to this applied the name of the river which he turned into "Hávízângâní." This is a fair specimen of the manner in which names get altered by persons who have a mere colloquial smattering of a language.

"Two kuroh from Tútú, in the direction of north-east, is Nímla'h, a large village belonging to the Tájzíks.* From this place to Jalál-ábád, by way of Fath-ábád, the road has been already described (page 53).

"From Kábul to Jalál-ábád, the route which has just been detailed, is very difficult, and the air and wind cold and piercing. Even in the hottest part of summer a fire is required at night."

Tenth Route. From Kábul to Jalál-ábád, by way of the Dara'h of Kaj-hah, or Kaj-há (the plural form of Kaj).†

The route from Kábul to Jagdálík has been already described, and from the latter place to the Kímah Chaukí, and Báwalí Chaukí (page 56).

This Dara'h of Kaj-hah is of considerable extent. Proceeding from the Kímah Chaukí, from which point the kalaey or village of Karkacha'h can be distinguished, situated on the slope of the mountains at some distance on the right hand (south), three kuroh east, is the Báwalí Chaukí, the name of a desolate halting place, and the road thither is like the bed of a river.

From this place, three kuroh east, is a small defile called the Surkh Rúd Kotal, the road continuing the same as before. Here the Surkh Rúd or river issues from the mountains on the right hand, and runs towards the east. One kuroh east of this kotal is the Kaj-i-Bábá, or Bábá's Kaj, the name given to a plot of ground,‡ like those mentioned as being tilled by the Wazírí íláts or nomads (page 89), on a ridge of the mountains. The river lies near by on the right hand.

Another half kuroh farther east is the Kaj-i-Anwar, or Anwar's Kaj, another of these plots of land; and the river runs on the right hand in a depression of the mountains. From thence one kuroh east, inclining south-east, is the Kaj-i-Yúsuf, the name of another piece of land on a slope of the mountains; and half way on the road you cross the Surkh Rúd. Proceeding from thence (Kaj-i-Yúsuf), one kuroh in the same direction, you reach another of these plots, called the Kaj-i-Muhammad Amín, or Muhammad Amín's Kaj. The river runs near by on the left hand. After proceeding from this kaj half a kuroh farther east you reach the small river called the Nauyán§ flowing on the right hand. It comes from the direction of Gandamak, and joins the Surkh Rúd.

Half a kuroh east from thence is Kangkrak-i-'Ulyá, or Higher Kangkrak (lit. Most High), the name of a small village; and the river, as before, runs on the left hand. From this place Gandamak is five kuroh distant, and Nímla'h three.

At this point, in particular, you notice plants and shrubs, and vegetation of the warmer climate, and such as are unknown from Jagdálík to Kábul.

There is a road from this place (Kangkrak-i-'Ulyá) to Bálá-Bágh along the skirt of the narrow valley in which it lies.

From the Surkh Rúd Kotal to the Nauyán river some clans of the Ghalzí tribe are located; and they pay one tenth of the produce (of their flocks and crops?) as revenue to Tímúr Sháh, Bádsháh of Kábul. From Kangkrak-i-'Ulyá the villages of the Tájzíks begin again; and the Surkh Rúd, after flowing about nine kuroh farther to the eastward, joins the river of Kábul near the mountain of Darúntha'h. On the northern bank of the river of Kábul, close to the Lamghán mountains, are two villages known by the name of Mastí Khel.

East of Kangkrak-i-'Ulyá one kuroh is Kangkrak-i-Pá'ín, or Lower Kangkrak, a large village also belonging to the Tájzíks. The Surkh Rúd, as before, lies on the left hand. From this village two kuroh east is Bálá-Bágh, literally signifying the Higher or Upper Garden, a large garden, in circuit about one kuroh. It is celebrated for the number of its canals, and the quantity of fruits it produces. Its laying out is attributed to one of the Gurgániah Sultáns. Fath-ábád lies about two kuroh on the right hand from Bálá Bágh.

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* In Zí-Ka'dah, the eleventh month, 1109 H. (June, 1698, A.D.), Amír Khán, Súbah-dár of the province of Kábul, that is to say, all the possessions of the Dihlí sovereigns west of the Indus, died at Nímla'h, having held the government for several years. He was the most efficient ruler that had held the government for a very long time previous, and more so than any other who followed. On account of the Afgháns, however, the fact of his death was not made known until his corpse reached Kábul.

† *See* pages 51 and 53.

‡ The term "kaj" is also applied to the strips or plots of land, available for cultivation, lying between the Siyah Koh range and the Kábul river.

§ Previously mentioned at page 56.

From thence six kuroh east is Chhár Bágh-i-Safá, previously referred to at page 53, in the route from Jalál-ábád to Kábul. It is a large village of the Tájzíks, and near it are four gardens (or, a garden divided into four quarters by walks); hence its name. A large canal has been cut from the Surkh Rúd, and carried on to Bálá-Bágh and Chhár-Bágh. The confluence of the Surkh Rúd and the river of Kábul lies rather less than two kuroh on the left hand (north). East of the Surkh Rúd is a large village celebrated for its fruitfulness, called Sabz-ábád (the Verdant Abode).

One kuroh east, inclining north-east, is the Kalaey or village of Madad Khán, which lies near the road on the left-hand side. To the west of the village is a small river called the Rúd-i-Rustam Khán,* which comes from the right hand, and, running to the left, joins the Surkh Rúd.

A little farther to the left is the mazár or tomb of Rustam Khán, a brick mausoleum; and from thence one kuroh and a half is the town of Jalál-ábád.

As previously mentioned at the head of this Section, there are several other very important routes remaining to be described leading from Bázár-i-Ahmad Khán into the Dera'h-ját, and from thence west towards Ghaznín through the range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, but as these routes bear no special reference to the parts in which our troops are now operating, I think it will be better to leave them for a subsequent Section, wherein I shall bring these notes to a close at the point at which I commenced them,—at the most northern pass in the Dera'h-i-Ghází Khán district.

The next Section of these notes will describe the routes north of the Khaibar road to Kábul, including the Karappa'h and Tahtarah routes, and various others both from Kábul and Pes'háwar, extending from Káfiristán to the Abáe Sind.

21st March, 1879.

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* Previously mentioned at page 53.

SECTION THIRD.

I now propose giving an account of the various routes leading from the city of Kábul into the countries and districts north of the river of Kábul, as far as Badakhshán and Káshghar, with a brief description of them and their inhabitants.

*Eleventh Route. From Kábul to Jalál-ábád by way of Lamghán, a distance of sixty kuroh west.**

"The route from Kábul to Bárík-Áb has been already given at page 59 of Section Second. From thence proceeding one kuroh and a half east you reach a place where two roads diverge. That on the right hand goes to Jagdálík, and that on the left is as follows:—From the point where the two roads separate four kuroh east is Saṛ Aobey,† signifying Cold Water—The Place of Cold Water—the name of a halting place towards the head of the river of Kábul, and the road (track) is like the dry bed of a river. The place named Tang-Ghár (تنگ غار),‡ where the river of the Ghúr-Band—which derives its name from the *band* or pass leading into Ghúr—joins the river of Kábul, lies ten kuroh to the left hand from this point.

"Leaving Saṛ Aobey, you proceed in the direction of east into a dara'h of the mountains, and continue to advance for a distance of four kuroh. You then go three kuroh to the south, then turn two kuroh east again, when the route runs for another three kuroh north-east, then four kuroh to the south-east, inclining south, one kuroh east, two kuroh north, and ten (two?) kuroh to the south-east; and, after proceeding in this winding manner for another four kuroh in the direction of north-east, you reach Mandrawaṛ,§ also written Mandráwaṛ and Mandrawal, *r* and *l* being interchangeable, which is a large village, and the seat of government of the district of Lamghán.

"The route just described winds through a narrow dara'h of the mountains, which re lofty, and rise on either side, along the banks of the river of Kábul, which, east of Mandrawaṛ, joins the river of Tigharí,‖ also well known as the river of Lamghán.¶

"Three kuroh east from thence (Mandrawaṛ) is Chhár-Bágh-i-Mas'úd, signifying Mas'úd's Four Gardens,** the name of a large village, the chief place of the district, and the before-mentioned river lies near by on the left hand.

"From thence distant seven kuroh, inclining southwardly, is Darúnṭha'h, a little mountain on the right hand, on the other (the south) side of the afore-mentioned river. Although the river of Kábul contains but a small volume of water (at this point), nevertheless, it is rather dangerous, and is forded with difficulty, and rafts are used for crossing it.†† Half a kuroh south from thence (Darúnṭha'h) is the large village of

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* This is by far the best and easiest route between Jalál-ábád and Kábul, and a good one to adopt. With the exception of some few difficulties between Saṛ Aobey and Mandrawaṛ there is little to be overcome, while all the difficulties between the bridge over the Surkh Áb and Kábul, and the passes by the other route, would be avoided. The Kábul river and some others would have to be bridged, but the posts necessary for guarding them would guard the road also.

† This does not appear in Major Wilson's new map of Afghánistán. Báyazíd, the Byát, calls it Sar-i-Áo, which would signify "head of the water," or "source of the stream or river."

‡ Báyazíd, the Byát, says that the Kotal or Pass of Tang-Gáh (تنگ گاه), as he writes it, was, previous to the time of Bábar Bádsháh, called the Kún (podex) Kotal; but when, on one occasion, this name was mentioned in the Bádsháh's council chamber, he remarked that the name was not a nice one for ears polite, and that it should be thereafter called instead, the Tang-Gáh Kotal, or Kotal of the Narrow Place.

§ The author must have crossed the Áb-i-Bárán or River of Kábul, but he does not say so. This name is not spelt "Mandarawar."

‖ This name is written "Tirgadi" in Major-General Walker's map, "Tirgari" in Major Wilson's, and "Tigadee" in others, and all three are incorrect.

¶ There is also a road from Bárík-Áb to Kábul by way of the *Kotal* of Tang-Gáh or Tang-Ghár, and another from Mandrawaṛ by way of Dabrí.

** A garden divided by walks into four parts or quarters is also called a Chhár-Bágh. It has the addition of Mas'úd to distinguish it from Chhár-Bágh-i-Ṣafá on the south side of the river, and mentioned in Section Second, page 53. Akbar Bádsháh, on his way back from Kábul in 997 H. (1589 A.D.), visited this place, which appears to have been also known as Mas'úd-ábád. From thence he went on to Mandrawaṛ.

†† Bábar Bádsháh, referring to the routes into the Lamghánát (the plural form of Lamghán), says: "In "proceeding from Kábul down into the Lamghánát one road goes from Ḳúrúḳ-Ṣá'í and the Kotal of Dabrí by "Púlán (پولان—in some copies of his *Tuzúk*, Búlán بولان)." Another road leads from Ḳúrúḳ-Ṣá'í, and

Sabz-ábád, from which a large canal has been cut from the river of Kábul, and carried on to Jalál-ábád. From Sabz-ábád three kuroh south-east is Jalál-ábád. The canal lies near on the left-hand side of the way, and the river of Kábul flows about two kuroh on the left hand, close to the mountains.

"From Saṛ Aobey to near Mandrawaṛ, opening out on the right hand and on the left, are several large dara'hs, in which dwell nomad Afgháns of the Ghalzí tribe."

Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, brother of Akbar Bádsháh, having taken forcible possession of the city of Kábul in 970 H.* (1562–63 A.D.), and dispossessed the Deputy Governor of his authority, the Khán-i-Khánán, Mun'im Khán, who was then employed in the provinces east of Ágrah, was recalled to proceed to Kábul to operate against the Mírzá, and reduce him to submission. Mun'im Khán having reached Pas'haur, without waiting for the troops told off to accompany him, set out through the Khaibar with his own personal attendants, and a small body of retainers, in order to secure Jalál-ábád, refusing the aid offered to him by the Khalíl and Mahmand Afgháns. Before he reached Jalál-ábád, however, one of Muḥammad Ḥakím's partisans had taken possession of it.

Mun'im Khán pushed on, and invested it as well as he could; but Muḥammad Ḥakím had moved from Kábul with his adherents, and the troops of Kábul, who had joined him, for the purpose of securing Jalál-ábád, by the route just described, and had reached Mandrawaṛ. Before Mun'im Khán had time to attempt to carry Jalál-ábád by assault, which he proposed to do, or, at least, attempt, he found that Muḥammad Ḥakím, with his forces, was then at the Darúnṭha'h Kotal, distant only about two kuroh west of Jalál-ábád, and was engaged in crossing the river. The Khán-i-Khánán was consequently defeated, and had to retire precipitately to Pas'haur again.

I have mentioned this circumstance here in order to show that Jalál-ábád is liable to attack from that quarter, unless precautions are taken to guard the passage of the river in the direction indicated.

"It is now necessary that I should give some account of Lamghán."

The Dara'h of Lamghán.

"Lamghán is one of the six provinces or territories of Faristán,† the ancient seats of the Tájzík race. Although some of these territories have been overrun and occupied by some of the tribes of Afgháns from time to time, more particularly from the period that Mírzá Ulugh Beg, ruler of Kábul, expelled the Khas'hí sept of Afgháns from the territory of Kábul proper, nevertheless, the Tájzík element still predominates in them, and some are still wholly possessed by the Tájzík people.

"These six territories are:—1. Ḳáshḳár; 2. Kúnaṛ; 3. Kámáṇ; 4. Nangrahár, or Nek Anhár; 5. Lamghán; and 6. Kábul."

The latter has been briefly noticed in Section Second of these "Notes," as well as Nangrahár.

"The name Lamghán was originally Lamakán (لمکان), because (according to tradition) it is the place of sepulture of the Patriarch Lamak, the father of Núḥ—on whom be peace! In the dialect of these Tájzík people there is no letter equivalent to the 'Arabic *káf*—کاف, and they use *gh* غ in lieu of it, and thus the word became Lamaghán (لَمغانْ). By degrees, through constant use, the word became shortened to Lamghán, and also to Laghmán.

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runs lower down than Ḳúrátú; and, having crossed the Áb-i-Bárán (which we incorrectly call "the Kábul river") from Úlúḳ-Núr, you proceed by the Bád-Paj or Bád Faj Kotal (Bád-íj—بادیج—in some copies, is merely an error for بادپج or بادفج), Faj or Paj signifying a Pass, and Bád Paj or Bád Faj, "the Wind or Windy Pass," on account of the strong wind generally prevailing there, and which, at times, renders its passage impracticable.

Mírzá Kámrán, Bábar's son, after he had been defeated by his sovereign and brother, Humáyún Bádsháh, at Shutar-Grám in 957 H., fled by the Máhí Purojzaláh and this very Bád Faj, and took shelter in Lamghán with Malik Muḥammad, the Mandrawaṛí, and got him to assemble the men of his *tomán* to begin sedition anew. Humáyún sent a force to operate against him, upon which, Mírzá Kámrán fled to the dara'hs of Alingár and 'Alí Shang, which lie above Mandrawaṛ, but, considering the locality not a good one, he left it, and took shelter with his friends and adherents, the Khalíl and Mahmand tribes of Afgháns.

* The year 970 H. commenced on the 3rd August, 1562 A.D.

† This is the name given to these parts by the author of these surveys. Lamghán is sometimes written Laghmán, but there is no *u* in the word: "Lúghmán" cannot be made out of it by any one who can read it in the vernacular.

A recent compiler assures us that the word "Tájak" and "Taujak," as he writes Tájzík, "is rather loosely used." In this I can heartily concur. In no Persian Dictionary will such a word be found as "Tájak," any more than "Káfar." The origin and signification of the word Tájzík, Tájí, or Tázík, will be found in my Translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 304, note 3.

"Lamghán is a large dara'h, extending in the direction of north-west and south-east, from Nijr-Áb or Nijr-Áo to the mountain of Darúnṭha'h, to the immediate east of, and under which, the rivers of 'Alí Shang and Alingár, the Lohgar and its tributaries, including the Áb-i-Báráni (*i. e.*, The Báráni River),* the rivers of the Ghúr-Band, and the Panj-her or Panj-sher Dara'h, the Tag-Áb or Tag-Áo, and the Surkh Rúd, become one stream, and then receives the name of 'River of Kábul,' that is to say, the river of the province of Kábul, and which junction of so many streams is said (as already mentioned at page 49, Section Second) to be the origin of the name of the territory of Nek-Anhár, otherwise Nangrahár.

"The Dara'h of Lamghán is about forty kuroh in length, and has lofty mountain ranges on either side, and into it other minor, but still extensive, Dara'hs open.

"The chief town of Lamghán is Chhár-Bágh-i-Mas'úd; † and Mandrawaṛ and Tigharí are both large villages, or rather small towns, enclosed with walls. The lands of this territory are famous for their productiveness. It contains about 12,000 Tájzík families, who pay taxes to the Bádsháh of Kábul, Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, and have to furnish a contingent of troops to his army.

"Lands artificially irrigated from rivers, which yield large crops, pay from one half to one fourth of the produce to the State, while lands dependent on rain for irrigation are assessed at from one fifth to one tenth.

"The language spoken by the people of Lamghán is called the Lamghání dialect, and is not quickly understood; but most of the people speak Tájzík (Persian), and they also profess some proficiency in Pus'hto and Turkí.‡

"Two kuroh distant from the town of Tigharí, in the direction of south-west, on the top of a hill, is the sepulchre, which, according to the tradition, is that of the Patriarch Lamak. They also call him by the name of Mihtar Lám, and No-Lakhí-Bábá.

"On the north and north-east Lamghán is bounded by a mighty mountain range clothed with perpetual snow, which the Afghán people call Kunḍ,§ and in the dara'hs around about it (on its sides), the Sáfí or Sápí tribe of Afgháns, and some Ghalzís dwell, some of whom reside in permanent dwellings, and others lead the life of *íláts* or nomads.||

"Although all the lesser dara'hs dependent on this larger one cannot be enumerated (here), six of the largest, which are well known, require to be mentioned in detail."

1. *The Dara'h of Alingár.*

"This is a considerable dara'h, and also the name of a large village in it. The dara'h is about sixteen kuroh in length from east to west, and on the east terminates at the mountains of perpetual snow, from which side you can enter the Dara'h of Núr.¶ On the west (south-west) side it lies near the village of Tigharí, also called Tirgharí.

"Out of this Dara'h of Alingár a river issues, which rises in the mountain range of Hindú Koh, Tíraj-Mír, or Kunḍ,** as it is also called, and in the neighbourhood of

* Also called Áb-i-Bárán, and applied to the united streams until after their junction with the Surkh Rúd.

† It is said to be a very ancient place.

‡ Several of the non-Afghán races dwelling in these parts are, without doubt, of Turkish descent. A considerable tract of country between Kábul and Pes'háwar, and north of the river of Kábul, as well as south of the Spín-Ghar range, was, up to the advent of the Afgháns in this direction, inhabited by Turks, as I have previously mentioned, and this accounts for the numerous Turkish names of places in these territories, and the existence of the Turkish language. *See* page 51, and note §, page 45, Section Second.

§ *See* page 51, Section Second.

|| Consequently the inhabitants of Lamghán are "not all Ghilzáes and Tájaks."

Nomads are known by the Afgháns, and in the Afghán language, by the general names of Kochí and Powandah, which terms certain writers—the latter nomads under the impossible names of "Provindas" and "Povindiahs"—imagine to be the names of as many tribes of "Pathans proper"; indeed, one writer asserts that they are "*the great trading tribe* of Afghánistan." The former name comes from the Pus'hto verb, ***kochedal***, "to march," "to decamp," &c., derived, probably, from the Tájzík word کوچ, signifying "migration," "decamping," "marching," and which is likewise used in Pus'hto as an adjective, to signify nomadic, or wandering. Powandah is derived from the Pus'hto verb *powul*, "to graze," engrafted on the language, apparently, from Tájzík پویدن, and this term is applied to certain Afghán tribes and portions of tribes, hereafter to be referred to, who move about with their herds and flocks, and act as carriers between their own country and India. See my "Pus'hto Dictionary," new edit., pages 199, 1106, and 1153, and Section First of these "Notes," note ¶, page 6, Section First.

¶ *See* page 108.

** In Major Wilson's map the source of the Alingár appears far away in the north-east, in what is marked as "Kantor" (meant for Kaṭor probably), but Abú-l-Fazl, as well as the author of these surveys, say its source is much lower down, and Bábar Bádsháh says it is in Giwár. *See* pages 104 and 137. When we come to know

Tigharí unites with the river of 'Alí Shang. The lowest part of the dara'h is peopled by Tájzíks, higher up by the people styled Kohistánís, and the uppermost parts are held by the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Posháu, who lead the life of *ilát's* or nomads."

Soon after the death of Humáyún Bádsháh, Mun'im Khán, who had been left in charge of the province of Kábul and its dependencies when that monarch set out to recover his kingdom and entered India, repaired to Nangrahár. Báyazíd, the Byát, was despatched by Mun' im Khán at the period in question to collect the revenue or tribute from the people of Alingár, and the tribe of Hazár Meshí,* which people, he says, dwelt in the vicinity of and round the tomb of Mihtar Lám.

Báyazíd went accordingly, and reached Shajarí (شجری) in Alingár, which place is situated in the *jal-gáh*,† or verdant plain, of Chal-maní, which belonged to Alingár, and which tomán had been previously held in fief by Sulṭán Muḥammad, Karawul. He had laid out a fine garden there, and in it Báyazíd took up his quarters, and began his duties.

"The next day the Kázís of Alingár presented themselves, and brought along with them a little wine, sweetmeats, several wild (game) birds, and some fruit. It is customary with these Kázís, when they visit the authorities or ruler of the district, to take wine and sweetmeats as a present, and, if people have any disputes to settle, the Kázís are sent for, instead of the disputants going to the Kázís. If any among the people of this part die, the corpse is washed and placed in a coffin, and when taking it to the burying-ground they set it on the ground in order to change the bearers, which is directly contrary to the custom of the Muḥammadans, who relieve each other as bearers without setting down the coffin. The funeral party having set it down, drink wine or some other fermented liquor (búza'h), and dance round it, after which they take it up again, and the corpse is committed to the earth."

Having collected the amount of tribute due, Báyazíd returned to Jú-e Sháhí, afterwards styled Jalál-ábád, in honour of Jalál-ud-Dín Muḥammad, Akbar Bádsháh.

2. *The Dara'h of 'Alí Shang.*

"'Alí Shang is the name of two large villages, as well as of the dara'h in which they are situated. It is about fifteen kuroh in length, and on the north and north-east terminates at the mountain range of perpetual snow. As in the case of Alingár, the Tájzíks occupy the lower, the Kohistánís the middle, and the Tor Káfirís the uppermost parts. A considerable river issues from this dara'h, which, flowing towards the south, passes east of Tigharí, and joins the river of the Alingár dara'h."

The Shaikh, Abú-l-Fazl, in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, states that round about the tomán of 'Alí Shang are lofty mountains covered with snow, out of which issues the river, and that the dwellers in those mountains are called Káfirs, that is, Unbelievers. He also states that the grave of Lám, also called Lamak, is situated near by (in the hill at its entrance, and about two miles to the east of Tigharí), and that "*án*, in the word "Lamakán, or Lamagán, means 'riches,' 'property,' 'possessions,' and 'juice,' or "'milk,' and that the word Lamakán means 'the milk of Lamak.'"‡

3. *The Dara'h of Nijr-Áb, or Nijr-Áo.*

"This is a large dara'h,§ nearly twenty kuroh in length. In the direction of north-west it pierces a difficult mountain range, and adjoins the Dara'h of Panj-her or Panj-sher. In this valley of Nijr-Áb several thousand Tájzík families dwell, some in permanent dwellings, and some as nomads. Out of it also issues a river which, near Tigharí,‖ unites with the river of 'Alí-Shang."

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more of these tracts it will be found, if I am not much mistaken, that what appears in the above map as the source of the Alingár river, is no other than the source of the Chaghán-Saráe river, or one of its tributaries. *See* page 145, and note ††. *See* also my paper on "Káfiristán," page 7.

In Major-General Walker's map (last edit.) the junction of the Alingár and 'Alí-Shang is laid down some ten or twelve miles below Tigharí, but, in Major Wilson's, it is correctly shown.

* These people are Tájzíks, and are still to be found in these parts.

† I have already described, at page 45, Section Second, what a jal-gáh is, but it constantly appears in our maps as though it was the proper name of a place.

‡ This last clause of the sentence is wanting in Blochmann's printed text, but is contained in several MS. copies.

§ The name signifies the Dara'h or Valley of the Nijr-Áb, or Nijr river.

‖ *Sic* in MS. It must be an error for Tang-Ghár, still the writer is not in the habit of making errors of this kind. Our latest surveyors have misunderstood these names: they have turned Nijr-Áb into *Nijran*, and Tag-Áb into *Tagan*. *See* Major-General Walker's Report for 1878-79, Part 2, page 46.

Bábar Bádsháh says:—"Another tomán is Nijr-Áb, or Nijr-Áo, lying north-east "from Kábul in a mountain tract, and behind it, in the same mountains, all (the "people) are Káfirs, and it is a Káfiristán. It is rather an out of the way corner."

The author of these surveys does not mention the Dara'h of Panj-her, or Panj-sher, as it is also written, among these other dara'hs, his survey not extending so far. Bábar, however, says:—"Another tomán is Panj-her. It lies on the high road (*see* "page 140) into Badakhshán, and the Káfiristán lies close adjoining it. Panj-her "is a thoroughfare for the Káfir robbers, and they obtain a livelihood from it. On "account of their proximity the people of Panj-her pay perquisites to them. At the "time that I advanced into Hindústán and conquered it, the Káfirs entered Panj-her, "slew a number of its people, and committed great ravages." This could not have been because the inhabitants of the dara'h were Musalmáns, for, in another place, the Bádsháh says, "they were a heathenish people."

Abú-l-Faẓl says that the kohistán of the tomán of Nijr-Áo is full of Káfirs, and that instead of lamps the people of this dara'h burn strips of the pine tree, which furnishes them with light.

4. *The Dara'h of Wálá-Sá'ú, and* 5. *The Dara'h of Budr-Áo.**

"These are both dara'hs of considerable size, and are inhabited by the Sáfí or Sápí Afgháns. They extend on the north to the kohistán of Nijr-Áo, and, on the south, terminate at the united rivers of Lohgar and the Ghúr-Band, which join in the district of Tang-Ghár." (*See* page 1.)

The Dara'h of Wálá-Sá'ú is what Bábar Bádsháh calls Álah-Sá'í, which, he says, "lies two or three *farsangs* east of Nijr-Áb or Nijr-Áo," and that "on the side of Álah-Sá'í, the hills are full of Káfirs."

The tract east of Álah-Sá'í is now called Tag-Áb or Tag-Áo, after the river of that name, but it is strange that, neither Bábar nor the author of these surveys, ever allude to that tract or its river, although the latter is so minutely particular in his description of rivers.

6. *The Dara'h of Mandrawaṛ or Mandráwaṛ.*

"This is another extensive dara'h, consisting of several clefts or branches among the mountains, constituting minor dara'hs; and from the village of Mandrawaṛ† to Saṛ Aobey it is more than twenty kuroh in length. The Áb-i-Bárán flows out of the middle of it, and, south of the village of Mandrawaṛ, joins the river of Tigharí (the united river of Alingár and 'Alí Shang), also known as the river of Lamghán. The united rivers of all these dara'hs issue from the mountains of Lamghán near Darúnṭha'h, and meet the Surkh Rúd from the south-west, flow on towards the east, and east of Jalál-ábád, passing near the Kámán district, unite with the river of Chitrál, Chitrár, or Káshkár, and finally enter the Abáe Sín (or Indus).

"This Dara'h of Mandrawaṛ is inhabited by Tájzíks chiefly, but, in the clefts of the mountains or minor dara'hs, some clans of the great Afghán tribe of Ghalzí dwell, who lead the life of *íláts* or nomads."

Abú-l-Faẓl says respecting Mandráwaṛ, as he writes it, that the rivers of Alingár and 'Alí Shang, having united, join the Bárán river—as he styles the Lohgar, Bárán, Ghúr-Band, and others, their tributaries—at the point in question.

Under the revenue system instituted in Akbar Bádsháh's reign, each of these six dara'hs formed separate tománs or districts, but Nijr-Áb or Nijr-Áo is called a bulúk, the term applied to a small district, instead of tomán.

Alingár yielded a revenue in cash (naḳd) of 15 lakhs, 44,670 dáms, and the inhabitants (in some copies of the text only), are set down as Lamghánís. They had to furnish a contingent of 500 horsemen, and 1,000 foot for militia purposes.

'Alí Shang yielded, or was rated at, 37 lakhs, 1,150 dáms; but, out of this, 1,948 dáms had to be deducted for free grants. The people are styled the *ḳom* (tribe or clan) of 'Alí Shang, and had to furnish 500 horsemen and 5,000 foot. The latter number is probably an error for 1,000, but it appears in several copies of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí.

* These do not appear in our maps.

† In the year 913 H. (1507–8 A.D.), Bábar Bádsháh conferred the fiefs of Nek-Nihár or Nangrahár, Mandráwaṛ, the Dara'hs of Núr, Kúnaṛ, and Núr-Gal, upon Mírzá 'Abd-ur-Razzáḳ, son of the late Mírzá Ulugh Beg, ruler of Kábul, his paternal uncle, who expelled the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs from Kábul.

The Nijr-Áb or Nijr-Áo bulúk was assessed at 20 lakhs, and 45,451 dáms. The inhabitants are all styled Káfirs, and are set down as able to bring into the field, for we are not told that the Káfirs were subjects, and it is by no means probable that they were, 3,000 foot and 3,000 horsemen.

The Wálá-Sá'ú tomán, which, in various copies of the text of Abú-l-Faẓl's Á'ín-i-Akbarí, is styled by the various names of tomán of Ala-sá, Ala-sáe, and Ísárí, and which he says is so called because it is situated between the hot and cold climates, was rated at 6 lakhs of dáms. The inhabitants are said to be Dilazák Afgháns, and are assessed as being able to furnish 5,000 foot soldiers.*

The Budr-Áo tomán is set down as yielding 4 lakhs, and 13,855 dáms. Its inhabitants are not named, but are rated at 50 horsemen and 500 foot.

The Mandrawaṛ tomán was assessed at 26 lakhs, and 84,880 dáms. Its inhabitants are not specified, but the number of men it furnished, or could furnish, is set down at 50 horsemen and 500 foot soldiers.

Abú-l-Faẓl, it will be noticed, from what I have extracted below, copies a great deal respecting these parts from the Tuzúk of Bábar Bádsháh, which I have thought it well to quote here, as I have the advantage, at present, of possessing several copies of both translations of his Persian work for comparison and verification, as well as the Turkí text. He says:—

"The territory of Kábul is divided into fourteen tománs. . . . . To the east of Kábul are the Lamghánát (*i.e.* the Lamgháns). This territory consists of five tománs and two bulúks, and the largest of them is Nek-Nihár, which, in some histories, is styled Nangrahár and Nangnahár.† . . . . Although of the five tománs of Lamghán one is Nek-Nihár, nevertheless, there are but three which appertain to it. One of these tománs is 'Alí Shang, which, on the north, adjoins Hindú-Kush, which are vast mountains full of (covered with) snow. The whole of these mountain tracts is a Káfiristán,‡ and the nearest part of the Káfiristán to 'Alí Shang is Míl, and, from this Míl, the 'Alí Shang river issues. The grave of Mihtár Lám, the father of the Patriarch Núḥ, is in the tomán of 'Alí Shang. . . . Another tomán is Alingár, and the Káfiristán nearest to Alingár is Giwár, and the river of Alingár issues from Giwár.§ Both these rivers, after flowing through Alingár and 'Alí Shang, unite, and then passing through another tomán, which is Mandráwaṛ, lower down, unite with the Áb-i-Bárán. As to the two bulúks, before referred to, one is the Dara'h of Núr," etc., etc.

Twelfth Route. From Jalál-ábád to Tigharí and 'Alí Shang and Alingár.

"The road from Jalál-ábád to Mandrawaṛ or Mandráwaṛ has been described in the preceding route. From thence five kuroh north-west is Tigharí, a large walled village, and the seat of government of the territory of Lamghán.

"From thence three roads diverge. One goes to the west, to Nijr-Áb or Nijr-Áo and Panj-her or Panj-sher, and the second to the north, to 'Alí Shang.‖ This latter is the name applied to two large villages belonging to the Tájzík race, and this great cleft in the mountains or dara'h is also called the Dara'h of 'Alí Shang, and is near upon ten kurohs in length. At the extremity or higher parts of it the Sáfí or Sápí Afgháns, and a people known as Kohistání, dwell; and on the west and north it adjoins the mountains of perpetual snow.

"There is another dara'h to the north-east of that of 'Alí Shang, known as the Dara'h of Alingár, which is about eleven kuroh in length. On the north it likewise terminates at the mountains of perpetual snow. The lower part of this dara'h, like the others, is peopled by Tájzíks, and the upper part by Sáfí Afgháns and Kohistánís.

"The distance from Tigharí to the villages of 'Alí Shang is four kuroh north, and to the village of Alingár seven kuroh north-east.

"Out of each of these dara'hs a river issues, which, having combined a little to the east of Tigharí, flows on to Mandrawaṛ. In proceeding into those dara'hs you follow the courses of the rivers."

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* *See* note *, page 35.

† *See* my Translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 1016. I notice that the Afghán historian, Afẓal Khán, the Khaṭak chief, always writes the name of this tomán Nangahár (ننگهار) instead of Nangrahár.

‡ *See* note ‖, page 41.

§ *See* note **, page 3.

‖ The third is the Jalál-ábád road already described.

The Sáfí or Sápí Afgháns.

In this name, as in many others, *f* and *p* are interchangeable. As this numerous tribe is repeatedly mentioned in these pages, and holds a large portion of some of the territories through which these routes run, it will be well to give a brief account of them.

"The Sáfís or Sápís* consist of three septs or subdivisions,—1, Gurbuz; 2, Mas'úd;† and 3, Wader; and amount to nearly 20,000 families. Some dwell in the hill tracts of Saur Kamar, but the majority dwell in the Dara'hs of Lamghán or Laghmán and Pích, and in Kúnaṛ and Kámáṉ. There is a small clan of Afgháns also called Gurbuz, dwelling in the eastern parts of Khost, between the rivers Toṉchí and Shamal, but they belong to the great tribe of Wazírí, and are not connected with the Sáfís.

"The Sáfís‡ dwelling in Saur Kamar have to pay a tenth of the produce of their lands to the Tarkalární Afghán Chief of Bájawṛ; but those dwelling in and close to the mountains in the Dara'h of Lamghán, in Pích, and the mountain tracts of Kúnaṛ and Kámáṉ, have neither tax nor tribute to pay, and are wholly independent. The Sáfís are not under the authority of a single chief, nevertheless, there is perfect accord among all three divisions of the tribe; in fact, there is neither a village, nor are there cultivated lands, in which all three are not partners together to a greater or less extent. They are also confederates in war, and are remarkable for their energy and perseverance. A specimen of this is thus related:—

"A Sáfí having become annoyed and aggrieved with the Tarkalární ruler of Bájawṛ, vowed that he would never again dwell under any one's rule, or be subject to any one in future. With this determination he girded up his loins and set out, and reached Báḍel.§ Arrived there, he got some other bold spirits to join him, and determined to take forcible possession of some of the hill country, then held by the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Posháṉ. Several severe encounters took place between them; but the Sáfís, by their valour, overcame the Tor Káfirís, and possessed themselves of the territory of Pích, which is an extensive dara'h, nearly twenty-five kuroh in length, and very productive; and there the Sáfí in question, and his confederates, took up their residence in independence."

The Sáfí Afgháns suffered much cruelty at the hands of Nádir‖ Sháh, Afshár. After having obtained possession of Ḳandahár, he determined to take vengeance for the insults he had received from the court of Dihlí, in its delaying to take any notice of his demands, made through his envoys, and their detention in that city, by invading the dominions of the Mughal Bádsháh of India, who was still in possession of the Kábul province or Ṣúba'h, which also included the Ghaznín district. Before doing so and investing Kábul, however, Nádir Sháh determined to attack the Sáfí Afgháns, a

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* Major H. C. B. Tanner, R.E., who recently undertook a journey into these parts, with the object of getting into the Káfiristán, in a letter to the Surveyor General of India, contained in the "Proceedings of the "Bengal Asiatic Society" for March, 1879, page 76, referring to the Dara'h of Mazár, which he calls "Mázár Dara," says, "it is the inhabitants of this valley who are my stumbling-block. They are "Pathans *and* Sáfis." As the Sáfís are Afgháns, they are, as a matter of course, Paṭáns, the terms being synonymous; and those acquainted with Afghán genealogies know that they are Afgháns.

I notice a slight error respecting the Sáfís in my "Notes on Káfiristán," which I should have corrected had I noticed it before. At page 24, describing the dara'hs now occupied by the Mandul tribe, I say, "They "are now held by the Sáfís of the Ismá'íl clan, a small and independent tribe of Afgháns, but accounted "among the Sulímán Khel of the Ghalzís." It should have been "the Sáfís *and* the Ismá'ílzí clan," etc. The "and" was omitted, and "of" substituted by mistake. *See* Major-General Walker's Report for 1878–79, Part II., page 47.

† "Músawíd" is an utterly impossible name, and "Gorbáz" and "Wadín" are equally erroneous, and such names could only have occurred to a person who could not read them in the original, or had never seen them written.

‡ It was an insult offered to a Sáfí woman which brought about a rising of the Afghán tribes, which overthrew Muḥammad Amín Khán, and annihilated the Mughal army, in the Gharíb Kháua'h Kotal, now sometimes called the Landey Kotal, in the Khaibar. *See* page 40, Section Second.

Masson's theory that these Afgháns "are descended from the Káfars, and that the designation Sáfí may have "been given them by the Mahammadans on their secession from their religion, for saf, meaning pure," was too illogical for comment, had it not been recently reproduced. If they are called Sáfí from Sáf, what are they also called Sápí for, for Sáp does not mean pure? It so happens, however, that *ṣáf* "pure," is written with the 'Arabic letter ص—صاف, while the name of this Afghán tribe is written with Persian and Pus'hto س—ساپي or سافي. The Sáfís belong to the Ghúrghast division of the Afghán race, and came from the south.—"*Ea sub oculis posita negligimus: proximorum incuriosi, longinqua sectamur.*"

Masson also remarks erroneously of the Sáfís, that they do not understand Pus'hto.

§ *See* page 144.

‖ Colonel C. M. MacGregor styles him "Nádar," but Nádir نَادِر—in the Arabic language, and the title by which he is known, signifies "rare," "uncommon," "precious," "excellent," etc. There is no such word as "Nádar." Any Persian, or even Hindústání, dictionary would show the correct pronunciation.

numerous and powerful *ulús* or tribe, located in the districts of Shah-Makh (the Nádir Náma'h has Nijr-Áo), Chária-kah (Cháríah-kár), and other parts of the Kábul province, the whole of which districts were very productive.

During the investment of Ḳandahár even, bodies of the Sáfí tribe, whenever opportunity offered, assailed Nádir Sháh's camp; and on his march to Kábul they fell upon detachments, plundered convoys, and harassed the Í-rání troops by annoying the camp at night. They had strengthened their own villages, and fully expected to be attacked, but were determined to resist to the utmost, which fact, considering the want of patriotic spirit recently ascribed to the Afgháns, is suggestive. This expedition occupied Nádir Sháh about six months. During this period, as well as previous to the fall of Ḳandahár, Náṣir Khán, the Ṣúba'h-dár of Kábul, constantly sent in petitions to the court of Dihlí, as did also Sharzah Khán, the governor of the citadel of Kábul (the commander of this fortress, it will be observed, held an independent command), reporting these occurrences, and the ruin likely to befall a powerful and warlike tribe, subjects of the empire of Hindústán, and urging the despatch of succour, for that, as soon as the Sáfís should be reduced, the time for Kábul to be assailed would arrive, and that they (the Ṣúba'h-dár and Governor) had not the means of holding out against the army of the ruler of Í-rán.

The Nádir Náma'h, the author of which was Nádir Sháh's secretary, states that the Sáfís submitted, and that they did so after the Sháh obtained possession of the city and citadel of Kábul; and on finding that the parts immediately round the city could not furnish supplies to his army, he set out towards Cháríah-kár and the Sáfí territory, on the 12th of Rabí'-uṣ-Ṣání, 1151 H. (middle of August, 1738 A.D.). After the Sáfís submitted, and twenty-two days had been spent in those parts, Nádir Sháh returned from thence on the 20th of Jamádí-ul-Awwal, the following month, and moved to Gandamak.

As to the Sáfís submitting, they certainly did to main force, and their very eyes were torn out; and *manns* weight of eyes were brought in, and laid before the Afshár tyrant for his inspection.

Thirteenth Route. ***From Kábul to Kúnaṛ and Pashat**, a distance of one hundred kuroh east, inclining north-east. By this route travellers proceed into Ḳáshḳár and to Yár-ḳand.*

Previous to entering into an account of the different routes through the Kúnaṛ territory it will be well to give our author's account of it and its five dependent Dara'hs.

The Territory or Dara'h of Kúnaṛ or Kunaṛ.

"This territory is included among the six dara'hs peopled by, and belonging to, the Tájzík race, which have been previously mentioned at page 100.

"Its name originally was Koh Nar* (كوه نَر), but through constant use it became Kúnaṛ (كُونَڑ) and Kunaṛ (كُنَڑ), and it is a great Dara'h or valley, with numerous branches or minor dara'hs of considerable size opening into it. The former is inhabited by Tájzíks, who are the most numerous, and the higher or upper parts of the latter by Afgháns.

"Kúnaṛ, from Shí-Gal to S'hewa'h,† and the commencement of the Kámán territory, is about forty kuroh in length from south-west to north-east, and is surrounded on all sides by lofty mountain ranges. The river of Chitrál, or Chitrár as it is also called, as well as river of Ḳáshḳár,‡ flows through the valley into Kámán, and joins the river of Jalál-ábád, otherwise the river of Kábul. Canals have been cut in several places, and the water of the river has been brought into the cultivated lands for a considerable distance on both sides the river.

"The inhabitants pay submission to the Sayyid, Najíf, son of the Sayyid, Laṭíf, son of the Mír (a title by which Sayyids are known), 'Abd-ullah (who, however, is called 'Ubaid-ullah at pages 110 and 143), son of the Mír, 'Abbás Ṣáḥib. Previous to the predominance of the Afghán tribes over these parts, the Tájzík population paid allegiance to the Ḥákims or rulers of Bájawṛ, of the tribe called 'Arab, then the ruling race. But when the affairs of Ḥatím Khán, the 'Arab, became disordered, and his

* The author does not mention what meaning is assigned to the last word, but *nar* signifies, among other meanings, "rough," "rugged," "broken," and *koh* "mountain."

† Eastern Afgháns would pronounce this K'hewa'h. *See* pages 109 and 147.

‡ "All the affluents" of this river, miscalled the "Kunár" and "Koonur," throughout the whole length of its course, certainly "come from the Hindú-Koh range," as well as the main stream. *See* pages 119 and 187.

sway weakened, and the power of the Tarkalární Afgháns became greater than he could withstand, as referred to in the account of Bájawṛ, the Mír, 'Abbás Ṣáḥib, who was a Darwesh, came forth from his recluse's cell, and stretched forth his arm to acquire territory and temporal authority for himself. In a short time he became possessed of a large tract of country and considerable power.

"At the present time (when the author of these surveys wrote) the Sayyids of this part render allegiance to the Afghán Bádsháh of Kábul, Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, and pay a small sum into his treasury by way of *pesh-kash*, or offering, as an acknowledgment of allegiance, and have to furnish a small contingent to the Bádsháh's forces.

"The yearly revenue of the Kúnaṛ valley is about 70,000 rúpís. Some of the lands are artificially irrigated, the produce of which is assessed at one half, and the other lands are assessed at a tenth. The first is collected in money, the latter in kind. The seat of government in former times was the town of Kúnaṛ, but now Pashat is; and in this latter town the valuable commodities of Kábul, Ḳáshḳár, and Pes'háwar are brought and disposed of. The river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár passes on the north side of the town.

"Of the branches or minor dara'hs opening out into, and subordinate to, the Dara'h of Kúnaṛ, the following five are the best known and most important."

Bábar Bádsháh accounts Kúnaṛ one of the dependencies of the Lamghánát. He says: "Another tomán is Kunaṛ and Núr-Gal. These two districts are dependencies of the "Lamgháns. One lies farther off (than the other) in the midst of the Káfiristán, on "the extreme border of the (Lamghán) territory. Its extent is equal to that of the "other tománs, but, on account of its distant situation, its revenue is less, and its "people pay but little."

1. *The Dara'h of Shí-Gal.**

"This Dara'h is of considerable size, and faces opposite to the territory of Ḳáshḳár. The Tor Káfirís, or Sí'áh-Poshán, dwell in the higher parts of this dara'h, but, in the lower parts, there are ten or twelve villages belonging to the Afghán tribe of Shinwárí, who pay obedience to the Sayyids of Kúnaṛ. The Tor Káfirís are independent."

2. *The Dara'h of Chaghán-Saráe.*†

"This Dara'h contains several large villages belonging to the race of people called Dihgán, or Diḳhan,‡ the former being the Í-rání or Tájzík, and the latter the 'Arab mode of writing the word (and which literally signifies a peasant or agriculturist, not the name of a tribe or race), and lies on the west side of the river of Chitrál or Chitrár. These people pay allegiance to the Sayyids of Kúnaṛ.

"West of these villages is another dara'h of considerable extent, called the Dara'h of Pích,§ which is about twenty-five kuroh in length. It is inhabited by the Ṣáfí tribe of Afgháns, who are wholly independent, and acknowledge no one's authority. Its largest village is Goslak. A considerable river issues from this dara'h, which, from Chaghán-Saráe, flows towards the east, and unites with the Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár river.

"The husbandmen of the dara'h have made cuts from the former river in every direction, and brought water to their lands.

"North of Chaghán-Saráe rises a lofty mountain range, in the upper parts of which are two villages belonging to the Tor Káfirís, or Sí'áh-Poshán, one named Kaṭár, the

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* If the "Shigar" north of "Khewa" of Major Wilson's map is intended to represent the Shí-Gal Dara'h, it is much too far south. There is a *village*, however, marked "Shigal" on the map, on the west bank of the river of Chitrál, higher up.—*See* page 148.

† Chaghán, in Turkí, signifies *white*—the White Saráe, or White Caravansary, or White Garden-house—the Dara'h of the White Caravansary.—*See* note †, page 101. This is another of the numerous places in this part bearing Turkish names, as Bísh-Buláḳ, for example. This is not surprising, however, knowing as we do that a considerable extent of country, both north and south of the river of Kábul, was held by Turkish tribes long before the appearance of the Afgháns therein.—*See* page 51, Section Second.

This place appears in Major-General Walker's map as "Chagar Sarai;" in the map contained in the "Geographical Magazine" for November, 1878 as "Chigar Serai," also in the map contained in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society" for January, 1879, and in the map accompanying the "Mulla's" explorations; but, in the map illustrating the "Havildar's" travels, and in Major C. W. Wilson's new map, it is "Chigur Serai." Not one is correct. In every instance the guttural *gh* (غ) has been eschewed and simple *g* substituted, as well as incorrect vowels. Colonel C. M. MacGregor makes a similar mistake in his Gazetteer, and writes it "Chigar Serae."

‡ At page 144 the author explains, and says they are Tájzíks.

§ This appears as "Pegh" in the map contained in the "Geographical Magazine" above referred to. In Major Wilson's map it is "Pech."

other Gambhír,* the inhabitants of which have no other occupation, apparently, than the slaying of Musalmáns.

"To the north-west of the Dara'h of Pích is a very lofty mountain range, always enveloped in snow, called Koh-i-Kunḍ (or, as described at page 156, Tíraj-Mír, or Sarowar)."

Bábar Bádsháh states, in his "Tuzúk,"—"Another bulúk dependant on the Lam-"ghánát is Chaghán-Saráe.† It consists of but a single *mauza'* (a village with its "lands), and it is a contemptible place, lying in the very jaws of the Káfiristán. A "considerable river, called the Áb-i-Chaghán-Saráe, issues from the north-east side "of it, from behind Bájawṛ. On the west side of Chaghán-Saráe, through the midst "of the Káfiristán named Pích,‡ another smaller stream flows, and joins the above-"mentioned river. . . . . There are neither grapes nor gardens in Chaghán-"Saráe. Grapes are brought from higher up the river, from the Káfiristán of Pích. "When I took Chaghán-Saráe (in 920 H., 1514 A.D.) the Káfirs came down into "Pích to the aid of its people."

In another place the Mughal monarch says:—"The river called the Áb-i-Chaghán-"Saráe, issuing from the Káfiristán to the north-east, flows through this territory "(Kúnaṛ and Núr-Gal), and unites with the Áb-i-Bárán in the bulúk of Kámah, and "then flows towards the east. Núr-Gal lies on the west side of this river, and Kúnar "on the east. About a *farsang* (league) above Kúnar, the Sayyid 'Alí, the Hamadání, "died. When I took Chaghán-Saráe I visited his tomb.

"The lower part of this tomán (Kúnaṛ and Núr-Gal) is called Lamta'h Kandey (in some copies of the text it is thus written, and, in others, Malta'h or Miltah Kandey), and lower down it is connected with the dara'hs of Núr and Atar (اتر ?)."

3. *The Dara'h of Mazár.*§

"This dara'h is also extensive. From Núr-Gal to the village of Sho-másh it is about seventeen kuroh in length, and out of it a small river flows, the water of which is expended in Núr-Gal for irrigation purposes. The dara'h terminates in the direction of north-west, at the mountain range of perpetual snow called Koh-i-Kunḍ¶ (or Tíraj-Mír), and in it dwell Sáfí Afgháns and Kohistánís. They are bounded on the west by the Tor Káfirís, are wholly independent, and pay neither tax nor tribute to any one."

4. *The Dara'h of Dew-Gal.*

"Dew-Gal,|| which is another dara'h of some extent, now belongs to the Sáfí Afgháns. It terminates, on the north-west, like several others, at the Koh-i-Kunḍ range of mountains, and is nearly twelve kuroh in length. Out of that mountain range a small river flows, the water of which is drawn off for irrigation purposes. The Sáfís of this dara'h are also independent."

5. *The Dara'h of Núr.***

"This is another of the dara'hs which terminate on the north-west at the range of Koh-i-Kunḍ. On the west side it adjoins the kohistán or hill tracts of Lamghán, and on the east it is contiguous to the Dara'h of Mazár. Its inhabitants are Kohistánís chiefly, and they are wholly independent.

"In the north-west part of this dara'h are several villages called Sarúṛ, belonging to

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* The Kampar of others, which is an error seemingly. The word is also written "Gamanbhír," in one copy, in all places.

† There is no particular village now known by this name: it is now applied to the dara'h, and one part of it, with its villages, is called Bar, or Upper, and the other Kúz, or Lower, Chaghán-Saráe.—*See* note §, page 144.

Abú-l-Faẓl appears to mistake the river of the Chaghán-Saráe dara'h for the river of Chitrál. He says that the river of Chaghán-Saráe flows from the direction of north-east and enters Kúnaṛ, but it comes instead from the north-west: the river of Chitrál comes from the north-east.

It is remarkable that neither Bábar nor Abú-l-Faẓl refer to the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár.

A serious error occurs in Blochmann's printed text of Abú-l-Faẓl's Á'ín-i-Akbarí. He has mistaken Kúnaṛ for Kaṭor, and, as the passage therein at present stands, the river of Chaghán-Saráe "enters Kaṭor."

‡ The Sáfís obtained possession of Pích a long time after Bábar's day.

§ *See* page 147. Mazár means the tomb and shrine of a saint.

|| This possibly is the Wai-Kal or Wai-Gal of others. In MS. the words might be mistaken one for the other. *See* page 132.

¶ *See* page 156.

** Called "Noor Durrah" in the Indian Atlas Map, but in the map contained in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society" for January, 1879, the whole tract of country comprising the six dara'hs of Lamghán, in which the dara'h of Núr is not included, it being, as above shown, a dependency of Kúnaṛ, appears as "Nurdarra." In some other maps and notices on these parts it appears as "Dura Nur," and "Duranur."

the people styled Spín* Káfirís or Safed-Poshán, numbering between 2,000 and 3,000 families. They do not nourish such hostility towards the Musalmáns as the Tor Káfirís do, especially towards the Afgháns. The village of Sarúṛ is also known as Khanḍaey.†

"In this dara'h likewise, from Núr-Gal to Chaghán-Saráe, on both sides of the Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár river, about 6,000 or 7,000 Tájzík families dwell."

Respecting this dara'h of Núr, Bábar Bádsháh says :—

"Of these two *bulúks* (previously referred to as dependencies of Lamghán) one is the Dara'h-i-Núr. At the entrance of it, on a projecting spur (*lit.* nose) of mountain, its fort is situated, and on both sides of it runs a river. Below it is much rice ground, which cannot be crossed save by the road."

I now return to the account of the route to Kúnaṛ and Pashat.

"The routes from Kábul to Jalál-ábád have been already detailed.‡

"From Jalál-ábád you proceed one kuroh and a half south-east and reach the river of Kábul, or river of Jalál-ábád as it is also sometimes styled, and, having crossed it by means of a raft, you reach Manjha'h Bela'h, a small village on the right hand, close to the road. This village is also styled Jálawánah, that is to say, the habitation of the ála'h-wánán, or navigators of rafts.

"At this place two routes branch off. The left-hand one they style the 'Ráh-i-Páe-i-Koh,' that is, 'the road at the foot of the mountains,' which is very difficult, and water is scarce. The right-hand route is as follows. Half a kuroh from Manjha'h Bela'h or Jálawánah is Kalaey-i-Wiláyatí,§ a village in the territory of Kámáṇ. The most populous part of the Dara'h of Kámáṇ, which will be described farther on, is that on the right-hand (east) side of the river of Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál.

"From the above-mentioned village half a kuroh to the east is Palangar, another large village of this district. The Chitrál river lies distant a quarter kuroh on the right-hand. Another quarter of a kuroh north, inclining north-east, is Kalaey-i-Zamír Khán, lying near on the left-hand side of the route; and from it another half kuroh east is Kalaey-i-Bíní Ghar, also written Biní Ghar, lying near by on the left-hand side of the way.

"After this you enter a gorge of the mountains, and the river of Chitrár or Chitrál lies distant on the right hand, on the other side of the mountains. Having proceeded from this gorge a short distance towards the north-east into the mountains, you reach two villages, named Tangaey‖ and Ghwachaey (غَوَچَي—probably Ghwatsaey—غَوڅَي), on the right and left hand adjoining the road. Half a kuroh farther north from thence is Kalaey-i-'Aṣrá Khán (عصرا خان—or more probably, as contained in one of the original MSS., Kalaey-i-'Aṭar Khán—عطر خان), on the right hand, near by the road. A farther half kuroh north brings you to the Kalaey-i-Balúch Khán, also on the right hand, near the road.

"Half a kuroh from thence, in the direction of north-east, inclining east, is Shegey, the name by which three or four villages belonging to the Bá'izí clan of the Afghán tribe of Mahmand are known. At this place water melons of various descriptions are produced in great plenty.

"One kuroh north-east, inclining north, from Shegey, is Kalaey-i-Ákhúnd—The Ákhúnd's Village—which lies near by on the left hand, and half a kuroh farther on in the same direction, is the large village or town of S'hewa'h, also pronounced K'hewa'h¶ by the Eastern Afgháns, under the sway of the Sayyid, Najíf. On the left-hand side of it is a river, which comes down from the direction of the Dara'h of Núr,** and is expended in the irrigation of the lands belonging to the town. The river of Kámáṇ, otherwise the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, lies distant on the right hand.

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* Hindústánís and Persian speaking people, and other non-Afgháns—"the Aryan stock"—who cannot pronounce a Pus'hto word commencing with a consonant without the aid of an initial vowel, invariably speak and write this word "Is-pín." See page 130.

† The chief village probably, as it has been previously stated, and again repeated at page 147, that Sarúṛ is the name applied to several villages.

‡ *See* Section Second, page 48.

§ As before mentioned, *kalaey* is the Pus'hto for a village. Inflected it becomes *kalí*. The above is the Tájzík mode of styling the village. Afgháns among themselves would say "Da Wiláyatí Kalaey."

‖ Inflected the word becomes Tangí, like all other words ending in ئَ. *See* my "Pus'hto Dictionary," page 1077.

¶ This name appears in the Indian Atlas map as "Shaiwa," but Colonel C. M. MacGregor, on the contrary, writes it "Sheva." Neither is correct. In Major Wilson's map it is "Khewa," which is more like the name. *See* pages 106 and 147.

** Described on preceding page.

"The country between Manjha'h Bela'h and this place is contained within the Jalál-ábád province, and from the village of Bíní Ghar to this town of S'hewa'h, the Mahmand Afgháns dwell. The Ráh-i-Páe-i-Koh, mentioned previously, which comes from the left hand, joins this, the right-hand route, at the Shegey villages.

"Half a kuroh east of the town of S'hewa'h is Kalaey-i-Bádsháh, a village peopled by Sayyids, lying on the left hand as you proceed. You can, by going in that direction, reach the Dara'h of Núr. From this last-named village, half a kuroh to the east, is Islám-púr,* which is a large village, near by, on the right-hand side of the road. North of it is the large Dara'h of Núr,† already referred to, and the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár flows some distance off on the right hand. The territory of Kámáṉ lies adjoining the mountains, on the other (east) side of the aforesaid river. It is stated that, in former times, there were two villages east of Islám-púr, which were named respectively Dihlí and Láhor, but they are both destroyed, and nothing is now left of them.

"From Islám-púr, one kuroh north-east, is Kuṉḍa'í, the name of a pass through the mountains, which is so narrow that there is only sufficient room for one person to pass along. The river of Ḳáshḳár flows at the foot of the mountains, their crest being on the left-hand side of the way. In this difficult pass the Tor Káfirs, or Sí'áh-Poshán, lie in ambush for travellers.

"Two kuroh to the north-east of the Kuṉḍa'í Pass is Núr-Gal, the name applied to two large villages, the eastern one of which lies on the banks of the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, and the western one is situated on a slight declivity of the mountains. The Dara'h of Mazár (described at page 108) lies adjoining it, on the left hand. The stream which issues from the dara'h is expended in irrigating the lands belonging to it. The river of Ḳáshḳár lies at a distance on the right hand as you proceed along, while a lofty mountain range towers upwards from the left.

"Half way on the road to these two villages of Núr-Gal, and on the other (east) side of the river, are two stone-built forts named Kásh-Koṭ, on the frontier of the Kámáṉ territory or district. During the time of the Dihlí Sulṭáns of the Mughal dynasty (of the house of Tímúr), a large garrison was stationed in these two forts to guard the frontier in that direction. At present the forts are in ruins.

"A canal of considerable size has been cut from the river of Ḳáshḳár, and thence brought between these two ruined forts, and carried on still farther into the Kámáṉ district.

"Under the villages of Núr-Gal there is an established ferry, and two or three rafts are always available for crossing. Having crossed over to the east side of the Ḳáshḳár river you find two roads. The right-hand one they call Sar-Khanḍ, and travellers from Kámáṉ pass to and fro by this route, as it is well known, and famous. For instance, when the Mír, 'Ubaid-ullah (in one copy 'Abd-ullah) Ṣáḥib, caused the wakíl or envoy of Nádir Sháh, the Afshár, who was proceeding *chápár* (*i.e.*, post-haste) into Hindústán, to be murdered in the Jalál-ábád district, he seized firm hold of the Káfir Galí, Gor-Khanḍ, and other routes, and sat down in self-complacency and security in Pashat. When he reached Jalál-ábád, on his way to Dihlí, Nádir Sháh despatched a considerable force from his army, guided by an Afghán of the Mahmand tribe, to make a raid upon the Mír, 'Ubaid-ullah Ṣáḥib, and chastise him, by way of Kámáṉ and this very Sar-Khanḍ route. Kúnaṛ and its lands, Kulí-Grám, and other villages, under the supposition that they formed part of or were dependencies of Pashat, were plundered by Nádir Sháh's troops. They carried away much booty from them, but the Mír Ṣáḥib escaped unscathed and uninjured, and the people of Pashat sustained no injury.‡

"East of the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár are two villages, that on the right hand being called Guṛá-Paṛí,§ which lies half a kuroh away. By proceeding to that village you can, from thence, get into the Sar-Khanḍ road, and come down to the village of Chamyárí. From Guṛá-Paṛí to Chamyárí is a distance of seven kuroh, which road is

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* Incorrectly styled "Salámpur," and "Salampur" in the maps.

† This part, in Major Wilson's map, appears under the name of "Shigar."

‡ The Nádir Náma'h says that Jalál-ábád was reached, and that place surrendered, on the 20th of Jamádí-ul-Ákhir, 1151 H. (early in September, 1739), after which a considerable force was sent against the son of the Mír 'Abbás, "the Afghán," as he is styled, but which is a mistake, who had caused the Yasáwul of the Court of Nádir, on his way to Dihlí with despatches, to be put to death. This son of the Mír 'Abbás had fled to the mountains where he had taken up a strong position, and had gathered a large following around him, but the Í-rání troops entered these parts, devastated them, the men were slaughtered, and their females, together with the sister and wives of the son of the Mír 'Abbás, *i.e.*, the Mír 'Ubaid-ullah, were carried away captive, and brought to Nádir Sháh's camp, but the Mír did not "fly to Swát," as some have imagined: he remained in his stronghold.

§ This is the "Gulaprai" of the Mullá's map.

well known, but it is exceedingly difficult. The other village above referred to is Kalaey-i-Do-Bela'h, which also lies near the road on the right-hand side. East of this village is a lofty mountain (range) called Káfir Galí. Leaving Kalaey-i-Do-Bela'h, and proceeding towards the north, you go a short distance along the mountain side, and that they call T'ra'í; and, in the Pus'hto or Afghán language, every narrow road (track) lying at the foot of a mountain (on one side), and the high banks of a river on the other, or cliffs overhanging it, is termed *t'ra'í*.

"From thence, having ascended in an easterly direction, and descended a short distance farther to the east, the whole distance being about a kuroh, you proceed another two kuroh, in the direction of south, along the mountain side, and descend again in the direction of east. The crest of the mountain range lies on the right hand, and the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár on the left, at the foot of the mountains (that is to say, the mountains rise up, as it were, directly from the river, with cliffs overhanging). Proceeding another half kuroh east you reach Chamyárí, a large village, on the right hand, near the road. West of it is the Mazár—tomb and shrine—of the Fá'íz-ul-Anwár, Ḥazrat-i-Abú-l-Khair (the name of a Musalmán saint).

"From Chamyárí, two kuroh east, inclining north-east, is Káwaṛ, a large village of the Tájzíks, which lies near by on the right-hand side of the road. A little farther east, also near by on the right-hand side, is the village of Chand-rá'í. Another kuroh and a half north-east is Kúnaṛ, a large town, and, from ancient times, the seat of government of this dara'h.

"One kuroh north-east from the town is the village of Aráẓí, which lies near by on the left-hand side of the route; and about the same distance farther on, in the same direction, is Kulí-Grám, also on the left-hand side. From thence three kuroh north-east is Shád-lám, a small village* adjoining the road on the left hand. On the right is a dara'h of the mountains called Shún-krí, which stretches away towards Chinárí and Saur Kamar.† A kuroh and a half north-east, inclining north, from Shád-lám is Pashat, a considerable town, and the place of residence of the Sayyid, Najíf.‡ On the road thither, the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán are wont to lie in ambush and slay travellers.

"It has been previously mentioned (preceding page) that, having crossed the ferry at Núr-Gal, two roads diverge. One, the right-hand route, has been just described: the description of the other is as follows:—

"Passing Núr-Gal on the left hand is another road, known as Gor-Khanḍ. From Núr-Gal you proceed three kuroh north-east and reach the Paṭan, a ferry over the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, as the name indicates, and two or three rafts are always ready for crossing. Having passed over the river you proceed towards Chamyárí. From thence (the ferry) a little to the east, at the foot of the mountains, on the west bank of the said river, is a small village called Paṭan, after the ferry. To the east of it is a defile, very difficult to pass, named Gor-Khanḍ; and from thence twelve kuroh distant is Shaloṭaey,§ a large village belonging to the Sáfí Afgháns. There is great scarcity of water by this route; and the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár lies on the right hand (the east), in a hollow of the mountains, and a great mountain range lies on the left hand. Koṭ-kaey‖ also lies on the left hand, and, on the right hand, on the other side of the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, Kulí-Grám, and other villages, can be seen.

"From Shaloṭaey, three kuroh farther on, is Pashat. The fort of Tarhang lies on the left-hand (west) side of the river, and below the town of Pashat you cross over from Tarhang by raft to that place. From the fort of Tarhang you can proceed to Chaghán-Saráe, and into Pích."

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* The road from Kábul to the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ by way of Kúnaṛ turns off eastward from this village, and the route from Pes'háwar by Bar or Upper Chinárí to Kúnaṛ and Núr-Gal here joins the road by which we have just come from Kúnaṛ. *See* following page.

† *See* pages 113 and 116.

‡ I may be permitted to observe that the correct name of this place is Pashat as above, and not, and never was "Pishút"; there is no ú (و) in the word. "The Mullá," who visited it, spells it correctly. Further, that "Sayyid" (سيّد), with the ي doubled, is the title by which the descendants of the Prophet, Muḥammad, through his daughter Fáṭima'h, are styled, and not "Sayad," "Syad," or "Saiyid."

During our first occupation of Afghánistán an expedition was sent up the Kúnaṛ valley, and Pashat was unsuccessfully assaulted, but its defenders soon after evacuated it. It was in the family of the son and successor of this Sayyid, Najíf, that the so-called John Campbell, *alias* the "Farangí Bachah," who came to England under my charge in 1860, was brought up. The Sayyid Najíf died at an advanced age in 1825.

§ The "Shúlút" of Major-General Walker's map, but not in Major Wilson's.

‖ This is the "Koteghi" of Major Wilson's map. The word above signifies "the Fortlet."

***Fourteenth Route.* From Kábul to the S'hahr or K'hahr, the seat of government of the territory of Bájawṛ by way of Kúnaṛ, a distance of one hundred and three kuroh and a half in the direction of east, and consisting of two routes.**

" *First route.*—This is the right-hand, or most westerly one. The details from Kúnaṛ to Sháḍ-lám have been already given in the preceding route (preceding page).

" From Sháḍ-lám three kuroh south-east, having entered a dara'h of the mountains, you reach the Chína'h-i-Gúr-gúrí, which is the name of a spring of water, *chína'h* in the Afghán language signifying a spring,* situated in a grove of gúr-gúrí trees (*Reptonia buxifolia*), which is one among the fruit-bearing forest trees. The fruit is sweet and pleasant to the taste like the fálsa'h.

" One kuroh and a half south-east from the Gúr-gúrí Chína'h is Ghwas'h or † Ghwak'h Tangaey, a place inhabited by the Sáfí Afgháns. Another kuroh south-east from thence there are two villages. That on the right hand is called Durdána'h, and that on the left-hand side Aoṭa'h or Úṭa'h, both belonging to the Sáfís. Half a kuroh from thence in the same direction is Háẓár-Náo, the name of another spring (*lit.* 'the 'thousand springs' or 'place of a thousand springs'), and also of a large village belonging to the same tribe of people. From this place you begin to ascend, and proceed for a distance of three kuroh south, up the mountain range till you reach the crest of the Kotal, and descend for a distance of four kuroh in the direction of south-east, when you reach two villages at the foot of the mountains, which are known by the name of Shún-krí, previously mentioned (preceding page), belonging to the Sáfí Afgháns. This Kotal they call the Shún-krí Ghás'haey or Ghák'haey, or Shún-krí Pass. West of the Shún-krí villages there is a vast *smats* or cavern, the extent of which no one knows or pretends to know, and its height extends as far as the height of the mountains (*sic* in manuscript). It is known as Kábul Tsapar, and referred to farther on."

This is a well known and famous place. A peak of the range of mountains, which, in the Indian Atlas Map (sheet No. 14), and in Major Wilson's, runs up northwards from La'l-púra'h, is marked as " Kabul Suppur,"‡ or " Peak, No. 10," but Mullá ——, or " the Mullah," as he is generally styled, who recently made explorations in connection with the operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, a map of whose explorations has been given in the " Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," Part I., for 1878, and who is said to have " surveyed the road to Nawágai and on to " Pashat in the valley of Kunar, and finally, returning to Nawágai, surveyed the " road from thence down to British fort of Abazai," does not enter Kábul Tsapar in his map, nor is one word said about this famous place in the summary of his surveys. If we may judge of the Mullá's travels from this instance, and some others I shall notice, many matters appear to have escaped his observation.

Soon after Muṭallab Khán's expedition into Bangas'h against the Ros'hánís *alias* Táríkís, in 995 H. (1587 A.D.), another expedition was organized. Zain Khán, the Kokal-Tásh, set out from Jalál-ábád by way of Kámáṇ and Gwashta'h, for the Smats, this very point. The Táríkís, and the Yúsufzí Afgháns who had joined them, fortified the Náwa'h-ga'í§ Dara'h, consequently, Zain Khán turned aside with his forces in the direction of Dánish-Kol (*see* page 182), and a fortification was raised at the point where three roads diverge, leading respectively into Bájawṛ, 'Ash-naghar (now known as Hasht-nagar), and Tí-ṛáh, and was named Fatḥ-ábád. Stores and provisions were brought from the Lamghánát or Lamgháns and stored there, and the troops then entered Bájawṛ by a little known, and unfrequented route.

I shall refer to this expedition again farther on, and now return to my author's route again.

" From Shún-krí two kuroh east is Bar (Upper in Pus'hto) Chinárí, a large village belonging to the Sáfí Afgháns, and from thence another three kuroh in the same direction is Kúz (Lower) Chinárí, which is also called the Chinárí of Namshírín Khán

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* And a pool formed by it.

† The conjunction " or " here is not intended to indicate any doubt as to the correct pronunciation, but merely to show that the most eastern Afghán tribes pronounce the letter ښ as *k'h*, while the other tribes pronounce it *s'h*, but differing in pronunciation from the Persian ش. It is probable that the correct name, however, is Ghwats (غوڅ) Tangaey.

‡ This is another specimen of the vitiation of proper names. Elphinstone too, who is generally correct in his statements, sometimes vitiates names. He styles this place " Caubul Suffur."

§ The " Nawágai " of the Mullá, but " Naoghai " of Major Wilson's map. The meaning of Náwa'h-ga'í will be found farther on.

(probably Tamshírín or Taramshírín Khán, a well known Mughal name),* another village belonging to the Sáfís. From this point two roads diverge. That on the right hand (east or south-east) goes to Pes'háwar; the left-hand one is as follows:—

"Leaving Kúz Chinárí, or the Chinárí of Naramshírín (or Taramshírín) Khán, and proceeding for a distance of three kuroh to the east, you reach Do-Ráhah, signifying 'the Two Roads.' The right-hand one comes from the direction of Chamar Khandey. From the point where these two roads meet, two kuroh and a half east, inclining south-east, there is a small defile or pass, named the Alingár Ghás'haey, and on reaching the summit of it you come to two villages. The right-hand one is called Alingár, from which the pass takes its name, and is peopled by Shinwárí Afgháns; and the left-hand one is named Zaṛán. The village of Saur Kamar lies about half way (*see* page 116) on the road between the Alingár Ghás'haey and these two villages, a little way on the right hand. This tract of country they also call by the name of Saur Kamar.†

"One kuroh and a half north-east of Zaṛán is Náwa'h-ga'í, the name of a stone-built fort‡ on the right-hand side of the road, on an eminence or bluff. On the crest of the mountains, east of the fort, is a large village of the Shinwárí Afgháns, but under the rule of the chief of the Tarkalární tribe of Afgháns. The road leading to it is like the dry bed of a river. East of the fort, at the foot of the mountains (that is below the fort), is a spring of water called a náwa'h,§ which lies near the road on the left-hand side.

"One kuroh and a half east, inclining north-east, from Náwa'h-ga'í, two roads diverge. The right-hand road the people call Khuṭa'h Lár (خټه لار), and also L'waṛ-gaey.‖

"In the Pus'hto language, a road like a river bed, which here and there contains water and boggy ground, is called a Khuṭah Lár, from *khuṭ*, signifying "bubbling out," "bubbling up," and the like, and *lár*, a road. L'waṛ literally signifies "high," "lofty," "beetling," etc., and a small extent of ground which is depressed every here and there, or worn into small channels, is called l'waṛ-gaey (the *gaey* being the masculine form of the same termination as in Náwa'h-ga'í).

"The place referred to is a small plateau on the mountains, but exceedingly level; and the water which falls from the eastern side of this mountain range enters the rivers of Khalúzí¶ and Khaṭa'h, and what falls from the western side of it, having passed Náwa'h-ga'í, flows on to the Yakh-Ḍanḍ.** Ḍanḍ in the Afghán language signifies a "pond," "mere," or "pool," and yakh "cold," "icy," etc., and, in Tájzík, "ice."

"From L'waṛ-gaey one kuroh and a half north-west are two villages named

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* In the reign of Sulṭán Muḥammad, Tughlaḳ Sháh of Dihlí (725–752 H., 1325–1351 A.D.), and before he became firmly established on the throne, the Mughals, who, from the time of Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, Khwárazm Sháh's defeat on the banks of the Indus, continued to make raids into the present Panj-áb, and as far as the banks of the Biáh, the then western boundary of the Dihlí kingdom (*see* Translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 850), again invaded it under a Prince named Taramshírín Khán, son of Dowá Khán. He issued from Máwará-un-Nahr, entered the countries on the Indus, and carried his devastations from Lamghán as far as Multán, and even within sight of Dihlí, plundering and destroying in all directions. He had to be bought off, and retired by crossing the Indus near Multán. The name of the place here mentioned points to the name of this very leader and his doings. Ibn Baṭúṭah knew him. *See* his "Travels," page 89.

† The Mullá has "Alíngár" and "Jarán" (for Zaṛán), lying on either side of the road, as my author mentions, but he leaves out all mention of Saur Kamar, or did not hear of it, although it is the name by which that tract, not a district, is known as well as the name of a village. Persons unaware how the words are spelt have turned them into "Súrkh Kúnar." *See* page 116. Neither this route, nor the names given above, are shown in Major Wilson's map.

‡ Náwa'h-ga'í is no more the site of Aornos than any hill fort hereabouts. The fort of Gibarí, the stronghold taken by Bábar Bádsháh from the Sulṭán, Ḥaidar 'Alí, the Gibarí, is a much more likely site, or Láshoṛa'h, but neither come up to the description of that stronghold as told in the histories of Alexander's campaigns. *See* page 117.

§ In Pus'hto, náwa'h signifies a "canal," a "water-course," a "trough," a "pipe," or "tube of wood," and the like; and the feminine termination ga'í added, namely, náwa'h-ga'í, by which name this fort is known, literally signifies "The Little Pipe or Tube,"—The Fort near the Little Pipe or Tube. The name evidently originated from the fact of this spring being conducted through a small wooden trough or pipe. "Nawágí," therefore, as in the Mullá's map, is not correct—it is "Naoghai" in Major Wilson's,—while any one acquainted with Pus'hto would at once know what it means; but "Náwágái," with all the vowels long, is even more incorrect.

I cannot help noticing here some serious discrepancies (out of many) in our latest maps with regard to the distance between Pashat and Náwa'h-ga'í. The distance in a straight line between the two places in the Indian Atlas map is 21½ miles; according to the Mullá's map it is 17¼ miles; in Major-General Walker's it is 14 miles; and in Major Wilson's it is but 7½ miles!

‖ "Lakare," of the Mullá's map, appears to be meant for L'waṛ-gaey. *See* pages 116 and 144.

¶ *See* pages 124 and 163.

** Yakh-Ḍanḍ appears in the Mullá's map, but not in Major Wilson's. It is well known. *See* page 179.

respectively Búkaey, and Inzira'h (انزره probably Anjira'h انجره), lying separated from the road, which road, if it can be so termed, is like a river bed, and on every side, every here and there, a little water bubbles out, which, flowing towards the north-east, joins the Khalúzí river.*

"From thence (Búkaey and Anjira'h) three kuroh north-east are two other villages, named Jamál Kaj and Túllá, lying on either bank of the Khata'h river, the water of which, flowing towards the east, joins the before-mentioned Khalúzí river. Four kuroh north-east, inclining east, from the last-named villages, is Láshora'h, a strong fort, on the right hand, adjoining the road and commanding it, and the last-named river also lies near by on the left-hand side.

"Half a kuroh east from Láshora'h is Hasan Kot, a large village on the same river; and from this village one kuroh to the east is Shahr-i-Bájawr, a considerable town, which the Afgháns call 'the S'hahr' or 'the K'hahr.'† In ancient times this was the place of residence of the 'Arab (عرب) tribe, and, at present, it is in the possession of Mansúr 'Alí Khán, chief of the Tarkalární Afgháns. The Khalúzí river lies close to it on the left-hand (north) side. East of the town is a spring of water (forming a pond) named Náwa'h Dand,‡ and the 'Arab people dwelling there in former times planted plane trees round about it, and built it round with stone and lime-mortar. Water about sufficient to turn a water-mill issues from it, and joins the before-mentioned river.

"It will be well here to give an account of the territory of Bájawr and the Tarkalární Afgháns."

The Tarkalární Tribe.

"The Tarkalární§ tribe of Afgháns are of the Khas'hí or Khak'hí sept, Tark, their progenitor, being one of the sons of Khas'haey or Khak'haey, son of Kand, son of Kharshabún. They are divided into two sub-tribes, named Mámún and Sih-Sada'h, which again are subdivided into several clans and branches. They number about 21,000 families, and dwell in an exceedingly mountainous country, which, on that account, and the difficulty of the routes leading into it, is very strong.||

"Previous to their obtaining supremacy in this tract of country, a people who are styled by the name of 'Arab (عرب), was the ruling race,¶ and their chief was the Hákim or ruler of Bájawr. To him and his successors, the Tarkalárnís were in the habit of paying allegiance up to the time that the authority of the Gúrgáníah sovereigns (of Hindústán) over these parts became weakened, and their administration disordered.**

"The 'Arab people threw off all allegiance—it had been but nominal for a long time past—and entered into confederacy with other septs to maintain their independence; and the Tarkalární tribe, acting in the same manner, under Mauzah Khán, determined to exterminate the 'Arab people altogether. Mauzah Khán and his tribe defeated Mulúk Khán and Kamál-ud-Dín Khán, sons of Hatím Khán, chief of the 'Arab tribe, in several successive actions, completely cleared Bájawr of them, and took possession of it for themselves."

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* At page 116 it is called also the Láshora'h river. *See* also pages 124, 163, and 181. The Mullá styles it the "Khár N."=*nálah*, but that means a watercourse or canal—artificial rather than natural, and is not generally applied to a river. The streams in the Mullá's map all flow from the mountain range forming the boundary of Bájawr and Káshkár, and nearly from north to south into another or main river, which runs from west to east to join the river of the Panj-Kora'h territory and its tributaries; but, in Major Wilson's map, the streams run in totally contrary directions! It is therefore evident that both cannot be right, and these routes will tend to correct them. The Indian Atlas map is very much out indeed.

† That is to say "*the* town *in* or *of* Bájawr," for there is no town, and never was, called Bájawr, which is the name of the district or territory. The Mullá has "Khár," which is incorrect. The name is merely the Tájzík or Í-rání word شهر, *shahr*, signifying a city or town, but which Afgháns pronounce K'hahr and S'hahr. Although the Mullá has the position of this well known place correctly entered in his map, and appears to have actually been there, it seems strange that neither the S'hahr nor Láshora'h appear in Major Wilson's extensive and elaborate map just finished, nor do they appear in Major-General Walker's last map, but this is on a much smaller scale.

‡ Dand, in Pus'hto, signifies "a pond," "a pool," "a cistern," etc.

§ It will be seen from the way the name is written in the Afghán language, with the peculiar Pus'hto ړ, that "Túrkolání" is not their correct name. To notice Túrk in the word would be quite a sufficient proof, in the opinion of some of the "masters of the subject," of their being of Turkish descent, like the "Turk tribe of Khilich," which has lately been promoted to "Ghilzi."

|| *See* note *, page 116, and page 152.

¶ These so called 'Arabs are not, by any means, a "mongrel" race, but an ancient people.

** Towards the close of the reign of Aurang-zeb, and after his decease. Gúrgáníah refers, of course, to Tímúr, the Gúrgán, or Son-in-Law, the title by which he became known after he espoused the daughter of his confederate, Amír Husain, as related in the histories of their lives and exploits. Such a term as "Köreken," meaning "handsome," will not be found I think in any oriental history applied to Amír Tímúr.

The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, states that the original inhabitants of Lamghán complained of the oppression of the Tarkalárnís, who had overran their country, to the governor on the part of the Mughal rulers (after Bábar's time, in the reign of Humáyún, in all probability, when Mírzá Kámrán, his rebellious brother, held the fief of Kábul and its dependencies). An inroad was made upon the Tarkalárnís, and their lands and property were plundered, some of them carried off into captivity, and the rest fled for shelter into Bájawṛ.* The Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, their kinsmen of the Khas'hí sept, would not assign them any land in their newly acquired territory, because the Tarkalárnís had never helped them in their difficulties and their wars; and, being unable to continue in Bájáwṛ, they pushed onwards towards Chaghán-Saráe, but were repulsed from there likewise. At last, they seized on the lands held by the Gagyánís, the other tribe of the Khas'hí sept, in Bájawṛ; and, having encountered the latter on two occasions, in which some thousands of the Gagyánís are said to have fallen, reduced them to great misery, and occupied Bájawṛ for themselves. It must have been these misfortunes which induced the Gagyánís to apply to Malik Aḥmad, chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, for lands, when he assigned them the Do-Ábah, in which they still dwell. From the Yúsufzí account, they were compelled to leave their lands in the neighbourhood of Kábul, and seek a home elsewhere, on account of Bábar Bádsháh's hostility towards them, and took up their quarters around Báṣaul.†

Khushḥál Khán, the renowned Khaṭak chief, also mentions the 'Arabs of Bájawṛ. When Fidáe Khán, Ṣúba'h-dár of Kábul, by Aurang-zeb Bádsháh's orders, attempted to force the Khaibar in 1085 H. (1673 A.D.), the Mughal troops stationed in the Do-Ábah, under Mukarram Khán and Shamsher Khán, sons of Shaikh Mír, which formed a large army, entered the hills by the Kaṛappa'h route to distract and draw off the attention of the Afghán confederates from Fidáe Khán and his army. At Kháfash‡ or Khápash, Mukarram Khán and Shamsher Khán were encountered by Ae-mal Khán and Daryá Khán, the Afrídí leaders, and the other Afghán confederates, and completely overthrown.

"Both of whom, at Khápash, Ae-mal scattered to the winds."

Shamsher Khán fell, killed by the hand of Daryá Khán, and Mukarram Khán, who was wounded in three places, with the remnant of that fine army, in an utterly disorganized state, was conducted to Jawaṛí by the 'Arabs of Bájawṛ, where they had to remain for a considerable time before they could get back again into the Mughal territory.

This is the battle referred to by Khushḥál Khán in his "Ode to Spring," previously quoted at page 42, Section Second.

"At the present time (when the author wrote, about ninety years since), Manṣúr 'Alí Khán, son of Mauzah Khán, son of Shamsher Khán, son of Ibráhím Khán, rules in entire independence over Bájawṛ, with the sole exception of having to furnish a contingent (the amount of which is not stated) to the army of the Durrání sovereigns when called upon."

The statements put forth by certain "masters of the subject," consequently, respecting "the Pathans never having been subject to the Afghans," of which people the Tarkalárnís are a tribe, are so extravagant as to require no further comment.

The Territory of Bájawṛ.

"The territory or country of Bájawṛ comprises eight dara'hs of considerable size.§ The lands are chiefly dependent on rain for irrigation, but some are artificially irri-

* The Tarkalárnís were located in the neighbourhood of Mandrawaṛ in Lamghán in Bábar Bádsháh's time. He was entertained by a Tarkalární chief in Lamghán. *See* under the events of the year 926 H.

† *See* page 45, Section Second.

‡ Also written Khápash, *f* and *p* being interchangeable. To style this well known place "Kharfash" or "Kharpash" is like styling the celebrated Páindah Khán, Bárakzí, "Payandar," and a Powandah, "Provindiar." The word in question contains no *r*.

§ The name of this territory is neither spelt "Bajáwar," "Bujawar," nor "Bajáwár," but "Bájawṛ," (باجوړ), and there is no division of it called Mahmúd, but there is a place called the Kalaey (village) of Mahmúd Khán.

The Bájawṛ territory is generally correctly indicated in our maps, as in the Mullá's for example, but I must point out a serious error in Major Wilson's. Therein, only one of the eight dara'hs here described, and which is the Dara'h of Chanḍawul, is marked as constituting the whole of "Bajaur," while Birawal, under the name of "Baraol," which is also one out of eight, is made to appear as altogether a different territory from Bájawṛ, and to encroach considerably on the Ḳáshḳár State, whereas the crest of the lofty mountain range, running parallel to the Ḳáshḳár river on the east, marks the boundary between Ḳáshḳár, Kúnaṛ, Bájawṛ, and Panj-Korah, as mentioned at page 119, and note †. *See also* page 152.

gated from rivers, and wells are unusual in the country. The rulers levy a tax of one tenth on the produce of the former lands, and one fourth on the latter; and the revenue derived is very large.

"Bájawṛ is enclosed on every side by lofty and difficult mountain ranges, in such wise that, save by the specified routes, there is no entering that territory; and by these roads, artillery and similar heavy materials cannot be taken, there being no means of passage for such."*

"I now proceed to describe the eight dara'hs constituting the territory of Bájawṛ.†"

1. *The Dara'h of Rúd.*

"Of all the dara'hs comprising the territory of Bájawṛ, that of Rúd is the largest, most populous, and best cultivated, and in bygone times it was the dwelling-place of the 'Arab people, the ruling race. From Luháṛ-gaey (لهاړګي), probably L'waṛ-gaey—لوړګي‡ to the village of Khema'h, it extends for twenty kuroh in length, but it is comparatively narrow, being in some places only about two and three kuroh in breadth. South of it (and bounding it) is an exceedingly difficult mountain range, in which no routes are to be found. The chief town of Bájawṛ, which was the place of residence of the 'Arab Sardárs or Chiefs, and which place the Afghán tribes call by the name of 'the S'hahr' or 'the K'hahr,' that is, the town or city, is situated in the Dara'h of Rúd, in the southern part of it. West of the S'hahr or K'hahr, and distant one kuroh and a half, is the fort of Láshoṛa'h, a very strong place on the south bank of the rúd or river (giving name to the dara'h).§ It is stated that, from the time of its first foundation up to this day, no one has been able to possess himself of this fortress by force of arms."

This fort and dara'h, indeed the Bájawṛ territory generally, is historic ground in the history of the Khas'hí or Khak'hí sept, and their rivals the Ghwarí or Ghwaríah Khel, subsequent to the expulsion of the former from the neighbourhood of Kábul, which I shall give a short account of farther on.

2. *The Dara'h of Saur Kamar.*

"This dara'h is extensive, and from north to south, from Dánish-Kol to Chamar Khanḍey, it is just twelve kuroh in length; and from east to west, from Chinárí of Namshírín Khán‖ to Náwa'h-ga'í, about seven kuroh in breadth. Its inhabitants are Afgháns of four different tribes, Sáfís, Tarkalárnís, Mahmands, and Shinwárís, and they pay allegiance to Manṣúr 'Alí Khán, the Tarkalární chief.

"The dara'h is not very productive, the lands being dependent on rain for irrigation. The drainage water of the valley finds its way by the river bed, which is dry except after rains in the mountains. It runs through Dánish-Kol and Anbhár (the 'Anbar of the Afghán writers¶), and, passing through mountain tracts, joins the Suwád or Suwát river near the village of Tangaey."

3. *The Chhár-mang Dara'h.*

"The Chhár-mang Dara'h is much about the same length as the preceding, extending from north to south for a distance of twelve kuroh, and in breadth, from east to west, from near Náwa'h-ga'í to Koṭ-kaey, seven kuroh. The whole of the cultivated lands depend on rain for moisture, but the valley is nevertheless fruitful. The whole of the inhabitants are Tarkalárnís, under the sway of the before-mentioned Khán."

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* This, of course, is according to the author's private opinion, and that of some of his informants probably, but some of the routes herein described are evidently tolerably practicable for light guns, or, at least, might be made so.

Compare the account of "Bajáwar" contained in Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I., page 145.

† *See also* page 163.

‡ The same place as mentioned at page 144.

§ This dara'h is evidently named Rúd on account of the considerable river which runs through it, and which receives several smaller streams. The word also means a torrent; and rúd-bár signifies a river in a valley, a channel formed by a torrent, a tract in which several streams flow. *See* note *, page 164.

‖ *See* note *, page 113. In one copy this name appears as Tamshírí; but ذ and ڎ are very liable to be mistaken in MSS., the two points being often run into one in writing quickly.

¶ *See* page 123.

3. *The Útlaey Dara'h.*

"This is another dara'h of considerable size, extending in length, from the village of Nakhtar to Changází,* ten kuroh, and in breadth, from the village of Konkaey (کونکی†, Koṭ-kaey?) to that of Tarín, four kuroh. Its inhabitants are all Tarkalárnís.

"A small river issues from the mountain range north of this dara'h, near the village of Khirḳa'h,‡ which, running through this valley, near Changází, joins the rúd or river (of the dara'h of that name). The land in this valley is exceedingly fruitful. Its chief and largest villages are Gaṭ (probably Ghaṭ) and Ḍer."§

4. *The Dara'h of Bábú-Ḳará, or Bábá-Ḳara'h.*||

"This dara'h extends from the village of Rághaey to that of Bagandel, for fifteen kuroh in length from north to south, and is four kuroh in breadth from east to west. It is peopled by Tarkalární Afgháns, and is now included in Panj-Korah¶ (politically, he means), but belongs properly to Bájawṛ. In the extreme northern part of this dara'h there is a cleft or gorge in the mountains named Gibar, where, in ancient times, stood a fortress of great strength and of great height, the place of residence of the former Sardárs or Chiefs of Bájawṛ.

"When Bábar Bádsháh acquired predominance over it, after carrying on hostilities against Sulṭán, Ḥaidar 'Alí, the Suwádí or Suwátí (Gibarí), by attacking and capturing that fortress, he caused it to be demolished.** Up to this day they call that place Gibar. Near by it (*i.e.*, in that neighbourhood) is a small village called Kán-Baṭ,†† in which a few hundred families of the former ruling race—the 'Arab—dwell, who are styled Iskandarí.‡‡ They are subjects of the Tarkalárnís.

"From the mountains bounding this dara'h on the north a considerable river also issues, which, east of the village of Jár (جار), joins the Bájawṛ river."

5. *The Dara'h of Chanḍawul.*§§

"From the large village known as Kalaey-i-Míá-gán, or 'Village of the Míás, or Holy Men,' to Bánḍa'h-i-Khaṭak, or 'the Khaṭak Hamlet,'|||| this dara'h is sixteen kuroh in length and about five kuroh in breadth. It is inhabited exclusively by Tarkalárnís. From the mountains on its northern part a river issues, which, below the village of Jár, joins the river of the S'hahr or K'hahr, which is also known as the river of Bájawṛ."

6. *The Dara'h of Maidán.*

"This dara'h is much about the same extent as the preceding, being just sixteen kuroh in length, but it is not quite so broad as the Chanḍawul Dara'h, being only about three or four kuroh in breadth. The surface drainage water of this valley also flows towards the south, and below (the village of) Aogúsum¶¶ joins the river of the

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* *See* page 169.

† In all the copies of the MSS. it is کونکی, but it is possibly کوټکی or کوټ کی.

‡ Mentioned at page 152.

§ Gaṭ in Pus'hto signifies a large round stone or rock, but Ghaṭ means, large, stout, bulky, etc., and Ḍer signifies, much, in quantity or degree, and also in duration of time. The former village is referred to at page 143, and the latter at page 151.

|| Ḳará or Ḳarah is the Turkish for black.

¶ *See* my account of Panj-Korah, which is contained in the "Account of Upper and Lower Ḳáshḳár," "Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society," No. 294, for 1864, page 18.

** This differs from Bábar's account. *See* page 128, note ††, page 225, and my Translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 1042.

†† "Baṭ," in Pus'hto, signifies a "kiln," and "kán" is a Persian or Tájzík word, signifying a "quarry," or "mine."

‡‡ *See* pages 151, 162, note †, page 156, para. 14, and note † page 203, para. 5.

§§ This name is sometimes written, or, at least, appears to be written, Janḍawul, the three points of چ being run into one,—ج The word is evidently Turkish, signifying the rear, or the rear-guard, etc.

|||| These names are as Tájzíks would style them, but Afgháns would call the former "Kalaey da Miágáno," or "da Miágáno Kalaey," and the latter, "da Khaṭak Bánḍa'h." The former is the Mullá's "Miánkalái," as a person might write who did not understand its Pus'hto meaning, and the latter his "Bandái." They both appear in Major Wilson's map.

It was from this dara'h that Bábar Bádsháh advanced to attack the stronghold of the Gibarí Sulṭán, the Mír, Ḥaidar 'Alí, as related farther on, at page 30.

¶¶ *See* page 250. The Yúsufzís extend as far west as this point.

S'hahr, or Bájawṛ. Each of the five last-mentioned dara'hs are contiguous to each other, and the rivers flowing out of them all come from the northward, and, flowing south, unite with the river of the S'hahr, or of Bájawṛ, as it is also called.

"To the north of these dara'hs is a mountain range of vast elevation (about 10,000 feet), the climate of which is exceedingly cold; and from near the Kámáṉ territory (on the south-west) to the commencement of the country of Káshkár (in the direction of north-east) the range runs contiguously.* In it are routes difficult to pass, and which, save to the inhabitants of those districts, are impracticable, and horses and camels seldom proceed by them. That mountain range is moreover infested by the Tor Káfirís, or Sí'áh-Poshán, who cross the river of Chitrál or Káshkár, and lie in ambush near the routes, to waylay travellers, whom they put to death."

8. *The Dara'h of Birawal or Biráhwol.*†

"This dara'h extends from east to west for about sixteen kuroh, and on the north and south is bounded by lofty mountain tracts. Its climate is very severe. The drainage water of the dara'h joins the Báshkár river, or river of Báshkár,‡ more correctly, below Chugyá-ṭan, and flows on to Panj-Korah.

"Between the Birawal Dara'h and the previously mentioned dara'hs or valleys constituting the territory of Bájawṛ there is a lofty mountain range intervening,§ nevertheless, as the Tarkalární tribe of Afgháns inhabit it (the Birawal Dara'h), it is accounted in Bájawṛ, and not in Panj-Korah, but, when the former territory was under the rule of the 'Arab people, Birawal did not own allegiance to the Ḥákims or rulers of Bájawṛ."‖

Second Route. From Kábul to the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ.

"This is the left-hand route, and is as follows. From Sháḍ-Lám distant two kuroh (north-east?) is Dahana'h-i-Koh, signifying 'the Mountain Jaw,' or 'Jaw of the Mountain,' a place so called, and the town of Pashat lies on the left hand. From thence (Dahana'h-i-Koh) you proceed two kuroh east, then about the same distance north-east, and one kuroh north, after which, proceeding for another half a kuroh in the direction of south-east, you reach Kúz Danúhí, or Lower Danúhí, a large village belonging to the Tájzíks, on the banks of the river of Chitrál, or Káshkár.

"From this point two roads diverge. The left-hand road leads into Chitrál or Chitrár, the other to the S'hahr or K'hahr. From the before-mentioned Kúz Danúhí, having proceeded one kuroh north, you enter a narrow dara'h or defile of the mountains, and, wending your way through it for about half a kuroh in the direction of south-east, you begin to ascend the mountain range. Going upwards for the distance of a kuroh in the same direction of south-east, you reach a náwa'h, that is to say, a wooden spout, and the water from the mountain flows down through it.

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* This is the range previously alluded to as separating Bájawṛ and Panj-Korah from the Káshkár State, also known, or at least that portion of it north of Náwa'h-ga'í, as Hindú-Ráj. (*See* pages 119 and 124.) This range can be distinctly seen from Pes'háwar. I have often noticed, towards sunset, three distinct ranges from it, rising one over the other, the first of which, and the nearest, was the range forming the southern boundary of Bájawṛ (the ranges run almost parallel to the Káshkár river, from north-east to south-west), the second, that separating Kúnaṛ and Káshkár from Bájawṛ, in which is Kábul-Tsapar and Náwa'h-ga'í, here referred to; and the loftiest and most distant, the easternmost waves, in all probability, form the mighty range of Tíraj-Mír, Kunḍ, or Sarowar.

† Afgháns reject the aspirate in the word.

‡ An account of the Báshkár Dara'h will be found at page 192. This dara'h is not laid down in our maps; indeed, I may safely say that this is the first time it has been noticed, for, although well known, it has escaped the notice of the native explorers, the Ḥawál-dár and Mullá. Chugyá-ṭan does not appear in the Mullá's map, nor in Major Wilson's, although it is a place of some importance. This Báshkár is not contained in the "Kohistán of Swát," and is a totally different territory.

§ This range was crossed by the Ḥawál-dár, who calls it "the Jan battai mountains," probably on account of the village of Ján-Baṭey being immediately north of them. *See* page 167.

‖ Abú-l-Faẓl, in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, says, Bájawṛ is twenty-five kuroh in length, and from five to ten in breadth (in which he is rather mistaken, but perhaps he merely refers to that part under the nominal sway of the Mughals). It has Suwád on the east, Kaṭor and Káshghar (Káshkár in the Akbar Náma'h) on the north, south, Bagrám (the Pes'háwar district), and west Kúnaṛ and Núr-Gal. It contains a number of dara'hs, and numerous ancient cupolas (*see* page 180, note *). It has a strong fort, the seat of the ruler of the territory. Its climate resembles that of Suwád, but its cold and heat is a little more. There are but three routes leading into it. One goes from Hindústán, and that they call the Dánish-Kol route; the other two are on the Kábul side, one called the Smats road (*see* page 120), and the other, the Kúnaṛ Núr-Gal route. The easiest is the Dánish-Kol road. *See* also note † at page 203.

This route they also call the Náwa'h route* (from this *náwa'h* or wooden spout), and it is exceedingly narrow, and lies through dense *jangal*, which is infested by the Tor Káfirís, or Sí'áh-Posháa, who are in the habit of lying in ambush therein, and slaying travellers. Continuing to ascend from this point (the *náwa'h*) one kuroh farther in the direction of east, you reach the crest of the mountain range, and from that crest the Kúnaṛ territory terminates in that direction, and Bájawṛ begins.†

"There are two or three heaps of small stones or gravel here, and when travellers reach them they repeat the *fátihah* (the first chapter of the Ḳur'án, repeated when praying for the souls of the departed, or undertaking any momentous affair), for the place is very dangerous on account of the Tor Káfirís. They say that where a Káfirí has slain a Musalmán, there a heap of pebbles or gravel is raised to mark the spot, in order that wayfarers, who pass that way, may offer up a prayer for the defunct Musalmán's pardon.

"From these gravel or pebble heaps you begin to descend towards the east for half a kuroh, the road being exceedingly difficult. From the left hand a small rivulet comes, which, passing Chamar-Khanḍey, is expended in the irrigation of lands. On the right-hand side of the way is a deep basin or pool, and in it likewise is water, which, running to the south, is lost. Having proceeded from thence (the pool) one kuroh towards the south, you reach Bar or Upper Chamar-Khanḍ, the name of a small village, on the left-hand side of the road, belonging to the Tarkalární Afgháns, situated on a crag or acclivity of the mountains.

"Having descended from this village for half a kuroh in the direction of south, and then proceeding onward, in the same direction, for the distance of another kuroh in a river bed, you come to Kúz or Lower Chamar Khanḍ, which is also a small village belonging to the Shinwárí Afgháns, lying on the left-hand side of the way, on a hill or mountain ridge.

"Proceeding for the distance of half a kuroh to the south from the last-named village, you reach the Do-Ráhah—"The Two Roads"—and the village called Kalaey-i-Bahádur‡ shows itself on the crest of the mountains on the right hand.

"The road from the Do-Ráhah to the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ has been previously described."§

Fifteenth Route. From Kábul to the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bajawṛ by way of Gwashtah, a distance of one hundred and ten kuroh east.

"The different roads between Kábul and Jalál-ábád have been already described.

"Setting out from the latter place and proceeding three kuroh east, you come to Ílah-Baghá or 'Alí Baghán (*see* page 48, Section Second), a deserted place, the site of an ancient Tájzík town or city, on the banks of the river of Jalál-ábád (*i.e.*, the river of Kábul). You cross by means of a raft—for to ford it at any time is dangerous ‖—to the east (opposite) bank. A little farther to the east¶ is the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár,** which you must also cross on a raft if you desire to pass to the opposite bank.

"East of the before-mentioned river (the river of Kábul), and close to the mountains, are several villages, belonging to the Bá'ízí clan of the Mahmand tribe of Afgháns, named Gwashtah,†† and both rivers, the river of Jalál-ábád and the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, having flowed towards the right hand, unite. The Kámáṇ territory lies close by on the left-hand side."

According to this description, which agrees in all the copies of the author's work, our maps require considerable rectification.

Respecting Gwashtah there is a well-known saying among the Afgháns, "*Pah* "*Gwashtah k's'hey dzwánán shtah*"—"There are valiant youths in Gwashtah." In these days Gwashtah belongs chiefly to the descendants of a Musalmán saint of Sirhind in the north-west provinces of India, known as the Ḥaẓrat-i-Sirhindí, and Imám-i-Rabbání, Shaikh Aḥmad.

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* This is not the Náwa'h-ga'í,—the little náwa'h,—and the fort mentioned at page 113, but another Náwa'h farther north in the same range, which makes a bend to the east, and is known as Hindú-Ráj. *See* the account of the war between the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs and the Khalíls, related at page 124, and page 126.

† To those who are acquainted with them, the boundaries of all these States are well defined, and are the natural boundaries likewise.

‡ *See* following page and page 182.

§ *See* page 113.

‖ As the 10th Hussars found to their cost.

¶ *Sic* in MSS., but according to our maps it would be west. Such it is in four copies of the text, however.

** Our geographers persist in calling this river "the Koonur" even as far up as Mastúch, which is quite incorrect. *See* pages 121 and 172.

†† Incorrectly written "Gushtia," and "Goshti," in our maps, and by writers "Ghoshter" and "Goshter."

When Aḥmad Sháh, Abdálí, Durr-i-Durrán, upon one occasion entered Hind (in 1756), the territory of Sirhind, which the Gúrgáníah Sulṭáns (the descendants of Amír Tímúr), especially Aurang-zeb Bádsháh, had granted as an endowment to the family of that holy man, was resumed and taken possession of by the Afghán monarch, and the holy man's descendants thus became deprived of their possessions, and dispersed every here and there. When the Sháh-i-Zamán, Aḥmad Sháh's grandson, came to the throne of the Durrání kingdom, he, who was a disciple of the sect of the saint of Sirhind, conferred upon his descendants the territory of Gwashtah, and brought the dispersed members of the family there; and, up to this time, that small tract of territory is in their possession.

This grant was made subsequent to the time this survey was made, in the reign of the father of the Sháh-i-Zamán, Tímúr Sháh.

To resume the account of the route.

"From Gwashtah you proceed two kuroh east to Da Musáfiro Chína'h—'The Traveller's Spring,'—the name of a halting place, where there is a small spring of water, as the name indicates. The road consists of excess of ascents and descents. Nine kuroh farther east from thence is Bed Maní, the name given to a cluster of villages belonging to the Mahmand tribe of Afgháns, and the road thither is much the same as already described, full of ascents and descents. One kuroh east from these villages is a small defile known as the Bed Maní Ghás'haey or Ghák'haey, and the villages lie on the left-hand side.

"Three kuroh farther east from thence are two villages belonging to the Sáfí Afghán tribe. The village on the right-hand side of the way is called Anjiṛah, in some copies Inziṛa'h,* and on the left, Bar (Upper) Chinárí, and the Dara'h of Shún-krí,† and the *smats* or cavern of Kábul Tsapar lie near by, on the left-hand side of the route.

"The remainder of the route from Bar Chinárí to the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ has been described at pages 112 to 114."

Sixteenth Route. From Pes'háwar to Kúnaṛ, or Kunaṛ, and Núr-Gal.

"The route from Pes'háwar, and also from Kábul, to Bar or Upper Chinárí, and other routes leading from Kábul to the same point, have been described above.

"From Bar Chinárí two roads branch off. The left-hand one leads by Shún-krí to Kúnaṛ, as has been already mentioned: the right-hand route is as follows:—

"Setting out from Bar Chinárí you proceed four kuroh north, inclining north-west, to Kalaey-i-Bahádur,‡ or 'Bahádur's Village,' belonging to the Shinwári Afgháns, situated on a hill or spur of the mountains. On the way thither you pass a large lake, known as the Júhaṛ of Mullá Baní. Júhaṛ signifies, in the Hindí language, a hollow or depression at the foot of a mountain, which, after heavy rains, is filled with water from the mountain torrents.§ The village of Liwanaey lies on the right hand, and the village of Shún-krí on the left.

"You then proceed from the júhaṛ in question for a distance of two kuroh in the direction of north, ascending the mountain range by a pass, and reach the crest. This pass is known as the Során Ghás'haey, and it is a difficult one. The village of Chamar Khanḍ, mentioned at pages 119 and 173, lies about four kuroh distant on the right hand. Having descended from the crest of the range‖ on the other side for a distance of three kuroh in the direction of north, and then going another kuroh and a half north, inclining north-west, you reach Sháḍ-Lám. From thence you proceed towards Pashat, Kúnaṛ, and Núr-Gal, by the route described at page 111."

Seventeenth Route. From Pes'háwar to Kámáṇ, by way of the River of Kábul.

"Leaving the city of Pes'háwar and proceeding four kuroh to the north-west you reach Matharah Khel, and from thence go on another kuroh west to Gárá or Gára'h,¶

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* *See* page 114.

† *See* pages 111 and 112.

‡ *See* preceding page and page 182.

§ In the Pus'hto language a similar word, evidently derived from the Hindí, namely جويړ, pronounced *jo-eyṛ*, signifies a hollow or ditch in which rain water accumulates. This lake or mere is mentioned at page 182. There was another *jo-eyṛ* in the Langar-Koṭ Dara'h, in the Sama'h, but it is only a marsh now.

‖ This is the range separating Bájawṛ from Kúnaṛ and Ḳáshḳár. Here you cross it between the *smats* or cavern of Kábul Tsapar and Náwa'h-ga'í.

¶ Not "Mutthra," nor "Igara."

a village so called after a clan of the Khalíl Afgháns. Another two kuroh in the direction of north-west brings you to the Gaṛhí or Fortlet of Sher Dád, and from thence you proceed to Míchaṟna'í, distant between two and three kuroh, allowing for the winding of the road, in the direction of north, inclining north-west. It lies on the other (north) side of the river of Kábul, which you have to cross, and is a large village under the sway of Arsalá Khán, Mahmand.*

"From this village Shah Ḳadr† lies about five kuroh away on the right hand; and from Míchaṟna'í to La'l-púr Ḍhákah the distance is about twenty-five kuroh in the direction of west. Gwashtah lies on the right hand as you proceed towards Kámáṉ, and Bhaṭí-Koṭ on the left. Travellers coming from Kámáṉ, down the river, embark on rafts, and go on to Pes'háwar, but, in some places, there is danger of losing one's life, on account of the surging and dashing of the waters. You cannot proceed up the river from Pes'háwar to Kámáṉ by raft: it is impossible."

"It will be necessary here to give a brief account of Kámáṉ, and the Mahmand tribe, before resuming the route."

The Territory of Kámáṉ.

"The Kámáṉ territory,‡ or Dara'h, as it is also called, which is about seventeen kuroh in length, contains sixty large villages, inhabited by the Tájzíks, under the sway of Dín-dár Khán, chief of the Báí'zí division of the Mahmand tribe, who dwells at Gwashtah, and which villages are situated on either side of the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, which, on its entering the Kámáṉ territory, is there sometimes called 'the river of Kámáṉ,' in the same way as it is at times styled 'the river of Kúnaṛ' when it reaches that Dara'h.§ Although some Afgháns of the Sáfí and Mahmand tribes‖ dwell in the Kámáṉ Dara'h, nevertheless the Tájzíks were the ancient landowners and proprietors.

"From opposite Núr-Gal a great canal has been cut from the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, and brought into their lands. On such as are irrigated from canals, from one third to one fourth of the value of the crops produced is collected in money, but on other lands one tenth of the produce in kind is assessed. The total amount of revenue is computed at 60,000 rúpís yearly. All descriptions of fruit are produced in this district. The river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár flows through it, and unites with the river of Kábul about two kuroh or more east of Jalál-ábád. Kámáṉ lies parallel to the latter river for a distance of eighteen kuroh, on its northern bank.

"The number of Tájzík inhabitants amounts to between 10,000 and 12,000 families; and the people have to furnish a contingent of troops to the army of the Durrání sovereign."

Bábar Bádsháh, in his Tuzúk, says, "Kámah (as he writes it) gets the name of a "*bulúk*, although it is a dependency of Nek-Nihár (Nangrahár), and not a distinct "district."

Under the revenue system of Akbar Bádsháh's reign there was no fixed assessment for this *bulúk* or district.

The Mahmand Tribe.

"The Mahmands are one of the five Afghán tribes constituting the Ghwarí sept, also known as the Ghwaríah Khel,¶ the rivals of the Khas'hís or Khak'hís, as already mentioned. They are a numerous tribe, and said to number, in all, about 20,000 families. A large portion of them dwell within the Sirkár or Province of Pes'háwar, but those particularly referred to here dwell immediately west of it, and on the northern bank of the river of Kábul. The Mahmands contain a number of sub-

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* Arsalá is the shortened form of Arsalán, the Turkish for lion. *See* page 43.

† *See* Thirty-sixth Route, page 182.

‡ *See* MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part II., "Afghanistan," page 488, and compare. Kúnaṛ and Kámáṉ are totally different districts, or rather territories.

§ *See* page 119, and note **, and page 154.

‖ Chiefly Sáfís and Mahmands, but there are a few others, as will be found mentioned in the routes leading through Kámáṉ.

¶ Col. C. M. MacGregor, in his "Central Asia," Part I., Vol. II., page 140, says: "Elphinstone says they "(the Khalíls), with the Mohmands and Daúdzáis, formed the Ghoríá Khél *clan* of Afgháns." Elphinstone, on the contrary, says, "the Mehmends, Dawoodzyes, and Khullels formed the Ghoree or Ghoreea *khail*," not *clan*. Elphinstone is generally pretty accurate, but he is not quite so here. The Ghwarís or Ghwaríah Khel (not Ghoree, for this erroneous mode of spelling the term has caused two or three writers to make them dwellers in Ghúr) consisted of five tribes of Afgháns—Mahmand, Khalíl, Dá'údzí, Zeṛání, and Chamkaní. *See* note ‡, page 125.

There is no district actually called Chamkaní, but the term "the district of the Chamkanís" might be used. Chamkaní is, however, the name of a small town east of Pes'háwar, mentioned at page 34, Section Second, and called after this tribe.

tribes, but those located west of Pes'háwar, form two divisions or septs known as Trag-zí and Bá'ízí, which again are subdivided into several sections.*

"They dwell in a strong and difficult tract of country, in which there are but few routes, and those are very difficult. Some of these western Mahmands, as they may be called for distinction, live in fixed habitations in villages, and some lead the life of *ílâts* or nomads. Their country, from the Khaibar to the Kúnaṛ boundary (including Kámán, above described), is about forty kuroh in length from east to west, and from the hill tracts west of (and bounding) the Do-Ába'h of Shab-Kadr to Gwashtah and Kámán, about the same in breadth. Their territory may be said to constitute a maze of mountains. Their villages are few, and water is scarce.

"The chieftain-ship lies with the choice and accord of the tribe. Dín-dár Khán, the chief of the Bá'ízí division, dwells at Gwashtah, and the Kámán territory, as before stated, is under his sway. The principal place and residence of the chief of the Trag-zí division is La'l-púr Ḍhákah;† and as they hold a small part of the country on the southern bank of the river of Kábul, through which the Khaibar defile runs, a small *jágír* or fief has been assigned by the Durrání sovereign to the Trag-zí chief for the time being. At the present time (when the author wrote) the Sardár or Chief of the Trag-zís is Arsalá (the shortened form of Arsalán) Khán, son of Balúch Khán, son of Zain Khán, which latter was a Sipah-Sálár, or leader of troops, and one of the great nobles of the Court of Aḥmad Sháh, Durrání. He held the Ṣúba'h-dár-ship of Sirhind after its conquest from the Dihlí Bádsháh by that monarch.

"Arsalá Khán is a man of great intrepidity and valour. He has rebelled against the authority of Tímúr Sháh, fled from La'l-púr Ḍhákah, and taken up his abode in that part of the difficult hill tracts bordering on Bájawṛ in which dwell the Utmán Khel tribe of Afgháns. Between him and Dín-dár Khán an ancestral blood feud exists, and each has slain the father of the other. Both divisions of these western Mahmands have to furnish contingents of troops to the Bádsháh's army."

Shortly after the author wrote this account of him, Arsalá Khán gained over the Afrídís and some other neighbouring tribes of Afgháns to his side, returned, took up his quarters at Ḍháka'h, closed the Khaibar to Tímúr Sháh's forces, and defied all authority. Troops were sent against him several times, but they could effect nothing. Merchants and others, who made him presents in money, he would permit to pass to and fro. With such he would despatch one of his men, and this escort was sufficient to secure them from all molestation from one end of the Khaibar to the other.

Subsequently, the Káẓí, Faiẓ-ullah, Tímúr Sháh's chief minister, promised Arsalá Khán, most solemnly, that, if he would present himself at Court, he should be pardoned for the past. As soon as Arsalá Khán, on the faith of this promise, made his appearance, the Káẓí had him seized and cast into prison, and proposed to put him to death. Tímúr Sháh, to his credit, refused to allow the pledge thus given to be broken; but the Káẓí had great influence over the by no means strong character of the Sháh, hence the troubles of his reign, and he so worked upon the mind of Tímúr that, at last, he convinced him that it was necessary to the well-being of the State that Arsalá Khán should be put to death, and the Sháh gave up the point. Arsalá Khán was tied to the fore-legs of an elephant and crushed to death. This event took place shortly before the death of Tímúr Sháh, on the 7th of Shawwál, 1207 H. (May, 1792, A.D.)

I have before mentioned that Bájawṛ and parts adjacent are historic ground in the annals of the Yúsufzí, Mandaṛ, Dilazák, Tarkalární, and other Afghán tribes now dwelling there; and as some of the events which therein happened illustrate the geography of those parts, I need scarcely make apology for briefly relating a few of them here. The extracts are from original sources in the Pus'hto language, and have never yet appeared, to the best of my belief, in any other, and certainly not in any European language.

When the main portion of the Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ tribe of the Khas'hí or Khak'hí sept, which also includes the Gagyání‡ and Tarkalární, after the massacre of their Chief, and the headmen of families, by command of Mírzá Ulugh Beg, uncle of Bábar Bádsháh,

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* Mahmand, the progenitor of this tribe, had twelve sons, three of whom died without issue. The remaining nine are the progenitors of the nine divisions of the tribe. These again are subdivided, and some of these latter, as in the case of the Bá'ízí and Tragzí, and some others, have so vastly increased while others have decreased, that the names of the progenitors of some of the nine divisions have become quite eclipsed by its offshoots. It is chiefly from two of these nine divisions, each of which again contains several ramifications, one having eleven, and the other six each, that the Mahmands of Pes'háwar come.

† *See* pages 43 and 174.

‡ Those persons who assert that the Gagyánís "are not allowed by other Patháns to be of the genuine race" have much to learn respecting Afghán genealogies.

reached the Pes'háwar district, broken, fatigued, and powerless, they applied to their brother Afgháns and Musalmáns, the Dilazáks, for help, and a place in which to take up their residence. The Dilazáks assigned them the Do-Ábah district.* Malik Aḥmad,† their Chief, on the part of his people, expressed their gratitude, but, at the same time, pointed out that the Do-Ábah was but a small district, and that numbers of his people remained behind, who intended to rejoin their kinsfolk as soon as they should find a home, and then they would not all find room to dwell in and obtain a livelihood.

The Dilazáks, on this, told him that, if the Do-Ábah should not be large enough to support them, there was Dánish-Kol, and 'Anbar‡ as far as Bájawṛ, which they might occupy. Malik Aḥmad was delighted at this, and still more so on being told that, if they chose, his people might, by their swords, win the 'Ash-Naghar district from the Shalmání tribe§ of Dihgáns, who were subjects of the Sulṭán of Suwát, but which district did not belong to the Dilazáks to give.

The Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs took up their residence in the Do-Ábah accordingly, and, soon after, the widows and orphans who had remained behind, those of the tribes who had been away on mercantile expeditions when the massacre took place, and the nomads among them, who had previously moved with their flocks and herds into other parts, began to join them day by day.

The latter people, with their families and property, under Mír Jamál, son of Báyazíd, the Mandaṛ, of the Amánzí clan, moved towards 'Anbar and Dánish-Kol, some settling in one place, some in another. Besides these, some large families of the Mandaṛ tribe, chiefly Amánzís, Kamálzís, and Mámúzís, and some of the Yúsufzí tribe, for the most part Khwájúzís, went on into Bájawṛ, and took up their residence in the Láshoṛa'h Dara'h,|| "where at this time," says one of the authors from whose works these extracts are taken, "is the grave of my grandfather [he wrote previous to 975 H., 1567 A.D.], the "Shaikh, Mír Dád, the Tarnákí Mútízí, of the Afghán Khel." This they did by virtue of the permission given them by the Dilazáks, as before mentioned; but the latter "had reckoned," apparently, "without their host," for a great and renowned Chieftain of the 'Umr Khel section of the Dilazák Afgháns, together with about one thousand families of his clan, were then dwelling in the Dara'h of Chanḍawul in Bájawṛ.

The 'Umr Khel was the bravest clan among the Dilazáks, and their chief, Malik Haibú, son of Jattah, at the time the heads of the Dilazák tribe held counsel respecting the assignment of lands to the fugitive Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, was not present. The Dilazáks had thus given up a part of Bájawṛ apparently, without his concurrence, and he determined to prevent the occupation.

To be brief, when this portion of the Mandaṛs and Yúsufzís came to take up their residence in the Láshoṛa'h Dara'h, with the intention of occupying the Chanḍawul Dara'h also, which was one of the best districts of that part, Malik Haibú marched from thence, at the head of his clansmen, and took up a position over above the village of Laka'h Tíjza'h, signifying, in the Pus'hto language, an upright monolith rather flattened at the sides, which, at present (when the author above referred to wrote, and is probably still there) stands exactly on the bank of the Láshoṛa'h river.¶ The Mandaṛs and Yúsufzís were dwelling in the villages of Ṭop and Makharna'í, with about a mile between themselves and the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks. These villages lie south of the Láshoṛa'h river, the first on the crest of a mountain, and the latter about half way up the mountain side.**

The Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs were now joined by a portion of the Khalíl tribe, which had, some time previously, quarrelled with the other tribes of their sept, the Ghwarís or Ghwaríah Khel, had left Tarnak and Ḳal'át,†† in the northern part of the Ḳandahár territory, and had reached those parts, and taken up their abode in the Láshoṛa'h Dara'h. The confederates mustered their fighting men in the plain near Láshoṛa'h, "where at this time (says the writer before referred to) the 'Arabs' castle and the

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* Also known as the Do-Ábah of Shab Ḳadr. It forms the north-west corner of the Pes'háwar district as at present constituted.

† He was brother's son of Malik Sulímán Sháh, the murdered chief.

‡ 'Anbar is the name of a small tract or district, known at present as Anbhar, as well as 'Anbar, situated in the tract of country, in these days occupied by the Mahmands, near Dánish-Kol, and is said to contain the ruins of a very ancient city. There is no such place or tract as "Dánash Kul." It is written in the vernacular دانش كول. *See* page 116.

§ *See* page 36, and note ‡, page 175.

|| *See* pages 114 and 116.

¶ *See* pages 114 and 116.

** These places are still well known. Ṭop means a cupola among other significations.

†† Now known as Ḳal'át-i-Ghalzí, or "Ḳal'át of the Ghalzís" to distinguish it from Ḳal'át-i-Bráhú-í, or "Ḳal'át of the Bráhú-ís," which people *will* write *Khelat*, though there is no "*kh*" in the word.

S'hahr" or "the K'hahr" stands,* and Malik Haibú, of the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks, marched from Laka'h Tejza'h to confront them.

Seeing his array, the confederates retired towards their breastworks, from which they had sallied out; and Malik Haibú followed them to the banks of the river of Láshoṛa'h, also called the Khalúzí river, which they had crossed in their advance. The Dilazák chief passed over in pursuit, and followed them up to their villages.

The Tarkalárnís and part of the Mahmands, who are respectively tribes of the septs of Khas'hí or Khak'hí and Ghwarí, were, at the period in question, dwelling, the former in Lamghán, and the latter in the neighbourhood of the city of Kábul, towards the south. Hearing of the rupture between Malik Haibú, the Dilazák, and the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, and being desirous of obtaining possession of some secure tract of country wherein to settle, they determined to have a hand in the matter, and act as might be found advantageous for themselves. A desire to help their respective kinsmen may have influenced the Tarkalárnís and Mahmands to some degree, but neither of them went in order to merely aid or support their rivals of the Khas'hí and Ghwarí septs. Their Chiefs set out accordingly at the head of bodies of their respective tribes, and entered Bájawṛ, under the pretence of endeavouring to reconcile the disputants, by force of arms, a system of logic as prevalent in these so-called enlightened days, and in civilized countries, as in the olden time.

Although they offered their "friendly intervention," and advised Malik Haibú to agree to the arrangement made by the generality of his tribe, he refused to give up the Láshoṛa'h Dara'h,† much less that of Chanḍawul. Under the supposition that these Tarkalárnís and Mahmands would remain neutral, and not offer their friendly intervention, at least until a proper time, Malik Haibú attacked the Yúsufzís, Mandaṛs, and Khalíls, but the Tarkalárnís and Mahmands soon took the side of their respective kinsmen, and joined in the fray. A desperate fight ensued, in which the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks were overpowered and defeated by their much more numerous opponents, and Malik Haibú was killed. One Pá'índah, a Kákazí Tarkalární, first smote that Malik with his sword, and another of the same clan, Burhán, by name, smote him on the neck with his, and the Malik's head rolled upon the ground. Mír Jamál, Mandaṛ, of the Amánzí clan, previously mentioned, dismounted from his horse, and stripped Malik Haibú's body of his armour, a very valuable suit, and carried it off as well as his sword. These trophies remained in the family of Mír Jamál for many generations, and it is said by another writer, that, "even to this day" (he wrote in 1032 H., 1622–23 A.D.), "they are still in the possession of Mír Jamál's descendants, who dwell "among the Amánzís in the Sher Dara'h, which lies between the Sama'h and Buner."

Malik Haibú's brother also fell in this battle, and the defeated 'Umr Khel Dilazáks retired again into the Dara'h of Chanḍawul. The Tarkalárnís and Mahmands, telling the Mandaṛs, Yúsufzís, and Khalíls, that they had won Bájawṛ for them, returned home again, as did the Yúsufzís of the Do-Ábah, who came to the aid of their kinsmen. The 'Umr Khel Dilazáks of Chanḍawul, however, very soon found they could not remain there after this affair, and, family by family, they began to set out in order to reach the lower country (the Pes'háwar plain). But the Yúsufzís and Khalíls would not permit them to proceed by the Láshoṛa'h route, and at last they had to come down into the Dara'h of Mihr,‡ in the south-eastern part of Bájawṛ, through tracts where there was no way out, and they settled in 'Anbar and Dánish-Kol.

The Yúsufzís, Mandaṛs,§ and Khalíls divided Bájawṛ among themselves, the latter obtaining the Dara'h of Láshoṛa'h (the Rúd Dara'h), as far as Hindú-Ráj, the Dara'h of Chhár-mang, and Náwa'h-ga'í, while the two former took possession of the Dara'hs of Chanḍawul and Bábá-Ḳará, but soon after fresh enmity arose between them and the Khalíls, and they came to blows. As many of either tribe as conveniently could came to the aid of their kinsmen. They encountered each other at a place between the village of Láshoṛa'h and the boundary separating it from the Dara'h of Bábá-Kara'h, on the steep banks of a small river called the Bárík-Áb or "Slender or Narrow River or Stream" (in Pus'hto Nara'í Aobah).

It is the very same place where, in after years, Muhammad Bábar Bádsháh pitched his camp. There is a precipice on one side, and on the other a deep trench or ditch,

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* *See* pages 114 and 116.

† This is the Rúd Dara'h previously described at page 116.

‡ The Dara'h of Mihr is a small one, in the country of the Mahmands, at the entrance or commencement of the Bájawṛ territory. The minor range bounding it on one side is called Koh-i-Mihr, turned into "Mohur" in our maps. There are some of the Utmán Khel tribe located there now.

§ Not the whole tribes, merely those among those tribes who had taken up their residence in part of Bájawṛ.

which he caused to be excavated when he captured Gibar Koṭ from Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí, who was the Sulṭán of the Gibarís. He left his own Ḥákim or Governor over the remaining Gibarís, and returned to Kábul. Subsequently, Zain Khán, Kokal-Tásh, when he came into these parts against the Yúsufzís (in the year 995 H, 1587 A.D.), erected a fort of unburnt brick here, which was named Chhár Ḳala', and its remains are still to be seen.*

The fight above referred to was severe and obstinate, and ended in the defeat of the Yúsufzís and Manḍars of Bájawṛ, who fled, pursued by the Khalíls, across the river of the Chanḍawul Dara'h, and entered what was afterwards known as Panj-Korah. The Khalíls behaved well on this occasion, inasmuch that they did not interfere with their villages, nor burn them; neither did they intrude upon or molest their families, although their dwellings lay in their route when pursuing the vanquished Khas'hís.

The Yúsufzí and Manḍaṛ tribes determined to avenge themselves upon the Khalíls for this act of hostility towards their brethren in Bájawṛ, and to punish them for the dishonesty which had brought it about, the account of which is too long for insertion here. Their enmity was nothing new, for their hostility was the cause of the Khas'hí sept abandoning their old country around Nushkí† and Gháṛa'h, and removing into the territory dependent on Kábul. At the time that the Yúsufzís and Manḍaṛs resolved upon attacking the Khalíls, two of the other tribes‡ constituting the Ghwarí sept or Ghwaríah Khel, namely, all the Dá'údzís, and part of the Mahmands, who had left their old seats about Muḳur and Ḳarah Bágh, subsequent to the migration of the Khas'hís, and had followed them into the Kábul territory, were, up to this period, dwelling there, but the remainder of the Mahmands were still occupying their old seats§ around Muḳur and Ḳarah Bágh.‖

The Yúsufzís and Manḍaṛs on this account resolved to act promptly, so that the Khalíls might not have time to obtain aid from the Dá'údzís and Mahmands in the Kábul territory. At this time the Yúsufzís and Manḍaṛs had possessed themselves of all the country from the Do-Ábah to Kálah-Páṛní, and from the mountains bounding Suwát on the north to the junction of the Jinda'h Sín with the Lanḍaey Sín—as the river of Kábul, from the Dobandí ford to Aṭak, is here called by the Afgháns—on the south, including the 'Ash-Naghar district, with the exception of 'Ash-Naghar itself, which, with its fortress, was still in the possession of the Shalmánís. This large tract of country extended from Ḥiṣára'h Kanda'h to Ḥiṣár-i-Balúl, Káṭlang, Ḥiṣár-i-Be-gham, Sangáwo, Sher-Khána'í,¶ the Báz Dara'h, as far as the Mhora'h and Mala-khanḍ Passes into Suwát, Ṭútí, Káj-kala'h, and Síoṛna'h; in fact, the whole plain country under the mountains, or "Taḥt-ul-Jibál,"** as those words signify. In these parts the Yúsufzís and Manḍaṛs were then dwelling with the associated tribes of Utmán Khel, Jzadún, K's'hár (pronounced Gadún and K'k'hár by the Eastern Afgháns), and their humsáyahs or vassals. These events will be mentioned farther on.

Having held counsel together, it was determined by Malik Aḥmad, and other lesser Chiefs, to assemble their forces, and advance by way of the Kaṛappa'h Pass and Pund-yála'í into the small Dara'h of Dánish-Kol, which they did, and there they pitched their camp.

In the meantime the Bájawṛ Yúsufzís and Manḍaṛs of Chanḍawul and Bábá-Ḳara'h had, through their headmen, thrown themselves on the protection†† of the family of the

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* See pages 112 and 169. Abú-l-Faẓl, in his history of Akbar's reign, says it was named Fatḥ-ábád.

† No one could be expected to recognize this place under such a name as "Múshaki." It lies about 30 miles south of Ghaznín, and the lands, formerly tilled by the Yúsufzís and others of the Khas'hí sept, are now cultivated by Ghalzís of the Andar clan.

‡ The other two tribes are Zeṛání and Chamkaní. The latter we have heard a little of lately, and shall probably hear much more hereafter.

§ Bábar Bádsháh surprised and plundered a body of Mahmands near Muḳur in 914 H (1508 A.D.). The Muḥammadzí, now dwelling in the 'Ash-Naghar district, and the Gagyánís of the Do-Ábah of Shab-Ḳadr, were at this period, located west of the Khaibar pass.

‖ Muḳur, but not "Múkúr," is situated between Ghaznín and Ḳal'át-i-Ghalzí, but rather nearer by 10 miles to the former place. Ḳarah-Bágh (قره باغ) is a well known place, but "Kárábágh" is incorrect. It is not generally known that these places and parts around were the old seats of the Khas'hís and Ghwarís.

¶ Sangáwo and Sher-Khána'í are two of the four villages taken by Colonel Bradshaw's force in December, 1849. The others were Pala'í and Zormanda'í. My regiment formed part of the expedition; and I had the honour of commanding the rear companies on retiring from the three latter, followed by bodies of Afgháns, and of being chosen next day to command the rear guard of the force on retiring from the Báz Dara'h, for the first march towards Hasht-Nagar, and for which expedition I have another medal and clasp.

** تحت الجبال, which Von Dorn mistook for "Takht-ul-Jabal," تخت الجبل. See his "History of the Afghans," Part II., page 131.

†† This is termed *nanawátah*, the verbal noun of the verb *nanawatal*, to enter, etc., and signifying "taking

late Malik Haibú, Chief of the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks, who, as already related, had been killed, on a previous occasion, fighting against the Khalíls, Yúsufzís, and Mandaṛs combined, and besought forgiveness and pardon for slaying that chief. Not only did the 'Umr Khels forgive them, but agreed to take up their cause against the Khalíls; and a force of the 'Umr Khels joined them, and went and effected a junction with the main force then encamped in the Dánish-Kol Dara'h.

The assembled Chiefs again held counsel together, and it was agreed that the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks, and the Bájawṛ Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, under Mír Jamál, the Amánzí, a quarrel between whom and a Khalíl respecting the sale of some horses had brought this hostility about, should advance from thence (Dánish-Kol) by the route and defile practicable only for men on foot and lightly equipped horsemen, towards Chhár-mang, which commanded the position of the Khalíls (they occupied, it must be remembered, the western half of Bájawṛ from Náwa'h-ga'í and the Hindú-Ráj range, bounding Kúnaṛ on the east and Káshḳár on the south), occupy it, and guard the Náwa'h-ga'í route,* so that the Khalíls might not be able to fly into Lamghán and to Kábul by way of Pashat and Kúnaṛ, neither receive aid from that direction, while the Do-Ábah Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, and their allies, should advance into Bájawṛ by the Runbat Ghás'haey or Pass.†

When the main force reached the crest of the Ghás'haey, they beheld beneath them, in the Láshoṛa'h valley, a numerous force drawn up, and they pushed on to encounter it. It proved to be the Khalíls, who had surprised and killed Mír Jamál's brother, who had been left in charge of the villages and families during the latter's absence with the 'Umr Khels and his own available clansmen. At the outset of the affair, on hearing of the intended movements of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, and their allies, the Khalíls had retired with their families and effects towards the Dara'h of Hindú-Ráj, where they threw up breastworks and erected other defences to secure the position. "Chhár-mang," says the Yúsufzí author, "is the name of a considerable Dara'h‡ "adjoining Hindú-Ráj, and the latter is the name of a mountain range which contains "a considerable dara'h. The people inhabiting it at this period were known as Hindú-"Rájí;§ and at the present time, which is the year 1033 H. (1623–24 A.D..), on the "southern side of that mountain range, and in the Hindú- Ráj Pass, the Ismá'ílzí clan "of the Tarkalární Afgháns dwell; and the northern side, as in ancient times, is still "inhabited by the race of people known as Káfirí, and all the tracts on that side are "in their possession."

I must be brief, however, as the whole of the details in consecutive order will be given in my forthcoming History of the Afgháns. I have mentioned a few here in order to illustrate the routes herein given, as they are all the practicable ones leading in and out of Bájawṛ and its eight Dara'hs, in case we may, at any time, have to penetrate into those parts.

When Mír Jamál, Amánzí, was despatched with his people and the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks, by the Chhár-mang route, he was directed to occupy the upper part of the Dara'h of that name, and seize the Hindú-Ráj Ghás'haey or Pass. He was then to send to the Hindú-Ráj people and say that they should come and occupy the pass; that he with his force had taken up a commanding position; and that, as the main army was advancing from below, by their, the Hindú-Ráj people's, co-operation, they would be able to surround the Khalíls completely, and clear the country entirely of them. Further, that they, the Hindú-Ráj people, should be left as before in possession of all the country on the northern side of the Ghás'haey or Pass, and all south should appertain to them, the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs. The Hindú-Ráj people agreed to these terms, and they went and secured the Hindú-Ráj Ghás'haey.

The main force, having advanced by the lower road over the Runbat Ghás'haey, as already mentioned, reached a point within about a kuroh of the dara'h between Chhár-mang and Hindú-Ráj, at the head of which, as before related, the Khalíls had

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"refuge in the house of another." It is a point of honour in such cases, and demonstrated above, to take up the cause of, and even to sacrifice one's life in protecting, those who have sought an asylum under one's roof. It is not peculiar to the Dilazák Afgháns, any more than to the so-called "Yúsafzáis," but is usual among the Afghán people generally.

* At this period the Náwa'h-ga'í route appears to have been chiefly used in going from Suwát and the country inhabited by the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs to Kábul. Malik Aḥmad went by that route when summoned to Kábul by Bábar Bádsháh. Passing through Kúnaṛ he made his way by Mandrawaṛ to Kábul by the route I have referred to in note *, page 99, which is by far the easiest between Jalál-ábád and that city.

† There is a small village called Runbat now dependent on 'Anbar.

‡ *See* page 116.

§ That is, in all probability, 'Arabs of Hindú-Ráj, for there were no people actually called Hindú-Ráji.

thrown up *sangars* or breastworks, and which, on that account, was afterwards known as the Sangar Dara'h. The Khalíls upon this issued from their breastworks, in good order, and with much resolution, and advanced into the more open part of the dara'h or valley to oppose them. The spot on which they took up their position was inhabited by the descendants of Malik Yár Ḥusain, a Tarkalární of the Aoríází clan, when the Yúsufzí author wrote. Here a great battle was fought between the rival septs, and disputed with much obstinacy on either side. Victory hung in the balance when Mír Jamál, Amánzí, and his clansmen, along with the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks and the Hindú-Ráj people (who had been detached for the purpose of getting into the rear of their position), moved upon the Khalíl *sangar* to attack it. Intimation of this now reached the Khalíls, who for a time wavered, doubtful whether to continue to oppose the main force of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, or retire and defend their *sangar* from the threatened attack.

This decided the battle. They became confused, broke, and fled in the direction of the *sangar* in which their families and property had been placed for safety. Numbers of the Khalíls perished on the battle field, many in the flight, pursued by the victors, but most of them died within the *sangar* itself defending their families. The *sangar* was captured and plundered, and the families and children of the Khalíls became captive, while those who succeeded in making their escape, fled towards Náwa'h-ga'í.

It is stated that the number of captives was so great that Yúsufzís and others sold many Khalíl boys and maidens for an earthen pot apiece. The victors passed the night on the field, and when morning came, Malik Aḥmad and other Chiefs held council together, and directed that all the Khalíl captives should be set free, which was done. The Bájawṛ Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs were now left in quiet possession of their lands in that territory, the remainder being still held by its former inhabitants, and those of the Do-Ábah and Sama'h returned home flushed with success.

This brief account of the expulsion of the Khalíls from Bájawṛ, in which they never again obtained a footing, is one of the "blanks" in Afghán history, for series of years together, which we are assured of in histories "from the earliest times."

The Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs after the conquest of Suwát began to vacate such parts of Bájawṛ as were then in their possession, and the Tarkalárnís from Lamghán began by degrees to possess themselves of it, and there they dwell to this day. Some of its ancient people, but few in point of numbers, still reside in some of the more unfrequented parts. The Khalíls and their whereabouts, before they finally settled in the Pes'háwar district or province, are afterwards referred to in the events of Bábar's and Humáyún's reigns,—some few of the "blanks" in Afghán history which I have mentioned in this Section and Section Second, page 54.

These movements of the Afghán tribes were well known to Bábar Bádsháh, as well as to some other Muḥammadan writers. The Mughal monarch says, in his "Tuzúk,"—"Although Bájawṛ, Suwád, Pars'háwar, and Hash-naghar were originally dependencies "of Kábul, at the present time, some of those territories have been desolated by tribes of "Afgháns, and some have come into their possession, so that they cannot now be con-"sidered as dependencies." Writers who, unacquainted with the original histories, draw their inspirations from translations, which are sometimes incorrect, and even some of "the masters of the subject," who have endeavoured to make out that not only the Yúsufzís, Tarkalárnís, and others, from Bájawṛ to the Indus, but the whole of the Afghán people, are the aboriginal inhabitants of the very parts they *now* occupy, and that they have been located there since the time Herodotus wrote, while the existence of the old inhabitants appear to be wholly unknown to them,* as well as those "authorities" who, having put on Hindú spectacles for the occasion, and stultifying their previous statements, first turn Dilazák Afgháns into "Scythians" and afterwards into "Rajputs," and Sheráni Afgháns into "the Shiva sect of Hindús," will do well to ponder the above facts in their minds until they again favour the world with their historical and ethnological dissertations.

Before entering upon the details of other routes and territories, it will be well to close this account of Bájawṛ, its Dara'hs, its routes, and some events in its history, with a brief account of Bábar Bádsháh's invasion of it, and capture of the stronghold and capital of Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí, the Gibarí, referred to at pages 117 and 125.

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* A foreign professor "has put down in his map the country of Πακτυϊκὴ," where the Pes'háwar province and the tracts now inhabited by the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs are situated, and another writer therefore assures us that it is "proved that the Πάκτυες of Herodotus" are those identical Afgháns, who are the aborigines of those tracts, and that they have been there ever since the time of Herodotus.

The Yúsufzí chronicler, who dwelt near by, states that Muḥammad, Bábar Bádsháh, having determined to invade the territory of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, after the refusal of Malik Aḥmad to attend his Court a second time, and, at the urgent request of his people, his sending his cousin, Sháh Manṣúr, son of Malik Sulímán Sháh, instead, set out from Kábul with a considerable army for Suwád or Suwát, as the name is also written, by way of Bájawṛ. The Bádsháh had a reason for taking this route. The Gibarí Sulṭán of that part, Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí, had, in former years, manifested insolence towards Mírzá Ulugh Beg, when ruler of Kábul and its dependencies, and as he was Bábar's paternal uncle he determined to chastise him.

The Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs of Bájawṛ had abandoned their homes there, and had taken refuge in the mountains, and, with the exception of the Gibarís,* there were no other people in that (part of the?) territory. Bábar, having entered Bájawṛ, attacked Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí's fortress. It was a very strong place and difficult of access, and Bábar's attempt to take it by a *coup de main* having failed, he had to regularly invest it. Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí, it is said, was a great tyrant, and all his relations and kinsmen were hostile towards him on account of his ill treatment of them. One of his nephews, and other disaffected persons among the Gibarís, now secretly despatched a petition to Muḥammad, Bábar Bádsháh, tendering their allegiance to him, and offering to come out and present themselves. He accepted their offer, and the nephew of Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí came out with several others, and they were treated with much distinction and favour.

After this others began to desert Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí and leave the fortress, and day by day the affairs of that Sulṭán became more desperate. At last, fearing lest, in the end, his kinsmen should seize him, and deliver him into the hands of the Mughal Bádsháh, who would take his life, Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí took poison and destroyed himself. Bábar then obtained possession of the place, and made Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí's nephew Sulṭán over the Gibarís; and all who were adverse to him of the late Sulṭán's adherents were summoned and slain, and a tower raised of their heads.

This account differs considerably from Bábar's own account in his "Tuzúk," especially as regards the mode in which possession of this stronghold was obtained, and the making it over to Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí's nephew. Unfortunately, there is an hiatus in Bábar's "Tuzúk" of no less than eleven whole years; and he resumes his account on the 1st of Muḥarram—the new year of the Musalmáns—of 925 H. (2nd January, 1519, A.D.), curiously enough, from the jal-gáh† in the Dara'h of Chandawul of Bájawṛ, so that all particulars respecting the cause of this expedition and other details are wanting. From his account, however‡ (and in a few points it agrees with the Yúsufzí chronicler's narrative), the fortress was taken by storm, on Friday, the 5th of that same month, and firearms—matchlocks—were used with effect upon this occasion against the Bájawṛ people, the Gibarís, who had never seen anything of the kind before. "Next morning," Bábar says, "I marched and dismounted "(encamped) in the jal-gáh of Bájawṛ, at the spring of Bábá Kará, where, at the "intercession of the Khwájah, Kalán Beg, several captives who remained were

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* The Gibarís were orthodox Musalmáns, and had been for a very long period. The people called 'Arabs and Gibarís, from what is stated at page 117, are not one and the same people. When I come to the countries inhabited by the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, and the routes leading into them, I shall have something more to say on the Gibarís.

Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., in his last book, "Afghánistan and the Afgháns" (1879), says (p. 199) that "both Badakhshan and Baltistan were included in Kafiristan as late as the middle of the sixteenth century, "when *Babur* founded the Mughal empire in India. All Yaghistan, with Swat and Boner, were at the same "period included in Kafiristan."

I must record my unqualified dissent from this theory. Who is the authority for this statement? Badakhshán, at the period alluded to, had been for centuries a Musalmán state. Wakhsh, Chagháníán, Shaḳnán, and Badakhshán formed part of the Musalmán kingdom of the Tájzík Ghúrís of Bámíán and Tukháristán. *See* "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí", pages 424 and 426. It formed part of the Musalmán dominions of Amír Tímúr-i-Gúrgán above five hundred years ago, and his descendants, as the history of his reign, and of his son, Mírzá Sháh Rukh, abundantly show. Sulṭán Maḥmúd Mírzá, son of Abú-Sa'íd, in the middle of the fifteenth century ruled over Ḥiṣár, Chagháníán, Tirmid, Ḳunduz, Badakhshán (*see* page 139), and Khutlán, as Bábar Bádsháh himself testifies. There is no doubt that the 'Arab people mentioned in these pages were Musalmáns; the Sulṭáns of Suwát and great part of their subjects were certainly Musalmáns before Bábar's time; and that the Gibarís were Musalmáns the name of their ruler, Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí, sufficiently proves. How is it possible then that Badakhshán and Suwát were "included in Kafiristan" at the period in question? There is no such country as "Yaghistan" known to history; it is a new word coined recently, at Pesh'áwar possibly, and said to mean a country without a master, but as *bághí*—corrupted into *yághí*—is a Turkish word signifying rebellious, Yághístán would mean a country rebellious, but it is a strange name to give to independent territories merely because they are so, and not subject to others.

† He means the open part of the valley, through which the river flows.

‡ *See* also Leyden's and Erskine's "Baber," page 246.

"pardoned, and set free, together with their families. Some of the Sultáns* and "rebels, who had fallen into our hands, were put to death, and the news of the "victory, with some heads, I despatched to Badakhshán,† Kunduz, and Balkh. . . . "The Bájawṛ fort affair having terminated to my satisfaction, on Tuesday, the 9th of "Muharram, I marched one kuroh lower down the jal-gáh of Bájawṛ, and halted; and "directed that on a mound a tower of heads should be raised."

Before resuming a description of the various routes it is necessary to give some account of the Káfiristán, as some of the following routes lead into it.

The Tor and Spín Káfirís, or Sí'áh and Safed-Poshán, and their Country.

More than twenty years ago I published an account of the Káfiristán and its people, which appeared in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," Vol. XXVIII., for 1859. Imperfect as that was, it contained the most complete account of that interesting people and country up to that period, and, I may say, to the present time.

Since that time, the Káfirís have been "discovered" at least twice, although they had been known to us half a century before I wrote about them.

On the 9th of October, 1878, just twenty years after the publication of my paper, the "Times" newspaper contained an article entitled "Kafiristan and the Kafirs." On examining it I found it was taken from my account, but without the least acknowledgement. On the contrary, it was made to appear as though it had been written by the Rev. W. Handcock, of the Church Missionary Society, at Pes'háwar. I was somewhat surprised to read:—

"As Mr. Handcock has told us, they are divided into 18 clans, and they always reside in towns or villages, and not in tents."

I subsequently found that the "Church Missionary Intelligencer," for March, 1865, contained an article entitled "Káfiristán—its Appeal for Help—and the Response," by the Rev. W. Handcock, of Pes'háwar. In it he says, "Káfiristán is one of those "countries of the great Asiatic continent respecting which little is comparatively "known; nor did it appear at first where recent and reliable information might be "obtained respecting it. However, in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' "No. 4, we have found a paper, 'Notes on Káfiristán,' by Captain H. G. Raverty, "and from this we have compiled the following information." Then follows seven pages of extracts from my account, honestly acknowledged.

The same newspaper appropriated the anecdote I gave respecting Arthur Conolly and the deputation of Tor Káfirís at Jalál-ábád in 1839, but slightly altered from the original.

The anecdote I gave is as follows, and is so interesting that to repeat it here will not require apology.‡ The circumstance was related to me by an officer of Conolly's acquaintance, who served in the Sháh's contingent, and was a fellow prisoner with Lady Sale and the other captives, and, what is more, he is still living:—

"In the end of 1839, in December, I think it was, when the Sháh and Sir W. Macnaghten had gone down to Jalál-ábád for winter quarters, a deputation of the Sí'áh-posh Káfirs came down from Núr-gal to pay their respects, and, as it appears, to welcome us as relatives. If I recollect right there were some thirty or forty of them, and they made their entry into our lines with bagpipes playing. An Afghán peon§ sitting outside Edward Conolly's tent, on seeing these savages, rushed into his master's tent exclaiming, 'Here they are, Sir! They are all come! Here are all your 'relations!' Conolly, amazed, looked up from his writing, and asked what on earth he meant, when the peon, with a very innocent face, pointed out the skin-clad men of the mountains, saying, 'There! don't you see them? your relatives the Káfirs?' I heard Conolly tell this as a good joke, he believing at the same time that his Afghán attendant was not actuated by impudence in attributing a blood connection between his master and the Káfirs.

* Sultáns here do not refer to monarchs, any more than Sháh and Bádsháh, by which titles the chiefs of Káshkár are known, as well as Sayyids. It is a mere title by which the Gibarí chiefs and their family were styled.

† If, as Mr. Bellew says, Badakhshán was included in Káfiristán when Bábar founded the kingdom of Dihlí, why send heads there, for this happened seven years *before* Bábar Bádsháh overthrew the Afghán sovereign of Hindústán? The heads were sent to his kinsman, its then ruler. *See* next to last paragraph of note ¶, page 154.

‡ Also quoted in an article on "Central Asia," in the "Quarterly Review" for April 1873, page 535, and duly acknowledged.

§ A native orderly attached to officers in civil employ. This is the term used in the Bombay Presidency; in Bengal it is "Chaprásí."

"The Káfirs themselves certainly claimed relationsnip, but I fear their reception by poor Sir William was not such as pleased them, and they returned to the hills regarding us as a set of purse-proud people, ashamed to own our country cousins.

"During the remainder of our sojourn in Afghánistán nothing more was seen or heard of this singular race, at least not that I am aware of; and I cannot but regard it as most unfortunate, that, when so favourable an opportunity presented itself of becoming acquainted with these tribes and the country they inhabit, they should have been allowed to depart unconciliated, and no advantage taken of their visit."

A book entitled "Afghanistan, its Political and Military History," &c., &c., by S. R. Townshend Mayer and John C. Paget, the blunders in which are most amusing, tells us that,—

"The natives are divided into *Siahpush*, or Blackfoot Kafirs,* from the colour of their goatskin leggings, and Spin Kafirs, from that of their skins, for they are fair complexioned and blue-eyed, and proud to call themselves 'brothers of the Feringhi.' When Lieutenant Conolly was at Jalalabad, his Afghan servant announced a party of Kafirs who had come to visit him by saying, 'Here they are, Sir, all your relations!'"

Since I wrote my "Notes" I have obtained some additional information of importance concerning these people, and especially with regard to the geography of the countries held by the Tor and Spín Káfirí†—the Sí'áh-Poshán and Safed-Poshán, or Black-clad and White-clad Unbelievers, while the various routes here given, and the details contained in them, throw a flood of light upon the geography of these, even yet, imperfectly known parts.

This new information I shall now proceed to give, and shall not here embody it into a fresh and general notice of these tribes and their country, as reference can be made to my previous account of them, already referred to. Hereafter, probably, I may devote an article to the subject.‡

"They consist of two great septs or divisions. Those who dress in white or light coloured garments, the Tájzíks, or Persian-speaking people, style Safed-Posh Káfirí, and the Afgháns, Spín Káfirí, signifying White-clad Infidels or Unbelievers. These people are numerous, and dwell in the Kohistán, or mountain tracts, of Little Tibbat, and in the ranges north of the Dara'hs of Suwát and Buner, and some in the mountains east of Ḵáshkár and Dír.§ These latter, however, are, in some way subject to Ḵáshkár, or, at least, nominally so. Some 2,000 or 3,000 families of this race inhabit the upper parts of the Dara'h of Núr. Their language is different from that of the other sept, and is not quickly understood.‖

"The other sept the Tájzíks call Sí'áh Káfirí and Sí'áh-Poshán, and the Afgháns Tor Káfirí, or Black-clad Unbelievers, because they dress in black garments. This sept is famous throughout the countries bordering on them for their valour and intrepidity, and in battle rival the feats of Rustam and Isfandiyár. They consider it eternal disgrace to retire wounded from a conflict with Musalmáns, and that it behoves them to die fighting on the battle field.

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* The authors must have been thinking of Black-foot Indians of the American prairies.

† The Afgháns and Tájzíks style them, not Káfir, but Káfirí, and this I shall use in the following pages. The word will be found explained in my Afghán Dictionary. In the Persian language the plural of Káfir is Káfirán. The Káfiristán is not, and never was, included in "Affghanistan," or "the kingdom of the Ameers," as has been recently asserted.

‡ Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.S.I., quotes very largely from my "Notes on Káfiristán," in his "Central Asia," Part II., Afghánistán. At page 457, paragraph 7, he says, "Masson generally corroborates these "statements, saying, 'In tilling the land both in Káfaristán and the districts south and west,'" &c., &c., but the extract is not from Masson, it is taken verbatim from my "Notes" (*see* page 19, para. 4). The article contains 29 paragraphs, and of these 19 *are wholly mine*.

His next article, entitled "Káfar Siahposh," extends over 18 pages, and consists of 102 paragraphs. He begins by saying, "Raverty, who has a greater variety of information regarding Káfaristán than any other "authority (though his information can hardly be deemed well founded), says," &c., &c., and strange to say, immediately after no less than 50 *paragraphs* out of the 102 *are taken verbatim from my "Notes," including the anecdote of Conolly and his Afghán orderly*, but only the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th are marked with inverted commas showing that they are mine. These 50 paragraphs are not in consecutive order.

The same may be said of the "Sakhí Sarwar" Article, Vol. III., page 60. It consists of 16 paragraphs; the names of the authorities are "Johnstone, Rowley, Wilde, Davidson, Sandeman, MacGregor, Fryer, &c." The first paragraph is chiefly from my paper in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1854, and another 10 follow, thus making 11 out of 16, which are wholly mine.

In most other places he quotes me pretty fairly, only he makes me spell proper names after a fashion which I have never done, and never shall do.

§ *See* page 192.

‖ They appear to be, from this description, a distinct race almost. In the history of Amír Tímúr-i-Gúrgán, who undertook an expedition against them in person, they are styled Kaṭor Káfirs, while the others are styled Sí'áh-Poshán. An account of this expedition will be found at page 135.

"Their weapons are mostly bows,* which they call *shánaṭ*, in Hindí styled *kamṭhah*, and heavy heart-piercing arrows, keen daggers, and sharp swords, and but few among them have fire-arms. They consider their chief occupation to be that of carrying on war with races other than their own. A man who does not show intrepidity in battle, and does not slay an antagonist, they style *ḍíwsá* (ڐيوسا, also written ڐبوسا, *ḍabúsá*, but this latter is probably incorrect), and look upon him as despicable and base. They will not permit him to eat with them or to sit down in their company, neither will they give him a daughter or sister in marriage, nor would a maiden accept him for a husband.

"They make incursions into the territories of Dír, Bájawṛ, and Pashat, and lie in ambush in the passes and routes among the mountains, and slay travellers without any sordid desire of merely obtaining their property.† When one among them slays his first man they insert a gold ring in his ear, and, after the same fashion, a ring for every enemy (that is, an Afghán generally) he may subsequently kill.

"The Tor or Sí'áh-Posh Káfirí dress in the skins of beasts, which are of a black colour, hence their name,‡ but their trousers are of karbás, or coarse cotton cloth. They wear a strap or belt of cowhide round their waists, and on their heads a particularly small skull cap, which does not cover more than a quarter of the head, and which is fastened by a leather strap or cord.

"If during a fight a man can succeed in placing his hand on the breast of his Káfirí opponent, he will not slay him. Burning the dwellings of their enemies they hold to be improper.

"They wear long beards, and keep their mustaches and whiskers well trimmed, and leave a small tuft of hair on the head, which they call *tsaṛa'í* and *tsaṟna'í*.§

"They eat anything in the way of flesh, including beef, with little exception, but will not touch fowls as food. They eat cheese and fruits, but consume, comparatively, very little bread. They drink a good deal of wine of their own making, which is kept in skins. They do not object to eat food that has been left by persons of a different race or religion.

"The Káfirí, in religious matters, are exceedingly ignorant, and their forms and ceremonies, such as they are, are idolatrous, but, little is known for certain respecting their belief. Some say their religion is that of Zartusht, and certainly some of their customs are similar to those of that faith.‖ Others, again, have said that they are of the Yahúdí (Jewish) faith, and some native authors have even gone so far as to assert that they are Naṣárís (Christians).

"Their idol temples are kept well ornamented, and their idols are adorned with gold and other ornaments. The faces of their idols are washed with the urine of a cow or goat when they seek to propitiate them and ask a blessing. When they enter into a compact or take oath they light a great fire, and throw the head of a goat into it, which is immediately withdrawn; and contrary to such a compact they will not act, and they will not break their oath.

"The male and female slaves of this race are exceedingly faithful and good natured towards their owners, but, few are obtainable. Their females are remarkable throughout the neighbouring parts for their beauty.

"They are superior to the Afgháns in battle, but have been reduced by the Dihgáns (or Tájziks) of the territory of Ḳáshḳár.¶ The tribes choose their chiefs."

The names of the eighteen tribes will be found in my "Notes on Káfiristán," pages 22 to 27.

"In the cold season some of the Tor Káfirí enter into a truce with the Afgháns, and come down into the dara'hs dependent on the Kúnaṛ district.** A truce or agreement they call *arogh*, and they never speak falsely.

"When a wedding takes place, the bride, having been decked out in capacious flowing garments, is made over to the bridegroom, and her bosom is filled with sweet fruits, of which each of the relations take a handful, and this is considered a good omen.

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* *See* my "Notes on Káfiristán," page 41.

† Their inveterate hostility towards Musalmáns, and Afgháns in particular, is not to be wondered at, considering the way they have been treated by them for centuries past.

If something is not done for them by us very soon they must succumb to superior numbers enclosing them on all sides. It is to be hoped that some effort will be made in their behalf. *See* note ‡, page 146.

‡ *See* note ¶, page 142.

§ This word is also used in Pus'hto, and is probably derived from Afgháns.

‖ *See* my "Notes on Káfiristán," page 46.

¶ That is to say, the tribes lying nearest to the Ḳáshḳár territory.

** It was on such an occasion that a deputation from them waited on Sir W. H. MacNaghten at Jalál-ábád. referred to at page 129.

Arogh is probably derived from Pus'hto *rogha'h*, signifying "intercourse," "fellowship," "amity," etc.

"They do not become angry or annoyed at being styled Káfirí; in fact, if a person should inquire of them who or what they are, they would reply, "We are Káfirí." Káfirí, however, is not a proper name, but an 'Arabic word signifying an infidel, and is applied to infidels generally.*

"Their dead are placed in coffins and deposited in caves and cavities of the mountains. They make no lamentation nor mourning; indeed, they carry the corpse to its last resting place with great drums beating."

The Káfiristán, or Country of the Káfirís.

The country inhabited by these Káfirí tribes is bounded on the north by Badakhshán and the formerly independent State of Kunduz, subdued within the last few years by the Bárakzí, Durrání† ruler of Afghánistán, and now styled "Afghán Turkistán" by some European writers, probably because there is no part of Turkistán so called south of the Jíhún or Oxus;‡ south by the Dara'hs of Mandráwaṛ, Lamghán, Kúnaṛ, and Kámáṇ, and their dependencies, the southern portions of which are inhabited by Tájzíks, and the upper parts by a people called Kohistánís (not the aboriginal inhabitants of the country probably, but they were the inhabitants whom the Afgháns found there. *See* pages 102 and 145), and the Sáfí Afgháns; east by Upper and Lower Káshkár, Shí-Gal, Panj-Korah, and Bájawṛ, but some extend farther east, north of the Suwát Dara'h, towards Gilgiṭ; and west by the Dara'hs of Panj-sher, also called Panj-her, Nijr-Áb or Nijr-Áo, Budr-Áo, and Wálá-Sá'ú, belonging to the present Afghán State.

Within the boundaries here given are included the great ridges and spurs of the Hindú-Kush range, with their numerous minor ramifications. These descend in a succession of waves or terraces, so to say, springing from about the centre of the range, chiefly towards the river of Kábul on the south, and the Palpí Sang, or river of Káshkár or Chitrál, on the east. Some great Dara'hs within these boundaries, however, run in other directions. The particulars respecting these various Dara'hs and their minor dependencies will be found in the separate accounts of them, and in the descriptions of the various routes given elsewhere.

"The country of the Káfirí, from Lamghán to Chitrál or Chitrár, is over one hundred kuroh in length, and from Kúnaṛ to the frontier of Badakhshán about eighty kuroh in breadth. Within this space there will be about 100,000 families dwelling; and, of the tracts in which they dwell, the following large Darah's are well known.§

"There are a number of minor dara'hs, however, such as that described at page 148."

1. *The Dara'h of Wánat.*

"This is a Dara'h of considerable size, the principal place in which, and residence of the chief of that part, is called Wáe-Gal, and also Wáe-Galán,‖ the place of residence of Sharaf Gul Khán, who is famous for his valour and magnanimity, an anecdote

* In South Africa it has been turned into "Caffre," "Kaffir." This appellation has been applied to people of South Africa in the same manner, probably, as to the people of the Káfiristán, so called, by 'Arab traders from the ports of Arabia, the Red Sea, and Zangbár. Káfir is the act. part. of كفر, and is used strictly in Persian, Pus'hto, and Urdú, as an adjective, but sometimes as a noun. To form a noun from this and such like adjectives, the letter ى called *yá-i-nisbat*, is required, as, for example, in *nek*, good; *nekí*, goodness; *bad*, evil, bad; *badí*, badness, evil; *káfir*, infidel, unbelieving, when used for those whose faith is different from that of Islám, and *káfirí*, infidelity. For the formation of Afghání nouns, *see* my Grammar, page 29.

† The Bárakzí Afgháns are a section of the Abdálís, subsequently styled Durránís, like the Popalzís and 'Alízís of the 'Ísázís. Their progenitor, Zírak, was the great-grandson of Malik Abdál. Bárak was his second son, and Popal the eldest, and therefore the Popalzí is the royal tribe, or rather sub-tribe—*see* the Introduction to my "Pus'hto Grammar," page 12. One of the greatest mistakes made by the late Sir. J. W. Kaye, in his "History of the War in Afghanistan," was in supposing the "Barukzyes," as he styles them, different from the "Douranees." He says, at page 124 (three-volume edition of 1857),—"The danger of nourishing such a "power as this was not overlooked by the sagacious minds of the Barukzye rulers. They saw clearly the "policy of treading down the Douranees," &c. Again, page 125,—"The Barukzye Sirdars, less chivalrous "than wise, determined to strike the blow, while the Douranees, crippled and exhausted, had little power to "resist the attack." This blemish runs throughout the work. Ask any Bárakzí Sardár, or any other of the tribe, what he is, and he will say a Durrání, and would certainly be much surprised if told he was not.

‡ The former ruler (whom some call an "Uzbeg"), the Mír, Murád Beg, was a Ḳatghín (there is no such tribe as "Kataghan") Mughal, descended from Buḳam Ḳatghín, also called Búḳúl Katghín, the eldest son of Alán-Ḳuwá.—*See* "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 892, and "Travaux de la Troisième Session du Congrès International des Orientalistes," St. Petersbourg, 1876, Vol. II., page 112.

The Mír, Murád Beg, was the "Usbog chief of Kundus," according to the "Times" writer.

§ The whole of their territory, more particularly that lying on the northern slopes of the Tíraj-Mír range, cannot all be included in these four Dara'hs. Three out of the four lie on and below its southern slopes.

‖ This apparently is but the plural of Wáe-Gal, which is also the name of a tribe. The termination "Gal" occurs in many words contained in the following pages. "Wategul" and "Wailegul," as in Major Wilson's map, must be vitiated forms (after the manner of "Chigur Serai" for Chaghán-Saráe) for Wáe-Gal.

of which, as related by the Musalmáns of Nang-Lám, and in that neighbourhood, is as follows:—*

"They state that an aged Ákhúnd on one occasion came to Nang-Lám for the purpose of getting up a *jihád*, or holy warfare, against the Káfirís, but, much to his disappointment, found that there was then a truce, or *arogh*, between them and the Musalmáns. He continued at Nang-Lám for some days, at which time it so happened that the son of Sharaf Gul Khán, a famous youth in those parts, chanced to come there on some business. When he was about to return to Wáe-Gal, the Ákhúnd managed to join himself to him, and, on the way, finding the youth off his guard, the Ákhúnd, who was determined by some means or other to have a *jihád* of his own, slew him with a knife, and fled back to Nang-Lám.

"The Afgháns there located, afraid what the consequences of such an outrage during a time of truce might be, seized and detained the Ákhúnd. They then went out and recovered the body of the murdered youth, conveyed it back to Nang-Lám, and reported what had happened to his father, Sharaf Gul Khán. He came to Nang-Lám, and, seeing the old Ákhúnd, and comparing his weakness with the strength of his dead son, took up a handful of earth, and sprinkling it over the corpse, said,—'It 'is not consistent with manhood, with such strength as thou didst possess, to have 'been slain by one so old and feeble; neither is one who is so weak, and who slays 'one so powerful, a worthy object for retaliation.' He accordingly dismissed the old Ákhúnd honourably, and took away his son's corpse to Wáe-Gal.

"The Dara'h of Wánat is about thirty kuroh in length,† and, on the east side, it adjoins Nang-Lám and Pích, on the south Shí-Gal, and on the north the Dara'h of Luṭ-Dih. The river running out of this dara'h, flowing from the direction of Nang-Lám, joins the river of the Dara'h of Pích, and having passed beyond Shí-Gal, unites with the river of Káshḳár or Chitrál.

"In this dara'h likewise, in the direction of Nang-Lám, there is a village named Nashá'í,‡ and the Káfirí of that place and neighbourhood excel in valour and intrepidity."

2. *The Dara'h of Luṭ-Dih.*

"Luṭ-Dih is a larger Dara'h than the preceding, and from the river of Káshḳár to the Kotal, or Pass, of Apá-luk, it is nearly fifty kuroh in length. North of this dara'h is a great mountain range covered with perpetual snow, and the pass over it is called the Apá-luk Kotal, and by crossing this Badakhshán is reached.§ On the east Luṭ-Dih adjoins Káshḳár. Two rivers issue from it, one of which flows towards the east and unites with the Shaghut river, while the other, flowing southwards, joins the river of Ḳáshḳár or Palpí Sang, opposite the village of Harandú.

"There are several important villages in this dara'h, one of which is Munjish, which place the Afgháns style by the name of Kashṭúr or Kashṭúz.|| Here two Sardárs or Chiefs dwell, one of whom is styled Dín Malik, and the other Kauzálah Malik, and both are famous for their wealth and state. Their subjects are in the habit of proceeding towards Dír and the Maidán and Birawal Dara'hs, and infesting the roads and waylaying travellers.

"The second of these villages is Kám-úz,¶ which is of considerable size, and is the possession and place of residence of Daya Mú** and Astan Malik. These two Sardárs likewise are noted for their power and grandeur.

"The third village of importance is Luṭ-Dih, giving name to the dara'h, and is of considerable size. This is the place of residence of Luṭ-Kár and Shut Malik. These two Maliks are not in accord with each other. Luṭ-Kár, through infirmity and poverty, pays obedience to the Sháhs of Ḳáshḳár. The Káfirís of this dara'h, however, exceed all the rest of this race of people in wealth and grandeur."

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* It should be borne in mind that this account was written towards the close of the last century, while my "Notes," previously referred to, contained an account of the tribes up to about the year 1850.

† For the length assigned to the kuroh of these parts, as computed by Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh of Drúsh, *see* page 154.

‡ *See* page 148.

§ There is no mention of this Pass, nor any reference whatever to this important Dara'h, in the researches of Major Montgomerie's Mírzá or Ḥawál-dár, nor by the Múnshí, Faiẓ-Bakhsh. They do not appear to have possessed any information respecting them. The route will be found in detail at page 149.

|| This is the place referred to at page 149. In two copies of the original it is Kashṭúz, but it seems merely a mistake of ز for ر. I am inclined to believe that what has hitherto been written Kaṭor (کٹور) is an error for کشٹور—Kashṭúr—for the latter word as generally written in MSS. کشـٹور for کشٹور, and which forms of the two words, especially if the points of the ش were left out or run into one, might easily be mistaken for کٹور. At the same time it must be remembered that several names terminate in *úz*, as in the following word.

¶ Kám-úz is the name of one of the Káfirí tribes.—*See* "Notes on Káfiristán," page 26.

** *See* page 149.

3. *The Dara'h of Wámáṇ.**

"This dara'h is nearly forty kuroh in length. It adjoins Goslak, which is one of the large villages of the Dara'h of Pích, and on the north terminates at the mountain range of perpetual snow,† which borders on‡ the territory of Badakhshán. A river issues from this dara'h, runs in the direction of south, passes Goslak, and finally unites with the river of Pích.

"Contrary to the usage of their race, the people of this dara'h are not hostile towards the Sáfí tribe of Afgháns. It is stated that, on one occasion, when the Káfirís of Luṭ-Dih became annoyed and aggravated with the people of the Dara'h of Párún, and matters went to blows, and the former were defeated, the Sáfís of Goslak rendered aid to the Káfirís of Luṭ-Dih, and several hundreds of them went to their assistance, and fought against the people of Párún, but the confederates were again defeated, and a considerable number of Afgháns were slain. From that day the Káfirís, being under obligation to the Sáfís, entered into terms of friendship with them."

4. *The Dara'h of Párún.*

"This dara'h is also of considerable extent, but it is not so well known to the writer as the others. The river flowing out of it runs towards Badakhshán, and unites with the Jíḥún (or Oxus).

"Besides these large dara'hs there are numerous others opening into them on either side, the number of which can scarcely be enumerated.

"Although coloured fabrics, silks, and scarfs, salt, and some other things, fetch enormous prices among the Káfirís of these northern tracts, nevertheless, it is impossible for traders to enter them and dispose of these articles."

The Káfirí tribes have no history of their own, as far as I have been able to discover. According to the traditions preserved among them, however, they affirm that coeval with the spread of Islámism in this part of Asia, they occupied the countries to the south of their present territory, and were subsequently compelled to seek for liberty and safety from the insupportable tyranny of their Muḥammadan neighbours, whom they designate Awdál, among the mountains and valleys of Hindú-Koh. They would appear, therefore, to be the remnant, or a portion, of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country south of the Kábul river—more likely to be the veritable Πάκτυες than the "Pathans" are—and possibly of part of central Afghánistán, as at present constituted, not what I have described as the old seats of the Afghán tribes, which formed the real Afghánistán, but, probably, of that part of the present Afghán territory as far south as the Kurmáh river.

This view is confirmed by the traditions of the Afgháns themselves, from the existing histories in the Pus'hto language, and the writings of different Muḥammadan authors. From these we find that, in the time of the Turk Sulṭáns of the Maḥmúdíah dynasty of Ghaznín, the Afghán tribes, finding the Kasie Ghar district, situated immediately west of, and included within, the slopes of the range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, forming the western barrier of the Indus, in which they had been for some centuries past located, too much contracted to yield subsistence for such a numerous people as they had become, were compelled to encroach upon the territories to the west, north, and east, towards the river of Kábul, and were in the constant habit of plundering the Káfirís or infidels, as they called the original inhabitants of the country, making slaves of them and of their wives and children, and compelling all those who did not seek safety in flight to become converts to Islám. These events took place during the chieftainship of Malik Abdál, from whom, as the royal tribe, the Afghán tribes generally have sometimes been termed Abdálís, or by substituting the letter *w* for *b*, a change common in the Pus'hto and Ī-ránián languages, Awdálís, hence the name given them by the Tor Káfirí or Sí'áh-Poshán.§

I shall be able to enter into greater detail on this subject in my History of the Afghán tribes and their country, but I will now give a few details respecting the expeditions undertaken against the Káfirí tribes, from the time of Maḥmúd of Ghaznín.

The Gardaizí, who wrote about thirty years after the event, and within one hundred miles of the very parts invaded, says, that, "Shortly after the Amír‖ Maḥmúd returned

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* Wámáṇ, also written Wámah, like as Kámáṇ is written Kámah, is also the name of a Káfirí tribe. This tract is no more called "Wamasthan" than the Kákaṛ country is called "Kakaristan," or Suwát and Panj-Korah and other parts beyond our border "Yághistan."

† *See* page 156.

‡ Or bounds it, in fact, in this direction.

§ Masson, in his "Travels," quoting "Malek Mannir," says,—"In company with Malik Sir Buland of Cha-"ghanserae, I went to the Kafir town of Kattar. The Kafirs themselves call the Muhamedans *Odal*, and say "that they have driven them to the hills, usurping the plains, and eating up their rice."—Vol. I., page 233.

‖ The Gardaizí always styles him "Amír," not "Sulṭán." It is very probable that what I shall detail here is not to be found in "Ibn Athir," for very good reasons. The Gardaizí wrote before Ibn Asír, the author of the Kámil-ut-Tawárík, was born.

" from his expedition against Rájah Nandah of Ḳinnauj, in 410 H. (1019–20 A.D.), " intimation reached him that there were two Dara'hs, one known as Ḳirát, and the " other Núr." The historian does not actually state where they were situated, but the context plainly shows the locality indicated, and Abú-Rihán, Al-Bírúní, refers to them in his account of the river of Kábul and its tributaries, to which account I shall presently refer. The Amír was informed that they were strong places, and that the inhabitants thereof were Káfirs (not specially indicating the Tor and Spín Káfirí, or Sí'áh-Poshán and Safed-Poshán, under notice, it must be remembered, but unbelievers simply) who worshipped idols. " The Amír, in consequence, resolved to enter those " dara'hs with his troops; and gave directions that a number of artisans should accom- " pany the army, consisting of blacksmiths, carpenters, stone-cutters, excavators, &c. " (to act as sappers in fact), who were to clear the roads, cut down trees, split rocks, " and clear the route, as the troops advanced. Having arrived in those parts, Ḳirát " was the first object of attack. It was a place of sanctity, and its people were lion " worshippers; its climate was cold, and its fruits abundant. When the Sháh (*sic* in " MS.*) of Ḳirát heard of this hostile movement, he came forward and submitted, and " sought the Amír Maḥmúd's protection. He was honourably received, and well " treated, and embraced the Musalmán faitḥ, along with a great number of his people " who followed his example; and teachers were left with them to instruct them in the " tenets and canons of the Muḥammadan religion.

" The people of the Dara'h of Núr, on the contrary, were contumacious, so the Amír " Maḥmúd directed the Ḥájib, 'Alí, son of I-yal-Arsalán, al-Ḳaríb, to advance into the " Núr Dara'h. He reduced it, and founded a fortress therein, and left a garrison to " hold it, under 'Alí, son of Ḳadr-i-Rájúḳ, with directions to force the contumacious " people to bend their necks to the yoke, and compel them to embrace the faith of " Islám. This dara'h was reduced in the year 411 H. (1020–21 A.D.), and soon the " true faith began to prosper therein.†"

Abú-Rihán says respecting the river of Kábul and its tributaries that, having passed by Laghmán or Lamghán, the united streams " join near the fort of Darunah or " Daruntah (Darúnṭha'h),‡ and fall into the river of Un-Núr§ and Ḳirát, after which the " united waters meet together opposite the town of Barsháwar (Parsháwar?), and " become a mighty river, called by the name of Lá'irwál."||

The Dara'h of Núr still retains its ancient name, but the identification of Ḳirát is difficult.

The first time these identical Káfirí tribes are distinctly mentioned by name in history, as far as I can discover, is in the time of the Amír Tímúr-i-Gúrgán, who made a raid upon them when on his way to Kábul to invade Hindústán.

Tímúr, having set out from his capital in the month of Rajab, 800 H. (April, 1398 A.D.), and having passed Buḳlán and the passes, reached Andar-Áb (or, more correctly, Undar-Áb, with the vowel points). There the people complained to him of the outrages they sustained at the hands of the Káfirs of Kaṭor¶ and the Sí'áh-Poshán, that they, being Musalmáns, the Káfirs every year extorted money from them, and demanded tribute of them, and if they demurred to or delayed paying these demands, they slew their males, and carried off their women and children into captivity. As Amír Tímúr had expressly undertaken this expedition to carry on holy war against

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* The rulers of Ḳáshḳár are also styled " Sháh " and " Bádsháh " to this day. *See* page 153.

† Firishtah, as well as other writers, mentions this event in his Táríkh, and appears to have derived his information from the Gardaizí's work. Briggs, in his version of Firishtah, turns Núr into " Nardein," and many others have followed him. " Nardein " subsequently serves for Nandanah in the Sind-Ságar Do-Ábah, such is the utter confusion of names. *See* " Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 534.

Notwithstanding Darúnṭha'h and Barsháwar are mentioned in connection with this passage, and that Firishtah quotes his authority correctly, Captain T. C. Plowden, B. S. C., in his notes to a portion of Firishtah's work in his " Kalíd-i-Afghání," says that Major-General A. Cunningham, in his " Archæological Survey of India," Vol. II., p. 247, has actually identified these two places as " *the modern Bairát and Naráinpur.*" " The former," he says, " is situated 41 miles north of Jaipúr (Jyepur), in Rájpútána, and the latter 10 miles north-east of Bairát. The district is as fertile now as in Ferishta's time." This is all very amusing indeed, but where " Rájpútána ?" where the Dara'h of Núr, and Darúnṭha'h on the river of Kábul ?

‡ A well known place. *See* page 99.

§ The *un* here is the 'Arabic article *al*, the " *l* " of which before an " *n* " becomes " *n* " also.

|| *See* " Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 76, note 2.

¶ By these it is evident that the Spín Káfirí are here referred to.

Abú-l-Faẓl, in his history of Amír Tímúr's expedition against them, calls them Hindúán-i-Kaṭor—Kaṭor Hindús. In describing the boundaries of Buner, Suwát, and Bájawṛ, he says they are all bounded on the north by Kaṭor and Ḳáshghar, an error certainly for Ḳáshḳár, although ق and غ are interchangeable in Turkish words. In the Akbar Náma'h he writes it Ḳáshḳár.

There is evidently a connection between the Katormán kings mentioned by Al-Bírúní in his Táríkh-ul-Hind and these Hindúán-i-Kaṭor.

infidels, he determined to move against these Káfirs in person. Three out of every ten men* of his army were selected for this expedition; and the Amír-Zádah, Sháh-Rukh, was left behind in charge of the rest of the army and baggage at the belák of Ghúnán and Yaktúr (or Baktúr).

Amír Tímúr pushed on, making two ordinary marches each day, until he reached a place called Parián (the Dara'h-i-Parián,† or Valley of the Fairies). From this place he detached a force of 10,000 men under the young Amír-Zádah, Rustam, and Burhán Ughlán, the Kaiát, against the Sí'áh-Poshán, while he himself continued to move in the direction of the Káfirs of Kaṭor. When he reached Kháwak, near the north-west skirt of the mountains of Kaṭor, he found there a fortress in ruins.‡ He directed that it should be forthwith repaired and garrisoned, and most of the Amírs and all the soldiers left their horses there, and began to ascend the mountains on foot.

Notwithstanding the sun was in Gemini, and the air warm, the snow was so deep that the horses' legs sank into it so that they could not get on. Tímúr therefore continued his advance up the mountain range in the night, at which time the snow froze, and, in the day time, when the snow began to thaw, halted, placing the few horses with the force on woollen clothes and felts to keep them from sinking into it, and again commenced to push on towards the close of the day. The troops continued to move onwards in this manner until they had ascended another mountain range exceedingly lofty. Here, those Amírs who had brought their horses along with them sent them back, and proceeded on foot, like their men.

As these infidels had taken up their quarters in the dara'hs, and as, from the mountain range on which they then were, there was no road by which to descend and gain access to those places, on account of the depth of snow, a number of Amírs and troops of the right and left wings lowered themselves down from the mountains by means of ropes, while others, lying on their backs§ on the surface of the snow, slid down, until they conveyed themselves to the more level ground of the valley beneath.

They made a sort of wooden sledge for Amír Tímúr, to which iron rings were attached, and to which rings ropes were fastened, each about one hundred and fifty *gaz* in length. In this Tímúr was seated, and a party of troops lowered him down in this sledge as far as the length of the ropes would permit, while a few men, with spades and mattocks, cleared away a space in the snow sufficient for the sledge to rest upon, until the party descended and began to lower it another length of the ropes. In this manner Amír Tímúr was conveyed to the foot of the mountain range, where, taking a staff in his hand, he proceeded onwards on foot, for about another league. An attempt was made to lower several horses of his own private stable for his use. Their legs were first firmly tied together, and strong ropes were fastened round their bodies and their necks, and they were then lowered.‖ Some, that they could not keep their hold of, fell from the mountain and perished, but two horses reached the bottom in safety, and Amír Tímúr mounted again, while his Amírs and troops accompanied him on foot.

The Káfirs of this region are like the tribe of 'Ád,¶ and of robust and powerful frame, and both great and small, old and young, go naked.** The chief or greatest person among them—their god possibly—they style 'Udá 'Udáo-Shú (عُدا عداو شُو—*sic* in three copies of the original. The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafá has 'Adá-Shú (عدا شُو) only; other works, Ghadá-Shú and Gadal-Shú), and they have a separate and distinct language, different from Pársí, Turkí, and Hindí, and they understand no other language than their own. There is no way of communicating with these unbelievers

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* As many copies of the Z̤afar or Tímúr Náma'h have "three out of ten," "five out of ten," and "of every ten, two."

† This name is plain enough in the Z̤afar-Náma'h as well as Kháwak, and, of course, such names as "Perján" and "Kávuk" are but the above names caricatured. Neither is "Perján" said to be "a town of "Badakhshán" in that history of Tímúr. *See also* page 140.

‡ The Dara'h-i-Parián leads to this place. Amír Tímúr's route can be tolerably well made out from Major Wilson's map, although names in it are much vitiated, as in "Khwak" for "Kháwak. Amír Tímúr moved nearly due east, and reached that part of the Káfiristán known as Kashṭúr, or Kashṭúz, mentioned at pages 133 and 149, turned into "Kantoor" in the map above referred to, while the Sháh-Zádah, Rustam, and Burhán Ughlán moved towards the south-east, into the parts in which the tribes of Káṭí-hí, Sí'áh-Posh, Pándú, and Sáláo at present dwell.

§ With their shields for a protection.

‖ This mode of lowering horses and ponies is practised to this day in these parts.

¶ Ḳur'án, Chap. VII.

** *Sic* in MSS., but not very likely in a country so cold as described.

except by means of persons who have chanced to dwell in places near them, and have acquired their language, who act as interpreters. They possessed a fortification or stronghold, at the foot of which a considerable river flowed (this appears to be the river issuing from the Wámán Dara'h, mentioned at page 145),* and, on the opposite side, a great mountain range towered to the skies, to such degree that the eagles of soaring flight had abandoned their longing to reach its summit (the Tíraj-Mír or Sarowar range without doubt).†

Those infidels, having obtained information a day and night previously of the movement of Amír Tímúr's forces against them, had evacuated this stronghold, crossed the river, and conveyed their property and effects up into that lofty mountain range, imagining that no one could reach them there, and there they had taken up their position. When the troops, after much labour, reached this stronghold, they found it was totally deserted; and all they found there was a few sheep, which were removed, and the dwellings of the infidels were given to the flames. Amír Tímúr gave directions to scale the mountains on the opposite side of the river. The river was speedily passed, and the troops began to ascend in all directions. Shaikh Arsalán, with the division or tomán of Kapak Khán, belonging to the left wing of the army, pushed on in advance of the rest of the troops, reached the crest at one point which commanded the position of the Káfirs, while 'Alí Sulṭán, the Towáchí, from another direction, drove some of them out of their position and captured it, while Sháh Malik and other Amírs also exerted themselves greatly; indeed, all, Amírs and soldiers, both of the Ḳushún and Hazárah (the writer here makes a difference between these troops, which is of some importance, indicating, as it seems, that the first were, so to say, regulars, while the latter were tribal levies, but no such distinction existed in the time of the Chingiz Khán),‡ displayed great valour, and among the casualties sustained was that of fourteen men who fell from the mountains and perished. The fighting continued, with scarcely any intermission, for three whole days and nights, during which time the infidels were driven from position to position, and reduced to great straits. They now sued for quarter, and Amír Tímúr despatched Áḳ Sulṭán, Kashí, to them to intimate that if they submitted to the Amír's authority, and would embrace the Muḥammadan faith, by acknowledging the one true God, in heart as well as in word, their lives and property should be spared, and the country left in their possession as before.

This having been explained to them by means of an interpreter, they, being in a desperate state, accepted the terms offered, and on the fourth day presented themselves, accompanied by Áḳ Sulṭán, in the presence of Amír Tímúr. They declared their willingness to obey in all things, and that he should account them his servants. They were dismissed with encouragement, after receiving honorary dresses, and expressed themselves much gratified. When night closed in, however, they made an attack upon the post of the Amír, Sháh Malik. They were repulsed, after inflicting considerable loss upon the troops, but one hundred and fifty of the unbelievers were killed and captured, and many others, who managed to escape, were wounded. The whole force now set out in pursuit of the Kaṭor infidels up the mountains. All those who remained of them were put to the sword, their women and children were made captive, and towers of their heads were erected. This success was gained in the month of Ramaẓán, 800 H. (beginning of June, 1398 A.D.), and the circumstance and date were inscribed on a tablet of stone, and there set up as a record to posterity of the grandeur of Amír Tímúr-i-Gúrgán and of his power, for it was affirmed, by the people of those parts, that none of the powerful sovereigns of former ages, up to the time of Sikandar-i-Zú-l-Ḳarnain, had ever subdued that part.

As no news had been received from the Amír-Zádah, Rustam, and Burhán Ughlán, who had been despatched at the head of 10,000 men against the Sí'áh-Poshán, Amír Tímúr, taking one of the Kaṭoríán as a guide, sent several of his house-born servants, including Muḥammad Ázád, who was made commander of the force, at the head of 400 Turks and 300 Tájzíks, to make inquiries respecting them.

Muḥammad Ázád, guided by the Kaṭor Káfir, set out by narrow and difficult routes, and, after great labour, ascended and reached the crest of another lofty mountain range covered with snow, bounding one of the dara'hs belonging to the Sí'áh-Poshán. The only means of getting into the valley,§ on account of the paths being blocked with snow, was by sliding down the mountain sides. So, securing their shields strongly to their backs (as a protection), they lay down flat on their backs and slid down into

* *See* page 145, and note ††.

† *See* page 156.

‡ *See* my translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 1093 to 1096.

§ This appears to be the tract known as Giwár. *See* note **, page 101.

the valley below. Having set out from thence they reached a fortification belonging to the Sí'áh-Posbán. They went round it to reconnoitre, and could neither see nor hear any one, but they discovered the tracks of a multitude of people.

It appeared that the Amír-Zádah, Rustam, and Burhán Ughlán (who was the real commander of the troops, for he was sent to take charge of the young prince, who was only nominally its commander), had reached that fortification, which the Sí'áh-Poshán, advised of the approach of enemies, had recently abandoned, and retired into a narrow defile, where they had laid an ambuscade in case they should be followed. Guided by the tracks, Burhán Ughlán entered the narrow valley with his troops, and, without taking due precautions, there halted. The troops were entirely off their guard; some had laid aside their arms, and some had let their horses loose to graze, when the Sí'áh-Poshán suddenly rushed upon them. Burhán Ughlán, out of cowardice and incapacity, showed no fight, and was the first to cast away his armour and fly, and on this account his army sustained a defeat. The Sí'áh-Poshán, seeing the Musalmáns flying, became the bolder, followed in hot pursuit, and slew a great number, including several Amírs.

Following the tracks, Muḥammad Ázád, at the head of his 700 men, entered the defile, and came unexpectedly upon the Sí'áh-Poshán on the spot where they had fallen upon Burhán Ughlán and his troops. An obstinate encounter ensued, and, after killing a number of the infidels, Muḥammad Ázád repulsed them, and put them to flight, recaptured the armour, arms, and horses of Burhán Ughlán's force, and succeeded in joining him and his fugitive army.* Those who had lost their arms and horses received them back again. Muḥammad Ázád wished that the whole force should remain where they were for a time, but Burhán Ughlán, out of the pusillanimity of his heart, would not consent, and ascended the Pass leading out of the country; and, as a matter of course, the troops could do no more than follow; "for when a leader "out of cowardice runs away, his troops sustain defeat."

This Burhán Ughlán had misbehaved himself before in the war with the Úzbaks, had been pardoned, and was only sent on this expedition to enable him to redeem his name, for, from the time of the Chingiz Khán, no one of the race of Ḳaiát had ever acted with cowardice before. He chose to imitate the 'Arab who fled from the battle-field in the same disgraceful manner, and who, when reviled by his comrades for so doing, replied that he much preferred being hailed *alive* with "la'nat-ullah 'alaihí!"—the Almighty's curse be upon him!—to being *dead*, for them to say over him "raḥmat-"ullah 'alaihí!"—the Almighty's mercy be upon him! or, in other words, that "he "who fights and runs away, lives to fight another day."

After Amír Tímúr had been thus victorious over the Kaṭorián and Sí'áh-Poshán, he despatched two officers with a body of troops to search for another way of issue from their country than the one they had come by, and he likewise gave orders to root up the people's corn, which was yet green, and destroy it.

The detachment sent out to search for a road found a practicable one, which they made available after cutting through the snow in some places. Amír Tímúr, accordingly, set out on his return, crossed the mountains and defiles, and reached Khráwak again, where his troops, after being on foot for eighteen days, mounted their horses once more.

Burhán Ughlán was disgraced, and Muḥammad Ázád, who with his 700 men had gone against and overthrown the Sí'áh-Poshán, was well rewarded; and all those with him were also rewarded, according to their ranks and conditions.

Amír Tímúr left a garrison in the fort of Kháwak,† crossed the mountains of Hindú-Koh by the Tul (Bábar Bádsháh calls it Túl, *i.e.*, long) Kotal to Panj-her, which is also called Panj-sher, and marched to the jal-gáh of the Áb-i-Bárán, or Bárán river, which is distant from Kábul about five farsakhs or leagues.

Sulṭán Maḥmúd, son of Sulṭán Abú-Sa'íd, Bahádur Khán, son of Mírzá Sulṭán Muḥammad, son of Mírán Sháh, son of the Amír Tímúr-i-Gúrgán, who, after his father had been put to death by the Turk-máns, in 873 H. (1468-69 A.D.), set himself up at Hirát as sovereign of Khurásán, had soon to fly from thence. He retired to the Ḥiṣár-i-

* This is what a modern compiler styles—"It is pretended that a reinforcement partly retrieved it, but it "is clear that the success of the Emperor himself was rather equivocal." Amír Tímúr is nowhere styled "Emperor," or anything equivalent to it, in history, not even in the translation of Pétis de la Croix's "Timur Bec," which has been drawn upon in the work above alluded to. Amír Tímúr, according to history, made not the slightest attempt "to maintain a position in the country." Why he undertook this expedition has been already explained from the Zafar Náma'h.

† Amír Tímúr never "interfered with the internal administration of the Káfars," unless what I have related may be so interpreted, and Bábar Bádsháh did not even "interfere" to this degree.

Shádmán—Shádmán's Ḥiṣár, so called after its founder,—and succeeded in obtaining possession of that territory, together with Tirmiz, Khaflishán (between Kábul and Balkh), Khutlán, Ḳunduz, and Badakhshán, as far south as the mountains of Hindú-Koh.*

He, on several occasions, engaged in expeditions against the Kaṭor Káfirís and the Sí'áh-Poshán, and on this account obtained the title of Ghází. In 899 H. (1493–94 A.D.),† his eldest brother, Sulṭán Aḥmad Mírzá, died, and Maḥmúd succeeded him on the throne of Mávará-un-Nahr.‡

The next expedition into these parts, noticed in history, is that of Rashíd Sulṭán, son of Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán of Káshghar, but he appears only to have penetrated into the northern and eastern parts of the country of the Spín, or Safed-Posh Káfirís.§ The account of this expedition is highly important, as defining the limits of Bilaur, respecting which so many strange notions appear to exist, and about which a good deal of nonsense has lately been written, while some persons would do away with the name altogether. I shall have to refer to Bilaur again farther on.

Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥasan Khán, otherwise Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥaidar, the Doghlátí Mughal, and kinsman of Bábar Bádsháh, states in his History that he "accompanied "Rashíd Sulṭán, by command of Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán," in the year subsequent to the affair of Sháh Muḥammad Sulṭán (934 H., 1527 A.D.), in this expedition, to make a raid upon and plunder Bilaur. He says:—"It is a Káfiristán,|| that is to say, it is "peopled by unbelievers or idol-worshippers, and is a maze of lofty mountains, the "inhabitants of which abstain from nothing and care for nothing, and, following their "own natural instincts, they do whatever pleases them best." He then gives the boundaries of Bilaur, which is not to be "finally disposed of" by the mere stroke of a pen. The writer says:—"Bilauristán on its east boundary adjoins Káshghar and "Yár-ḳand (that is to say, the boundary of those territories when the author wrote); "its northern part adjoins Badakhshán; on its west is Kábul and Lamghán; and, on the south, Suwád, or Suwát, and Kash-mír."

There can be no mistaking these boundaries.

"This intervening space is four months' journey in circumference, and consists wholly of mountains, dara'hs, and defiles, so that, without using any exaggeration, it may be correctly said that, in all Bilauristán, not one league of level ground is to be found. There is not one village at peace with another, and hostility is ever going on between the people, who are constantly slaughtering each other. Their mode of fighting generally is after this manner. The old and infirm males are occupied in the tilling of the land, and in erecting and repairing dwellings, and such like work. When the women have cooked the morning meal, they come among the hostile parties, and if it is meal-time hostilities cease by mutual consent, and they separate from each other, and go home to their meal. After eating it they return to fight again, and continue under arms until the time of afternoon prayer (that is according to Musalmán computation, not that it is the time of *their* afternoon prayers), when the women again come between, a truce is entered into until sunrise next morning, and each man returns to his home for the night.

"Sometimes it so happens that a truce cannot be concluded, in which case they secure their dwellings, and keep watch and ward all night.¶ In this manner their whole lives pass."

"How happily the days of Thalaba went by!"

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* This was nearly a century before "Babur." *See* note *, page 128.

† The year 899 H. commenced on the 11th of October, 1493 A.D.

‡ All these extracts, I beg to observe, are taken from the original histories, and none from translations, if any exist.

§ In Bábar Bádsháh's time the Káfirís in the neighbourhood of Lamghán do not appear to have been unfriendly. When that monarch set out from Kábul in Muḥarram, 926 H. (January, 1520 A.D.), on a tour into Lamghán, he despatched Ḥaidar, the 'Alam-Dár, or Standard-Bearer, to the Káfirís. He says in his "Tuzúk,"—"Ḥaidar the 'Alam-Dár had been sent by me to the Káfirián, and below the Bád-Paj Kotal "(mentioned in note ††, page 99), having brought along with him the headmen of the Káfirián (as he writes it) "with several khígs of wine, they made their obeisance."

|| After Bábar Bádsháh's and the author's manner of expressing the word:—"a Káfiristán" signifies, according to Musalmán ideas, a tract of country inhabited by idol-worshippers, or people of any other religion than that of Islám, and is not a proper name, nor is it intended to be understood as the proper name of a particular tract of country. Any country or territory peopled by unbelievers or idol-worshippers would be so called by Muḥammadans.

I find no mention of Dr. Leitner's "Dardistán," or his "Dards," in any books treating of the history or geography of these parts. That the Afgháns are converted Dards is too wild a theory for discussion. It is the Πάκτυες of Herodotus over again. Dárdú, farther east, is repeatedly mentioned in history.

¶ This appears to be much the same sort of skirmishing as goes on between the Afgháns occasionally. *See* my "Account of Upper and Lower Suwát," in the "Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society," No. III., of 1862, page 227.

"As they have scarcely any level spots or pasture lands, there are few herds or flocks to be found in their borders.* They possess no more than a few sheep and goats to furnish them with wool and pashm wherewith to make garments, and a few cows which supply them with milk and clarified butter.

"Each dara'h and each tribe has a different dialect, in such wise that the one does not understand the language of the other.† The reason of this is that, through being constantly at feud one with another, they are unable to move from their own villages to hold intercourse with others more distant.

"There are good gardens in Bilauristán, and fruits of all descriptions are produced in exceeding plenty, particularly pomegranates, which are very good. There is one description of the latter fruit which I never saw elsewhere—it has white seeds, which are very transparent. The people have also much honey.

"In short, during the cold season we were in Bilaur we had several encounters with the people, and the victory was with us, and when spring came round we returned to the Sárígh Chopán.‡ When we reached it the booty obtained during this raid was divided, and a fifth set aside (for the Khán), and that fifth comprised more than a thousand captives. Early in the spring of 934 H. (1528 A.D.) we again reached the presence of the Khán."

It is much to be regretted that the author did not enter into more particulars respecting this expedition, and more geographical details, which he generally does throughout his interesting work, from which this extract is taken. The depth of winter, however, was not the season to judge fairly of any country or its capabilities, much less one covered with snow in that season, and therefore his remarks are not of so much value. Had he seen Bilauristán in summer he might have judged of it differently, and more favourably.

When Humáyún Bádsháh was returning to Kábul in 955 H. (1548 A.D.), after a campaign in Badakhshán, he reached Sar-i-Áb,§ which is one of the small towns belonging to Undar-Áb, and encamped there with the intention of going to see the fort of the Paríán, which had been repaired by his great ancestor, the Amír Tímúr-i-Gúrgán, on his undertaking an expedition against the Káṭor Káfirís, and which is situated at the head of the Dara'h of Panj-her.

Next day, when Humáyún had proceeded some distance towards that place, he came upon some dwellings of nomads, consisting of caves in the sides of the hills, and the fort of the Paríán itself was distinctly seen in the distance. The fort was reached, and, as its situation was good, plenty of running water near, and the climate salubrious, Humáyún determined to put the fortress in repair, and leave a garrison there with a governor, as the Amír Timúr had done before him, and to make the governor the feudatory of that part. Pahlawán Dost, the Mír-i-Bar, or Quartermaster-General, accordingly, received instructions to collect stonecutters, masons, excavators, and other artisans required, and the different portions of the works were allotted to the different nobles to superintend, and the troops assisted. In the space of ten days it was completed, and Báyazíd, the Byát, the narrator, assisted in the work. Beg Mírak was appointed governor and feudatory, and the name of the place was changed to Islám-ábád. Arrangements were made for the supplies required for the garrison being drawn from the towns and villages of Khost (of Badakhshán), Undar-Áb,‖ and Panj-her.

On the eleventh day the Bádsháh set out to inspect the silver mine, which is situated about two or three kuroh distant from the fort of the Paríán, on the right-hand side of the road to Kábul. Pahlawán Dost was directed to bring the excavators thither, which he did, in order that they might work there. People of the neighbourhood, however, who were acquainted with the state of the mine, represented to the Bádsháh that the produce did not pay the expense of working it, so the idea of setting the excavators to work was given up. About ten o'clock at night the Bádsháh set out from thence for Kábul, and in the morning reached the Kotal or Pass of Shutar-Grám,

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* This description may apply correctly enough to the northern or north-eastern parts of Bilauristán as here described, but not to its southern and western parts.

† The author appears to refer to the great dara'hs, such, for example, as the Dara'h of Ḍángrak, mentioned at page 160.

‡ "Sarigh Chopan" of the maps probably, and the Sarigh Chaupán of Múnshí Faiẓ-Bakhsh, which he says is also called "Srahad," but we hear nothing from Mírzá Ḥaidar of "the famous Baroghil pass," the situation of which, as shown by our maps, must have been in, or in close proximity to, his route.

§ That is "head of the river or stream," and Sir-i-ab, consequently, as in modern maps, is not correct. Sar, not Sir, is the Tájzík for head. This is a different place from Sar-i-Áb mentioned in note †, page 99.

‖ Undar-Áb is said, as previously mentioned, to be the correct name of this place and district, but in Major Wilson's map it is "Indar-Ab," while others write it "Andarab."

and lost the road, and all the efforts of the advance guard to find it were of no avail. At last a man on foot was espied at a distance, and he guided the Bádsháh and his force to the village of Shutar-Grám,* and it encamped on the banks of the Panj-her river. From thence Humáyún proceeded to Kábul by Ḳará-Bágh, and entered the city in the fourth solar month (July—August) of 955 H. (1548 A.D.).

In the Yúsufzí history I have quoted in these Notes it is stated that the Káfirís—those north of Panj-Korah, Suwád, and Buner, or Spín Káfirís are referred to—acknowledged, nominally at least, allegiance to Khán Kajú, who became chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs after the decease of Malik Aḥmad.†

When Jalál-ud-Ḍín, Muḥammad, Akbar Bádsháh, reached Jalál-ábád on his return to Hindústán, in 989 H. (1581 A.D.), from his campaign against his brother, Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, where the main body of his forces then were, under his eldest son, the Sháh-Zádah, Salím (afterwards Jahán-gír Bádsháh), he sent a detachment of troops to penetrate as far as the skirt of the mountains of Kaṭor, famous as the country of the Káfirán-i-Sí'áh-Posh,‡ but, unfortunately, no particulars are given respecting the upshot of the expedition.

During the reign of the same Bádsháh, Zain Khán, Kokal-Tásh, penetrated into the country of the Káfirís,§ lying near, and east of, Bájawṛ, in pursuit of Jalálah and Waḥdat 'Alí, his kinsman, but according to some accounts, his brother, the Táríkí leaders, and drove them out of that part, in which operations some Káfirís assisted the Bádsháh's troops. A short account of this expedition will be found farther on.‖

In the reign of Walí Muḥammad Khán, brother of Bákí Muḥammad Khán, the Úzbak ruler of Máwará-un-Nahr, Balkh, Kunduz, and Badakhshán, who succeeded his brother in 1014 H. (1605–6 A.D.), mention is made of an outbreak in the Kunduz territory, and the setting up of a Mírzá Ḥasan as ruler by the insurgents, who invested Ḳunduz. Imám Ḳulí Khán, brother's son of Walí Muḥammad Khán, who had lately been despatched by him at the head of a large army from Samrḳand against certain rebels in Chaghánián¶ and Badakhshán, and was still in those parts, near the Jíḥún, sent a body of troops under the Arghún, Dostam, the Atálík, to the relief of Ḳunduz. He proceeded by way of Khulm, and the insurgents gave up the investment of Ḳunduz and fell back. He marched after them, came in contact with them at a place called Tang-i-Maraj of Badakhshán. They were overthrown and put to flight, and fled into the Káfiristán.

When Núr-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, Jahán-gír Bádsháh, reached Jalál-ábád, on his way to Kábul, in 1035 H. (1625 A.D.), a deputation of the Sí'áh-Posh Káfirí, from the Dara'h of Núr, came in and made their obeisance to the Bádsháh; "and now," says the author of the Iḳbál-Náma'h-i-Jahán-gírí, "I will mention a little concerning them, and their manners and customs. They resemble the Káfirís of Tibbat (the Spín or Safed-Posháu). They make an idol in the resemblance of a man and worship it; and do not marry more than one wife, except the first be barren, or the husband be displeased with her, or she refuses to live with him. In such case, however, if the relations of the first wife have the opportunity, they put the husband to death for repudiating her. If the father of any one takes a fancy to the wife of his son, it does not matter, and he can take her to himself.

"They have no places enclosed within one wall (as a walled town or village, or detached houses, he means); and those who desire to proceed to the dwelling of a relation or a kinsman are in the habit of going along the roofs of the houses of each other to enable them to do so. With the exception of hog's flesh, fish, and domestic poultry, all other food is lawful to them. They say that all among their people who

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* Neither the Kotal nor Shutar-Grám itself, although a well known place, appear in our maps.

† *See* page 123.

‡ In the account of the Amír Tímúr's expedition the historian makes a difference between the Sí'áh-Posháu and the Kaṭor Káfirs, but here they are styled Sí'áh-Posháu of the mountains of Kaṭor.

§ *See* page 170.

‖ Page 170.

¶ This place was, even as far back as the period in question, known as Dih-i-Nau, according to the Balkhí historian of the "Bahr-ul-Asrár fí Munákib-ul-Akhyár," written in 1050 H.

Chaghánián, which must not be mistaken for Shaghnán, is the plural of Chaghání, which was the name of a tribe. *See* my Translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 423, note 8, and page 426. It was not unusual to call a district or territory after a person, or the tribe in possession, as in the case of the district of Ḳará-Tigín (قرا تگين), which is a man's name so applied, and hitherto incorrectly written "Karatagheen," "Karatgin," "Caratakin," and in other erroneous ways. In the same way, the Ḳárlúgh Hazárah is so called after the well known Turk tribe of that name, and the district of Ḳunduz, called Ḳatghín after the Mughal tribe of that name.

In the same way we read in Al-Bírúní of the Shaghnán Sháh and the Wákhán Sháh, which names still survive in Shaghnán and Wákhán, as well as Kábul Sháh, Tirmiz Sháh, Khwárazm Sháh.

eat fish become blind. Meat is generally boiled, and eaten sometimes hot and sometimes cold. Cattle, such as oxen or buffaloes, they slaughter by striking the animal on the neck with a sword. Goats and sheep are killed by cutting their throats.

"The Káfirís are very fond of red-coloured clothes, and those among them who have slain a Musalmán fasten little bells round their waists. Their dead they dress in their best clothes, and place the defunct in a grave, along with his weapons (if the corpse of a man), a vessel of wine, and a cup.

"When they take oath or make a covenant, the head of a deer or goat is placed on a fire, withdrawn again, and placed on a branch of the *zaitún* or wild olive tree, and then they swear by it. They say that whoever breaks such an oath as that will certainly fall into calamity.

"The Bádsháh was much pleased at seeing these Sí'áh-Poshán and promised to give them whatever they desired to have. They asked for horses, swords, some money, and red dresses. Their desires were complied with; and they departed well pleased with their reception and presents."

The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, referred to in the Second Section, page 36, while at Kábul, visited the Kohistán of Kábul, and part of the tracts held by the Sáfí Afghans. He gives us a little further information respecting the Tor or Sí'áh-Posh Káfirís. He says:—

"After some time, having obtained the Sháh's permission,* I set out in order to see the Kohistán, to Nijr-Áo, and the Sáfí country, which lie in the direction between north and east from Kábul. Mu'álij Khán, the Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul, accompanied me. The first stage was to Páe-i-Manár in the direction of north-west from Kábul, and distant six kos.† From thence we proceeded seven kos, in the same direction, to Chára'h-Kár, also called Cháríá-Kár, and then went on to Tutam Dara'h, north of Chára'h-Kár, below which latter place is the Panj-sher or Panj-her‡ river. The fourth stage was to Dih-i-Afghán, a distance of ten kos in the direction of west; the fifth to Ushtar-Grám,§ twelve kos to the south-west; the sixth to Sáfí, thirteen kos in the direction of south-west from Ushtar-Grám; and the next stage was Nijr-Áo or Níjr-Áb, distant from Sáfí ten kos south. We reached it in seven stages. Panj-her is distant eight kos to the south-west; and the route leading into Balkh lies near it.

"Nijr-Áb or Nijr-Áo is the name of a large and lofty mountain tract, and in the villages situated therein dwell people who speak the Persian language,‖ and they cultivate the soil. They are a worthy and warlike race, and they, and other people of these parts, carry on incessant warfare with the Sí'áh-Poshán or Tor Káfirís.

"The mountains in which the Káfirís dwell join the hills of Nijr-Áb on the south, and there, on the border, Bábar Bádsháh erected a frontier post in which *kashakchis* (guards) are still stationed. Hostilities constantly go on between the soldiers there located and the Sí'áh-Poshán.

"Beneath the hills of Nijr-Áb (to the east and south) are forests of pine, walnut, pistachio, jujube, and other trees, in which forests is found an animal called the mountain horse (*asp-i-kohí*), which is the size of a *yábú* (pony), and has a great deal of hair about its body, like a bear. The latter animal is also numerous there, and also the flying-fox.

"The Sí'áh-Poshán are in the habit of lying in ambush in these forests, and killing all Musalmáns who fall into their hands. It is a custom among these people to allow a man who has killed as many as forty Musalmáns to fasten an equivalent number of small bells around his waist, and he is accounted a great hero, and looked upon as a sacred person. The slaying of Musalmáns is part of their religion (after the manner of Musalmáns, who slay them on the same account). Their garments are of coarse black blanket made of goats' hair, hence their name of Sí'áh-Poshán or Black-clad.¶ The females of these people are red and white, and very handsome,

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* Tímúr Sháh, son of Aḥmad Sháh, and father of Sháh-i-Zamán and Sháh Shujá'-ul-Mulk.

† Computed by others to be two leagues from Kábul. It is not called "Paen Minar."

‡ I am inclined to believe that the words Panj-sher, supposed by some to mean five lions, and Panj-hír, are neither of them correct, and that the derivation of the name is Panj-her, as in the Masálik wa Mamálik, from "*her*"—هير—fire—the five fire altars, or place of five fires. *Her-bud*, means an attendant priest at a *her*.

§ Called "Ushtar" as well as "Shutar-Grám."

‖ These may be Tájzíks, but I am rather inclined to consider them a separate people, and the same as those referred to elsewhere, dwelling farther east, bearing the name of Kohístání. They may be descended from the Turk tribes referred to at pages 82 and 132.

¶ What the costume of the Tor Káfirís is like may be seen from one of the illustrations to Burnes' "Cabool."

but the males are plain and ill-looking. Men who enter their country disguised as devotees are not molested by them; and I was told,—God forgive us!—that they call such a man, 'the son of God.' Traders who go to the frontier of their territory, and take piece goods along with them, can obtain gold in exchange, for considerable quantities of that precious metal are found in the Káfiristán.

"In the Kohistán of Nijr-Áb pomegranates are produced weighing a *ser* and half each (3 lbs.), some of which are very sweet, and others between sweet and sour.

"In the country of the Sí'áh-Poshán also is found the species of black narcissus (dark grey?) called *shahlá*, which is rare, and held in great estimation. Many people go in search of them, but few are successful in finding them. One of these flowers, but dry and withered, Tímúr Sháh has in his possession, which a faḳír found and presented to that Bádsháh, and, from what he stated, I have written.

"The climate of the Kohistán of Níjr-Áb is very pleasant, and the district is full, so to say, of brooks and purling streams, and contains many verdant and delightful spots. Hawks and falcons are used here in taking birds, and numbers are kept for hunting purposes.

"I remained in this pleasant part for one month, after which I returned to Kábul."*

Eighteenth Route. From the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ to Pashat and Kúnaṛ by way of Hindú-Ráj.

"The route from the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ to the village of Tarín is given in that leading from Pes'háwar to Chitrál, described at page 181. From Tarín two roads diverge. The left-hand route leads to Saur Kamar and Náwa'h-ga'í, and the right-hand route is this:—From Tarín you proceed one kuroh and a half to Khalúzí,† a large village lying on the right hand, on the other side of the Sherí river, or Áo-Sherí,‡ as it is also called, and from thence to Gaṭ,§ another considerable village. The river flows on the right hand, and the village of Sagaey‖ lies on the left. From Gaṭ you proceed another two kuroh and a half in the direction of north-west, and reach Ghás'haey or Ghák'haey,¶ the name of a small village, but one very well known, from its being situated at the foot of the Ghás'haey or Ghák'haey, whence it derives its name. A little to the north-west of it the ascent of the mountain range begins, and you continue to ascend for a distance of seven kuroh, and then reach the crest of the Pass, and this is called the Hindú-Ráj Ghás'haey or Ghák'haey.** From thence, descending on the other or western side for a distance of nearly seven kuroh more, you reach the small village known as Hindú-Ráj. Another four kuroh brings you to Ḥiṣára'h,†† a large village on the river of Chitrál, Chitrár, or Ḳáshḳár. The route from Ḥiṣára'h to Pashat has been given at page 151.‡‡

"By crossing the river under the village of Ḥiṣára'h by means of a raft, you can proceed to Chaghán-Saráe."

Nineteenth Route. From Pashat to Chaghán-Saráe.

"Leaving Pashat and proceeding a quarter kuroh north-east, you reach the bank of the Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár river, and cross it on a raft to Koṭ-kaey—'the Fortlet or Little Fort'—which is a strong place on the western bank of the river. You then go on for a distance of two kuroh north to Kúz (Lower) Tarhang, also a strong fort on the right or western bank of the same river. One kuroh north-east from thence is Bar (Upper) Tarhang, also a stone-built fort on the banks of the river, which lie close by on the right hand.

"The Mír, 'Ubaid-ullah ('Abd-ullah at page 106) Ṣaḥib, after Nádir Sháh, Afshár,

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* For further geographical details respecting these districts bordering on the Káfiristán, *see* the following eleven routes, and the account of Ḳáshḳár and its routes.

† *See* pages 124 and 181.

‡ *See* pages 181 and 250.

§ *See* page 117.

‖ There is a doubt here. Two copies have Sagaey سگي as above, but two others have Zagaey زگي.

¶ *See* pages 152 and 163.

** *See* page 126. This well-known pass does not appear in any of our maps.

†† The name of this place is also written Ḥiṣárá, as many feminine names of places are, both being correct. *See* pages 152 and 171.

‡‡ *See also* page 171.

had retired (*see* page 110), rebuilt and re-fortified Koṭ-kaey* anew, and repaired and re-fortified both the Tarhangs, and made them places of security for himself.

"From Bar Tarhang six kuroh north-west is Báḍel, a small village on the left hand, at some distance from the road; and the very first village which the Afgháns (the Sáfís) took by force of arms from the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán was this one (*see* page 105). The river lies on the right hand, and a lofty mountain range distant on the left.

"From Báḍel you proceed a little way north and reach Tesha'h, which is another small village; and from thence you proceed three kuroh north to Mánogaey, a large village in the Dara'h of Chaghán-Saráe. A small river, which issues out of the Dara'h of Pích, passes to the east of this village, and, running to the right, joins the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár. The mountains of Kaṭar and Gambhír lie on the other side (farther side) of the small river referred to. From Mánogaey you proceed one kuroh east to Ḳamchey,† the name of two villages; and from thence two kuroh farther to the east is Ḳalá'-ga'í,‡ and another kuroh south is Karábla'h. All these villages, which are on that (the farther) side of the river of Pích, are called Kúz (Lower) Chaghán Saráe by the Afgháns; and Shanbey-Gám, and some other villages, they call Bar (Upper) Chaghán Saráe;§ and they are peopled by Tájzíks.‖

"From Bar Tarhang to Chaghán-Saráe, the Tor Káfirís, or Sí'áh-Poshán, are wont to lie in ambush, and put travellers and wayfarers to death."

Twentieth Route. From Pashat to Goslak.

"The road from Pashat to Koṭ-kaey has just been described in the preceding route. From opposite the latter place they have cut a large *nahr* or canal, which they style a *wála'h*, and brought it, on the left-hand side, into their lands. The land lying between this canal and the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár they call 'shálí-zár,' signifying, in the Tájzík language, rice ground, land in which rice is or can be raised, and it is exceedingly productive.¶

"Leaving Koṭ-kaey you proceed a quarter kuroh north-west to L'wáṛ-gaey,** the name assigned to two or three villages belonging to the Sáfí Afgháns. From thence going another kuroh north-west, you reach Kánáḍar, the name of two villages belonging to the Bábaṛ tribe.†† Another half a kuroh in the same direction brings you to Kulmátí and Shaloṭaey,‡‡ two villages belonging to the people known as Dihkáns or Dihgáns, situated on the river of Dew-Gal, which river comes from the left hand out of a dara'h among the mountains, and, running to the right, near the villages of Kánáḍar, joins the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár.

"From Shaloṭaey two roads diverge. The right hand one is as follows. From that place you proceed one kuroh to Chaukaey, three villages belonging to the Sáfí Afgháns; and the left-hand road, which, in fact, is the nearest, and also the most difficult, joins it at this place. Leaving Chaukaey and proceeding eight kuroh north, you come to Andar-Luchak,§§ a large village also belonging to the Sáfís; and on the way thither are numerous ascents and descents. You wend your way along the Dew-Gal river, with lofty mountain ranges near by on either hand, and numerous villages. Two roads diverge from this place also. The left-hand road is this. Leaving Andar-Luchak, and proceeding a very short distance to the north-west, you come to Bád-gúr.

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* *See* page 117.

† This name may possibly be Ḳamchí.

‡ Ḳalá' is the plural form of Ḳala', and *ga'í* the termination referred to in note §, page 113.

§ It will be noticed that there is no particular village or town called Chagán-Saráe, but, in ancient times, there might have been a White Saráe there. *See* page 107.

‖ *See* page 107.

¶ Gold washing is carried on at Pashat and in its neighbourhood to some extent, and has been for a long period of time.

** In one copy, Luhárgaey. *See* page 116, and note ‖, page 113.

†† Thus in the different copies of the MS. They must be an offshoot of the Sáfí or Ghalzí tribes, perhaps Bábú Ghalzís. It is by no means possible that they are of the well-known trading tribe of that name.

‡‡ This is the place marked "Shúlút," in Major-General Walker's maps, but it does not occur in Major Wilson's.

§§ The words (or word) are without vowel points, and the correct pronunciation is doubtful, but I have read them in the ordinary way. They may be Andaral-chak, but this is improbable. Lutsak, with Afghán "*ts*," signifies in the Pus'hto or Afghán language "lonesome," "solitary," "desolate," etc.

From thence you proceed four kuroh north-west to Chalas,* a large village situated on the acclivity of a mountain, and belonging to the sept of people called Kohistánís, previously referred to. North of it is the great mountain range, from which a river falls, which, running towards the south, through a dara'h in the mountains, unites with the river of Chitrál or Kashkár.

"Ascending the range from that village, and proceeding upwards for a distance of seven kuroh (over the Chalas Ghás'haey, or Pass), and descending from the crest, on the other side, in the direction of north for about another seven kuroh, you reach Dera'h-i-Mullá-i-Nau, signifying 'The New Mullá's Halting Place' or 'Dwelling Place.' The summit of this mountain range, which is named Kund by the Afgháns, and Tíraj-Mír by the Tájzíks of Káshkár,† and which always appears white from excessive snow, lies on the left hand. By the way are dense forests, among the trees of which are many descriptions of fruit-bearing trees, and much grass and herbage of various species; and, as from the smell of the grass (or herbage) a person becomes stupefied, people take an onion along with them in their hands, and immediately on their brain becoming affected they smell the onion and also eat it, and their brain recovers from the effect.‡

"From the three Sáfí villages named Chaukaey (previously mentioned as being one kuroh distant from Shalotaey) to the extreme point or crest of the Chalas Ghás'haey, this dara'h or valley is called Dew-Gal,§ and the Dera'h-i-Mullá-i-Nau is the name of a desolate halting place. Two kuroh north of the said dera'h the habitations and lands of the Kohistánís commence, and two kuroh to the north of it is a large village belonging to the Sáfí Afgháns called Kalaey, or The Village, and situated within the Dara'h of Pích.‖ A small river issues near this dara'h (from another dara'h opening into it), and below Kalaey joins the river of Pích. This latter dara'h, or cleft in the mountains,¶ is called the Chap Dara'h, and the severity of its cold is simply intense.

"Three kuroh north-west from Kalaey is Goslak, which is a large and well known village belonging to the Sáfí Agh※áns, and east of it is the confluence of the (two) rivers. The northern river comes from the Kohistán or mountain tracts of Wámán:** the southern†† one flows from the mountain range of Koh-i-Kund; and the two, having joined together, receive the name of river of Pích.

"From Goslak to Wámán is three stages in the direction of north-west, and in that dara'h (one of) the tribes of the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Posbán dwell.‡‡ The inhabitants are on terms of friendship with the Afghán people of this part (the Sáfís).§§

"The right-hand road is this. You leave Andar-Luchak, and proceed up the mountains by a Pass for a distance of eight kuroh in the direction of north, and, having reached the crest of the range, descend for about the same distance towards the north-east, and reach Gauran-Gal (in one copy, Kauran-Gal), which is a large village belonging to the Kohistání sept of people. This Pass over the mountain range is known as the Gauran-Gal Ghás'haey.‖‖ Leaving Gauran-Gal village, and ascending the mountains for a distance of two kuroh in the direction of north-east, and again descending for two kuroh in the same direction, you reach Kanda'h-Gal, a small village of the Sáfí Afgháns, situated on the river of Pích.

"You then proceed four kuroh north-west to Gorú or Gúro, and then another kuroh to the east brings you to Gúrol (in one copy Gúrarol). Proceeding one kuroh farther east, Aotey-Grám or Útey-Grám¶¶ is reached, and another kuroh from

* In one copy Chalbas, but scarcely correct.

† Tíraj-Mír, also called Sarowar. *See* page 156. A peak of this range appears in Elphinstone's map under the name of "Coond," but it is the name given to the range and not to a single peak.

‡ There are other "Onion Mountains" apparently, besides those of Tibbat referred to in note *, page 180.

§ *See* page 108.

‖ This is a dependency of Kúnar, but it is a separate dara'h.

¶ It is a dara'h opening into the other.

** For an account of the Dara'h of Wámán, or Wáma'h, *see* page 134.

†† It is not meant here that the river comes from the south, but that one comes from the north and the other runs to the southward of that, and south of Goslak village. Its probable course is north-west or thereabouts, flowing, as it does, from Koh-i-Kund. I have before remarked, in note ¶, page 101, that what appears, in our latest maps, far away in the north, as the source of the Alingár or Kow river, will be found really to be a tributary of the Pích river, and, consequently, of the river of Chitrál or Káshkár; and from what is mentioned above, and in the account of the Dara'h of Wáma'h or Wámán, I feel pretty certain that my surmises will turn out correct. I believe a cross chain intervenes between the sources of the two rivers of Kow and Pích, running north-west and south-east. This river I believe to be the identical one reached by Amír Tímúr, referred to at page 137. *See* note **, page 101, and page 147.

‡‡ *See* "Notes on Káfiristán," page 24.

§§ *See* page 105.

‖‖ Not to be found in any of our maps.

¶¶ In one copy Awtey-Grám.

thence, to the north-west, Nátí-Grám. From that place you go on for another three kuroh to the north-west to Koṭ-Gal,* and two kuroh west from thence to Kanḍaey. Another half a kuroh in the direction of west brings you opposite to Kalaey of the Sáfís, mentioned in the left-hand route, and which lies on the left-hand side. The river previously mentioned as issuing from the Chap Dara'h, on the right hand, unites with the river of Pích. From thence (the point near Kalaey) you proceed three kuroh north-west to Goslak, under or below which village there is a wooden bridge over both rivers.

"Three kuroh south-west of Goslak is Bustalá, which is the name of a village at the foot of the range of Koh-i-Kunḍ, from which direction a river comes.

"From the village of Kanḍa'h-Gal to Kalaey, in fact, from Kanḍa'h-Gal to the wooden bridge spanning the river of Bustalá below Goslak, the river of Pích lies near by on the right-hand side, and you proceed along the heights overhanging it."†

Twenty-first Route. From Chaghán-Saráe to Goslak.

"From Máno-gaey, in the Dara'h of Chaghán-Saráe, mentioned in the nineteenth route (page 144), you proceed four kuroh north-west to Shanbey-Gám, which is a large village, and on the way thither there is much water. The country is in a good state of cultivation, and populous; and the river of Pích lies near by on the right hand. From this village two roads diverge. The right-hand one is as follows.

"Leaving Shanbey-Gám, you proceed in the direction of east, and pass the river of Pích by the wooden bridge, and then, going for a short distance to the north of it, reach Aoṭá or Úṭá-púr, a village of considerable size, peopled by Tájzíks, and from this place the Dara'h of Chaghán-Saráe terminates.

"From Aoṭá or Úṭá-púr you proceed five kuroh to the north-west to Bár Kanḍaey, the name applied to two villages of the Sáfí Afgháns; and, as in this route great numbers of Musalmáns have lost their lives (from time to time) at the hands of the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Posháu, this road has been named the Ráh-i-Shahídán, or 'The Martyrs' Road,'‡ and it is very narrow and very difficult. A lofty mountain range rises on the right hand, and the river of Pích flows on the left.

"From Bár Kanḍaey, you go on for a distance of five kuroh in the direction of north-west, and reach Daraey, a village of the Sáfí Afgháns; and another half a kuroh, in the same direction as before, brings you to Nang-Lám (نَنگْلام).§ This is a large and well known village, belonging to the Sáfí Afgháns, and is situated at the entrance of a gorge. About half the village (and its lands) is inhabited by the Kohistání people in conjunction with the Sáfís. On the right-hand side of the village (from the way the narrator approached Nang-Lám from Bár Kanḍaey, that is to say, the right-hand side from the north-west) is the commencement of a great Dara'h called Wánat,‖ previously described (at page 132), the chief place in which, and the residence of the Chief, Sharaf Gul Khán, is called Wáe-Gal. A river flows out of it, which runs to the right, and joins the river of Pích, and over it they have thrown a wooden bridge.

"Crossing the river of Wánat near Nang-Lám by the wooden bridge, you proceed one kuroh west to Racha'h-Lám, a village inhabited by Sáfí Afgháns. From the latter place you go one kuroh and a half east to Kanḍaey, another large village inhabited by the same tribe, and then four kuroh in the same direction to Saidur, another

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* It will be noticed how often the word "*gal*," written with short "*a*," occurs as an affix to names of places in these parts, as in Núr-Gal, Wáe-Gal, Dew-Gal, Kanḍa'h-Gal, etc. In the same manner *lám* frequently occurs, and *úz* in the termination of Kám-úz, Dey-úz, or Dí-úz, etc. What these words may mean I cannot say, but they are certainly not without some appropriate signification. They are not Persian or Tájzík, nor are they Pus'hto. The same may be said of *ṭan*, as in Shúr-ṭan, and Chugyá-ṭan.

† The writer seems to mean that the banks of the river are high, and that you proceed along these cliffs, the river flowing beneath.

‡ All Muhammadan writers complain of the hostility of the Tor and Spin Káfirís, especially the former, and their slaying travellers and others whom they can waylay. They do not for a moment imagine that there can be any martyrs among the Káfirís. They are supposed to forget what they have suffered, and are still suffering, at the hands of Musalmáns,—their lands seized, their property plundered, and constant raids made upon them for the express capture of their young people, who are carried away, and sold into slavery.

§ This name, in Major Wilson's map, is written "Noghlan," with a *gh*, another specimen of the vitiation of words, but in Chaghán-Saráe, which *does* contain guttural *gh*, it is left out, and the word is written "Chigur Serai." In the above word also *n* has been substituted for the final *m*.

‖ There is a *village* marked in Major Wilson's map as "Want," but this is merely the vitiated name of the great dara'h, which appears to have been considered a village only. Wánat is thirty kuroh in length.—*See page 132.*

village of the Sáfís. Below this village there is a wooden bridge over the river of Pích. From Saidur you go half a kuroh to the west to the large village of Lándá-ír, and then two kuroh more in the same direction, and cross the river of Pích by the wooden bridge to Kanḍaey, above mentioned. The road from this place to Goslak has been already described (at page 146) in the preceding route.

"From Aoṭá-púr or Úṭá-púr to the wooden bridge at Kanḍaey, you proceed along the heights, and the river of Pích lies on the left-hand side, and the crest of the mountain range on the right.

"The left-hand route is this. Leaving Shanbey-Gám and proceeding four kuroh to the north-west, inclining north, you reach Kaṭár Ḳala',* a stone built fort belonging to the Sáfís. You then go on from thence for a distance of three kuroh in the direction of north-west, to Kanḍa'h-Gal. This route they called Súṛey Gaṭa'h, 'the Perforated Stone'† Road. The river of Pích flows on the right hand, and the great mountain range towers upwards on the left.

"The road from Kanḍa'h-Gal to Goslak has been already detailed (at page 145)."

Twenty-second Route. From Núr-Gal to Sho-másh.

"Leaving Núr-Gal (*see* page 110) and proceeding six kuroh to the north-west, inclining north, into a dara'h or valley in the mountains, you reach Kar-Chandú, the name by which several villages are called, belonging to the Sáfí Afgháns. You then go on for a distance of seven kuroh north, to Ghází-ábád, the name given to three villages belonging to the same tribe. Another seven kuroh farther, in the direction of north-west, brings you to Sho-másh, a large village belonging to the people known by the name of Kohistánís. This dara'h, extending from Núr-Gal to Sho-másh, is known as the Dara'h of Mazár, previously described (at page 108). A river issues from the great mountain range north of Sho-másh, which passes Ghází-ábád and Kar-Chandú, and becomes expended in irrigating the lands dependent on Núr-Gal.

"Every footstep you take from Núr-Gal towards Sho-másh is on the ascent, and you follow the course of the river above referred to. Towards the north from Sho-másh is a lofty mountain, always capped with snow, which is part of the mighty range known as Kunḍ, Tíraj-Mír, and Sarowar, described in the account of the territory of Ḳáshḳár farther on (page 157)."

Twenty-third Route. From S'hewa'h to Sho-másh.

"Setting out from S'hewa'h or K'hewa'h‡ you proceed four kuroh north-west to Buḍa'h-Yála'í, a place inhabited by Sáfí Afgháns, and from thence proceeding another kuroh farther in the same direction, reach Ḳala'-i-Sháhí, a large village belonging to the people known as Kohistánís. You then go on for four kuroh more, still in the direction of north-west, to Stan,§ another large village belonging to the same race of people, and then on to Sarúṛ and Khanḍaey, distant between six and seven kuroh north, the names by which several villages belonging to the Spín Káfirís, or Safed-Poshán, are known.‖ This tribe is so called on account of their wearing white apparel.

"Leaving the Spín Káfirí villages and going six kuroh north, Aret is reached, which is another large village, situated on a steep slope of the mountain, and belonging to the Kohistání people. One kuroh farther in the direction of north brings you to Sho-másh.

"The dara'h extending from S'hewa'h or K'hewa'h to Sarúṛ they call the Dara'h of Núr (*see* page 108). On the north it adjoins the range of Koh-i-Kunḍ, from which a

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* Kaṭár is the name of the most bigoted of the Tor Káfirí tribes.—*See* "Notes on Káfiristán," page 26.

† The writer does not give the meaning of these words, but "súṛaey" and "súra'h" in the Afghán language signify a fissure, a chasm, orifice, hole, opening, &c., and "gaṭa'h," a large round stone or boulder, fragment of rock, and the like. The name of the route, therefore, appears capable of this translation, *lit.* "the Hole or Fissure Stone or Rock," a noun being often used in place of an adjective to qualify another noun.—*See* my Grammar, page 24.

‡ *See* page 109. This word being feminine, it would become S'hewey or K'hewey by inflection in conversation with Afgháns.

§ In one copy "Sutun."

‖ These villages are situated in the Dara'h of Núr, and Khanḍaey is the chief. *See* pages 109 and 110.

river issues, the water of which is expended in the irrigation of the lands of S'hewa'h or K'hewa'h.*

"In following the route just described you keep along the course of the river, and every footstep you take is upwards; and close by, on either side, lofty mountains rise, which are well wooded, and contain many fruit-bearing as well as other trees, and shrubs of various kinds.

"By going from the village of Stan in the direction of west, and crossing a great mountain range, people descend into the Dara'h of Alingár."†

Twenty-fourth Route. From Chaghán-Saráe to Wáe-Gal.‡

"The route from Chaghán-Saráe to Nang-Lám has been previously detailed (at page 146) in the twenty-first route. Leaving Nang-Lám you proceed six kuroh (in the direction of north-west) to Nasha'í, a large village belonging to, and named after, a sub-tribe of the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán who inhabit it. Its inhabitants are so famed for their valour and intrepidity among their own people as to have become proverbial. From thence seven kuroh farther north is Wáe-Gal, a large village, and place of residence of Arjalah Khán,§ the Tor Káfirí. This dara'h or great cleft in the mountains, extending from near Nang-Lám to Wáe-Gal, is known as the Dara'h of Wánat, previously described (at page 132)."

Twenty-fifth Route. From Shúr-ṭan‖ to Wáe-Gal.

"Having crossed the river of Chitrál or Káshkár at Shúr-ṭan (mentioned at pages 151 and 172) to the western bank, you proceed one kuroh west, and then enter a dara'h among the mountains. From that point you turn to the north, and proceed for the distance of another kuroh, when you begin to reach cultivation and habitations. You then continue to go on for another seven kuroh in the direction of north-west, when a great mountain range commences. By the way, from the banks of the river towards this point, there are ten or twelve villages belonging to the Shinwárí tribe of Afgháns, and known by the general name of Shí-Gal.¶ Proceeding north from the commencement of the great mountain range referred to, and wending your way for a distance of ten kuroh, ascending and descending the ascents and descents of this range, you reach the large village of Punat,** belonging to the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán.

"You then proceed three kuroh from thence, in the direction of north, to Bírah-Gal or Berah-Gal, also inhabited by the same race of people, and, after going another three kuroh farther north, you reach Chonash,†† likewise inhabited by the Tor Káfirís. This Dara'h they style Punat, and it is under the sway of Arjalah Khán before mentioned.

"The river which issues from this dara'h passes beyond Shí-Gal, and joins the river of Chitrál or Káshkár.

"Setting out from Chonash and proceeding twelve kuroh west, inclining north-west, you reach Wáe-Gal, which they also call Wáe-Galán.‡‡ On the way thither you have to cross a lofty defile or pass, leading over mountains towering to the heavens."

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* The eastern Afgháns pronounce *s'h* as *k'h*, as in Pes'háwar and Pek'háwar, and therefore I need not give both forms of the word again. *See* pages 106 and 109.

† *See* note **, page 101, and note ††, page 145.

‡ This is the chief place of the Wánat Dara'h and residence of its chief. *See* page 132.

§ All great chiefs of whatever race in these parts appear to have the title of Khán assigned to them, whether right or not. To a Káfirí chief it is only applicable under the signification of "Chief." At page 133, Wáe-Gal is said to be the place of residence of the chief of the tribe of the Tor Káfirís of Wánat, namely, Sharaf Gul Khán, an anecdote of whose magnanimity is there related. Arjalah Khán, who appears to have been a member of the same family, and also resided here, held sway over the Punat Dara'h mentioned below.

‖ Incorrectly written "Shurlan" in the latest maps.

¶ The Dara'h is also called Shí-Gal. *See* page 107.

** Masson heard of this place, but he made "Pandit" of it.

†† The "Chanesh" of Major Wilson's map is evidently the vitiated form of this name.

‡‡ The plural form of Wáe-Gal.

Twenty-sixth Route. From Harandú to Apá-luk, up the Dara'h of Luṭ-Dih, which route leads into Badakhshán.

"By this route you leave Harandú, proceed north-west, and cross the river of Chitrál or Ḵáshḵár by means of a raft. You then continue to proceed for a distance of sixteen kuroh farther to the north-west (through a dara'h) to Kám-úz,* a large village belonging to the Tor Káfirís of the Kám-úz tribe, and the place of residence of Daey-Mú and Astan Malik. Those persons pay allegiance to the Bádsháhs of Ḵáshḵár. On the way thither (from Harandú) are several villages belonging to the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán, and the dara'h itself is called the Dara'h of Kám-úz. The Ḵáshḵárí people likewise call it Kám.

"Leaving the Kám-úz village you proceed one kuroh north-west to the village of Kauzálah, and a little to the north-west of it is Munjish, which the Afghán people call Kashtúr,† and which is under the sway of Dín Malik and Kauzálah Malik. From thence you proceed four kuroh (in the same direction as before) to Mádo-Gal, and then another four kuroh north to Pur Sitam, afterwards three kuroh farther to Chápú, and a distance of eight kuroh more brings you to Luṭ-Dih, a large village, under the rule of Luṭ-Kár and Shut Malik. This territory is likewise called Luṭ-Dih, which is the name of the great dara'h, previously described (at page 133), the greater part of which belongs to the Tor Káfirís. It extends in length from near the river of Chitrál or Ḵáshḵár to the Kotal, or Pass, of Apá-luk, over the great snowy mountain range of Tíraj-Mír, Sarowar, or Koh-i-Kunḍ, as it is variously called, a distance of nearly fifty kuroh.

"From Luṭ-Dih you proceed five kuroh in the direction of north, and reach Pada-mukhh, and then another seven kuroh in the same direction to Shut-Gal. Nine kuroh more, in the same direction as before, brings you to Apá-luk, the name of a desolate halting place at the foot of the great snowy range above referred to. By crossing this mountain range you can proceed into Badakhshán, by the defile leading over it called the Kotal or Pass of Apá-luk."

The Apá-luk Pass is a very important one, and has never yet been mentioned by any other writer than the author of these surveys, and I mention it that he may receive the credit due to him. It is but ninety-six miles in a straight line from the town of Jalál-ábád, eighty-eight from Pashat, one hundred and twenty-five from our frontier fort of Abá-zí, and within less than one hundred and fifty miles of Pes'háwar. I believe it to be as practicable as the majority of the passes over the Hindú-Koh range, the "famous Baroghil Pass," by which "Jinjis" did not return from the Indus to "Kashgar," included. It would probably offer no greater obstacles than we first encountered in the Bolán and Khaibar Passes.

An enemy in possession of Badakhshán, desiring to reach Jalál-ábád or Pes'háwar, would save a vast distance by adopting it instead of the passes leading to Kábul. He might either reach Jalál-ábád by the Lamghán district, or by Kúnaṛ, or reach Pes'háwar by Dánish-Kol, and other routes herein described. Besides the Apá-luk Kotal, an enemy in possession of Badakhshán would also be able to command the other passes farther east, leading into Ḵáshḵár, described farther on. The Russians have not been exploring on the border,—in fact in Badakhshán itself,‡—and pushing their *reconnoissances* southward in this direction for nothing, neither has a Russian General been lately in Darwáz without an object. It is that they may have "more strings to their bow" than Marw.

To return to the description of the route.

"At this halting place (Apá-luk) a river issues from these mountains, which flows downwards, and finally enters the river of Chitrál or Ḵáshḵár near Harandú; and in going to Apá-luk from the last-named place you follow the course of the river, with lofty mountains rising on either side of you. The keenness of the air in this part is so excessive as to be almost beyond explanation."

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* Kám-úz is one of the eighteen tribes mentioned in my "Notes on Káfiristán," page 26.
† Here, as at page 133, in two copies of the original it is Kashtúr.
‡ *See* page 162.

another half a kuroh west to Budálaey, which is also a considerable village, then another kuroh and a half south-west to Khirḳa'h, another large village, and from thence a distance of two kuroh more (towards the west) brings you to Tsaparaey, mentioned (at page 180). You then proceed two kuroh farther to Ghás'haey,* the name of the small village at the foot of the pass over the mountains. From this point to Hindú-Ráj and Ḥiṣára'h, the road has been already described" (at page 143).

It will have been clearly understood from the general description of its dara'hs and rivers at page 115, and from the description of the routes just concluded,† that Bájawṛ is not, by any manner of means, "an undulating plain," as some have stated it to be, "twenty-five miles long and from two to seven broad;" neither is "the southern part of "Bajáwár (*sic*) a fine open valley varying from three to as much as fifteen miles in "width, and about thirty-five to forty miles in length." Bájawṛ is totally different. It is not "bounded on the north by Panjkora," but by the southernmost part of the Ḳáshḳár State. Panj-Korah bounds its upper portion on the east and north-east. "Nawagai" is not the name of either "a district" or a dara'h; neither is there "a "district" called "Mahmúd," which is a man's name, but there is a "kalaey" or "village" of Maḥmúd Khán, just mentioned in the twenty-ninth route.

In Major T. J. Montgomerie's account of his "Sapper Havildar's journey," in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," Vol. 42, for 1872, page 182, we are told, on the authority of the "Havildar," apparently, that "Bajaur is divided into *three* "districts, viz., Jandul (Miankilai‡), Nawagai, and Shahr." The foregoing account will show how erroneous this statement is. Bájawṛ consists of eight Dara'hs, and the "Havildar" has named but one of them, Jandul, and that incorrectly. It is a pity that the "Havildar," during his survey, could not manage to obtain and write down the proper names of both persons and places. In the article in question as they now stand, such as "Jandul"§ for Chanḍawul, "Burwa" (by no means a nice name) for Bárwah, etc., a person who so pronounced them to the people would not be understood.

I must say that the map accompanying the Mullá's explorations, published in the "Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal," meagre as his explorations appear to have been, is certainly the more correct one here, as far as it goes, as is confirmed by the details of the surveys which I have given in the preceding pages.

I have now completed the description of the routes leading into Lamghán, Kúnaṛ, Kámán, Bájawṛ, Pes'háwar, and the Káfiristán, and given a brief account of those parts, and some of the other dependencies of the Kábul territory, peopled by the Tájzík race. I must therefore turn northwards now towards Ḳáshḳár, after which I shall move eastwards towards Tibbat and the Abáe Sín or Indus, and give a short account of the various tracts of country in that direction down as far as Aṭak and Pes'háwar.

1st September 1879.

Ḳáshḳár and its Dara'hs.

Before entering upon the details of the routes leading into Ḳáshḳár,|| it will be well to give some account of the country, which is known generally to Europeans, but very erroneously so, as the country of Shah-Kator.¶

"Under the general name of Ḳáshḳár are included two tracts of country: one, Ḳáshḳár-i-Pá'ín, or Lower Ḳáshḳár, also called Chitrál, which, on account of *l* being interchangeable with *r*, is also called Chitrár, and the other Ḳáshḳár-i-Bálá,** or Upper Ḳáshḳár, or Mastúch, from its chief town.

"This is an extensive tract of territory inhabited almost exclusively by the Tájzík

* See pages 143 and 164.

† *See* also page 184.

‡ This is probably meant for Kalaey-i-Miágán, or Da Miágáno Kalaey, referred to at pages 164 and 168.

§ "Jhandaul" is equally incorrect. The word is evidently Turkish.

|| It must not be supposed, from the title of these "Notes," that I account Ḳáshḳár and other independent States to be contained in Afghánistán, because I do not. As I have before explained, Afghánistán is properly such parts as Afgháns dwell in.

¶ Which is not correct, but Sháh-i-Kaṭor,—King of the Kaṭor (people), as Abú-l-Faẓl writes it in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí. *See* also note §, page 133. "Khator" is out of the question, there being no *h* in the word.

** Afgháns, in conversation, would translate Pá'ín and Bálá into Pus'hto, and call these Kúz and Pás, or Lar and Bar, Ḳáshḳár, but the names by which they are known to their inhabitants are as above.

race, and consists of nine large dara'hs or valleys, upon each of which numerous smaller ones open."*

Since I wrote my "Accounts" of "Ḳáshḳár and Panj-Korah," and "Upper and "Lower Suwát," in the "Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society," No. II., for 1864, and No. III., for 1862, I have obtained much extra information concerning this country and other territories north of the Kábul river, and I am gratified to find that, although the former paper, written seventeen years ago, was somewhat meagre, I have little or nothing to alter or correct, and that much of the same information as is contained in it has since been corroborated by native explorers and others, as a comparison of their reports will show, and also that much is contained in it which they did not discover.

"The whole of this extensive territory, included under the name of Ḳáshḳár, may be called one great Dara'h. Its climate is severe, it contains lofty mountain ranges, and lies immediately on the skirts of the great snowy range, here called Tíraj-Mír and Sarowar, which bounds it on the north, and for some distance on the north-west.

"This tract is famous for all sorts of delicious fruits, which are produced in great abundance, and for the pureness of its water, which is obtainable from a thousand springs. It contains, as previously mentioned, nine large dara'hs, and out of the lesser ramifications of which, or still smaller valleys among the mountains which open into them, rivers of greater or less extent issue, and join the river of Ḳáshḳár, Chitrál, or Chitrár, or Palpí Sang, as it is variously designated.

"There is little level ground throughout this country; and the people build their villages on hills, and the ridges and slopes of mountains, and there till the land available for cultivation. The land is mostly dependent on rain for irrigation, but a good deal is irrigated by means of canals and cuts from the rivers, when the nature of the ground facilitates their construction. The tax assessed on the former lands is one tenth of the produce, and on the latter one fourth. Barley, wheat, and rice are produced in abundance, and the hills and wilds may be said to teem with various fruit and nut-bearing trees, and shrubs.

"Salt, turmeric, and small wares, such as needles, thread, scissors, knives, combs, etc., of rough workmanship, are imported from Pes'háwar and Kash-mír; and coarse fabrics, such as chintz and other piece goods of coarse texture, from Pes'háwar, Yár-ḳand, and Badakhshán. Tea, sugar, and horses are brought from Yár-ḳand, the merchants of which bring with them ingots of silver, which they call *inbú* (*yambú*?) to pay for merchandise to take back with them. They state that there is a silver mine in Khiṭá, the daily produce of which amounts to about 10,000 ingots, each of which weighs eighty tola'hs of Hind, and the silver of these ingots is exceedingly pure.† A few pearls and precious stones come from Badakhshán, and iron from Bájawṛ and Panj-Korah. Other articles of import are coarse sugar (*guṛ*), medicines, spices, arms and ammunition, and metal utensils.

"Silken fabrics, coloured and white cotton textures, cotton, opium, knives and swords, *yashmi* (jade)‡ articles, and goat leather, which they call *buzi*, fetch very high prices (that is, when the author wrote).

"Among the most highly esteemed fabrics of the Ḳáshḳár territory are *chádars*—shawls or scarves—of silk, and a description of cloth called *aṣl ṭús*,§ which are taken to Kábul and Pes'háwar. The former fetch high prices.

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* In the article on the "Kafirs," previously alluded to at page 129, the writer says the "black-legged "Kafirs are *kinsmen* of the Chitrali;" and in another place that "We (the writer?) have no information on the "subject of their (his 'black legged') relations with the Chitrali (all the inhabitants of Ḳáshḳár are "'Chitrali' according to this theory) an Aryan people who have become 'Mahomedan.'" If the writer had looked into the account of the "18 clans" which Mr. Hancock has not "told us of," he would have found some information respecting the relations between some of the Káfirí tribes and the Tájzík people of the Ḳáshḳár State. I never mentioned any tribe called "*Kalash*," because I do not know of any such.

† This mine was known to Abú-l-Fidá.

‡ Known to the author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí as *bejádah*.

§ This is woven from *pashm*, a species of fur or wool, with which all animals are provided in this cold region. For a description of the fabrics peculiar to Ḳáshḳár, *see* my account of that territory, previously referred to, page 9. Aṣl Ṭús merely refers, I believe, to the very soft, and curly (*marghúl* or *marghúlah*, as it is sometimes called, signifies curly) *pashm* of the mountain goat, a species of ibex, lying nearest the skin of the animal, which is considered the finest. Aṣl is 'Arabic, and signifies "root," "original," "foundation."

Bernier, referring to the products of Great Tibbat, says they consist of musk, crystal (*bilaur*), jade stones, and especially of "the wool of sheep and wild goats. This latter, which is known by the name of *touz*, "resembles the beaver, and should rather be called hair than wool." The word *tibbat* is said to mean "very "soft *pashm*, which is obtained by means of the comb from the *root* of the hair of wild goats."

"In the idiom of the people of this country they style a Sardár or Ra'ís by the title of Sháh or Bádsháh,* and the greatest Bádsháh among them is Sháh Khair-ullah. He has a following of about 10,000 or 12,000 horsemen, and pays submission to the Ḥákim or Governor of Yár-ḳand.†

"This territory extends in length, from the Láhorí Kotal or defile,‡ to the Pass of Sar-i-Yár-Khún,§ about one hundred kuroh. The Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh of Drúsh,‖ told the author of these surveys, saying: 'I have measured it by pacing it to the 'amount of 110,000 footsteps or paces, each thousand paces of which is equal to one 'statute kuroh of the kingdom of Dihlí; and throughout this space there is no extent 'of level ground, and no open plain. The breadth of Ḳáshḳár, from the extreme 'summit of the range of mountains on the one side, to the farthest point of the 'ramification in the mountains, constituting the lesser dara'hs or valleys on the other, 'is about fifty kuroh.'"

The author of these surveys makes a statement of some consequence at the end of his routes into the territories included in and bordering on Ḳáshḳár, but which ought to have preceded them, and I have therefore deemed it advisable to introduce it here.

He says:—

"Much information respecting these tracts and territories was likewise obtained from the Mír, Sháh Riẓá of Ḳáshḳár, the Bádsháh or Chief of Drúsh, previously alluded to (pages 157 and 173), with reference more particularly to the routes from Shúr-ṭan to Wáe-Gal; from Harandú to Apá-luk; from Shúr-ṭan to Chitrál; from Chitrál to the Láhorí Kotal; from Chitrál to the farther extremities of the Kotals of Do-Ráhah, or the Two Roads, Nuḳṣán, and Khaṭírah, and to Munjish; from Tíraj-Mír to Palpí Sang; from Sar-i-Lás-púr and Chugyá-ṭan; to Ḍángrak and Jál-Koṭ; and other matters which were taken down by the writer from the Sháh Riẓá's own lips.

"The Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh of Drúsh, was a man of great learning and attainments, and was held in great respect in consequence. He remarked: 'There is no 'fixed measurement existing or in use in this part—in the Ḳáshḳár state—equivalent 'to the standard kuroh of the Dihlí kingdom, and long distances are chiefly computed 'according to the distance which can be traversed (by a man on foot) between 'Chásht—the middle time between sunrise and the meridian—and the time of after-'noon prayers. Having myself traversed, on my own feet, the whole of these terri-'tories from time to time, I have set down one thousand paces of a good walker as 'equal to one kuroh of the standard in use in the territories constituting the Dihlí 'empire, and ten thousand paces as ten kuroh.'

"Sometimes, the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh, used to say that twelve thousand paces, or twelve kuroh, was an average stage for a man on foot. He also mentioned that he had himself paced the whole way from 'Ashrit to the Palpí Sang Kotal, and found that the distance was ninety-six thousand paces, equal to ninety-six kuroh, and that a good walker would go from one place to the other comfortably in ten days.

"The Bádsháh's mode of measuring distances by pacing requires explanation, for he only took account of the action of the right foot, and passed over that of the left foot altogether, that is to say, stepping out with the right foot, he would not count the pace of the left, but count one when the right foot again touched the ground. Thus his thousand paces were really two thousand footsteps (and this, not having been mentioned by the author, where he previously refers to the length of the kuroh, requires this explanation here, and with respect to the first note of Section First of these 'Notes,' page 1, para. 3).

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* There is an interesting article on "Central Asia" in the "Quarterly Review" for April 1873, but its correctness is marred by some random statements founded on imperfect information. At page 533, the writer says, "A telegram from Russia recently announced that the Mír of Badakhshán had 'concluded an offensive "'and defensive treaty with the Badshah of Chitral.' The Chief of Káshkár does in fact *give himself* "the high-sounding title of Bádsháh, but it is about as appropriate as that of the quondam Emperor "Soulouque."

Our author explains why the rulers of Ḳáshḳár are styled Sháh and Bádsháh, and do not "give themselves" the title. There were no less than three Bádsháhs when these surveys were made. *See* also note †, page 9, of my "Account of Suwát," also Al-Bírúní for the titles appertaining to the rulers of the parts adjacent to Ḳáshḳár.

† This was really being tributary to China, to whom the Yár-ḳand ruler was subject, as is mentioned at page 188.

‡ *See* page 179.

§ *See* page 188.

‖ The author owed a good deal of his information to his friend, the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh.

"When returning from the town of Drúsh, on my way to the Dara'h of Jabar (*see* page 178), I accompanied the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh; and, when we had completed the number of one thousand paces, according to the above computation, he would say, 'One kuroh.' After well considering and testing this method in all its bearings, I found that his thousand paces were just equal to the Dihlí kuroh, or equivalent to the *gáo kos* previously mentioned at page 1 of Section First. For the sake of uniformity, I have set down the distances in the routes referred to above in kuroh, but according to the Mír, Sháh Riẓá's computation, and, therefore, this explanation was essential here.

"The Panj-áb kuroh is less by three or four hundred *gaz* (each of twenty-six inches) than the Dihlí kuroh; and, at Gujarát-i-Sháh Daulah in the Panj-áb, a place was pointed out as being exactly one kuroh in length, and I determined to test it according to Sháh Riẓá Bádsháh's method of measurement, and found it to be just sixteen hundred paces, that is less by four hundred paces than the Bádsháh's kuroh, and the kuroh of Dihlí."

"From the Kol-Áb or Lake of Chiṭṭí Bú-í, which lies on the extreme north of the Káshḳár territory, a river issues, which flows towards the south-west, and, being joined by the streams issuing from the different minor dara'hs, passes on the east side of the town of Chitrár or Chitrál, and flows on into Kúnaṛ and Kámán, and finally joins the Áb-i-Bárán, also known as the river of Kábul, or river of Jalál-ábád.* This great river is deep, and is not passable anywhere except by means of bridges or rafts; but some of the Afgháns and Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh Poshán inflate large skins or hides with air, and swim across on them. Its water is exceedingly cold and sweet; and, on account of its being impregnated with an earth (of a white colour?) it appears white like unto milk.† As the heat of the sun increases the water rises, and subsides again

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* *See* note *, page 103, page 106, and note **, page 119.

† From this explanation the name is evidently Indian, with the aspirate left out—Chiṭṭí Bhú'ín—white earth—the first word being Hindí, and the latter Sanskrit. Tájzíks, and Afgháns especially, eschew aspirates; in fact, their languages do not contain them, words containing such being of foreign importation. Sanskrit *chhit* or *chhiti*—but totally distinct, and very differently spelt words—means "the earth," and *chhat*, means "a roof." Perhaps it was from mistaking these words, or one of them, the last possibly, for the above, that the "Roof of the World" was produced.

There is no mention whatever of this Palpí Sang Pass, nor of the Palpí Sang river, otherwise the river of Chitrál or Káshḳár, in the reports of Major T. G. Montgomerie's "Mirza," or "Havildar," contained in the "Royal Geographical Society's Journal" for 1871 and 1872, nor in the subsequent surveys made by "the "Mulla," a map of whose explorations is contained in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," Part I., for 1878. It is not mentioned either by Múnshí Faiẓ-Bakhsh, the "Pandit Manphul," nor in the various articles and essays on the subject of the geography of these parts; and although some of the members of the last "Yárkand Mission" visited Sar-Ḥadd and the "famous Baroghil Pass," which lies close by, they do not appear to have discovered it, for not a word is mentioned about it in the "Report" of the Mission. The name of "Chatiboi" does certainly appear close to the "Baroghil Pass," both in the Mullá's map and in Major-General Walker's last map, taken from it; but whether intended to mark a lake, a village, or anything else, is by no means clear.

The researches made by the late Mr. G. W. Hayward, however, appear more satisfactory. The lake appears in the map illustrating his researches, which is contained in the "Royal Geographical Society's Journal" for 1871, but under the vitiated name of "Chatiboi or Ab-i-Garm." This last name, signifying "Hot Water," or "Hot Spring," evidently refers to another place, mentioned at page 150, for he did not actually visit the lake in question. *See* note ‡, page 188.

Some twenty years ago I distinctly mentioned the existence of this lake without being, at that time, acquainted with this more correct name, or the name of the river at this point, in the following terms:—

"The largest of the five principal rivers above alluded to (the northern tributaries of the river of Kábul are "referred to), and the most easterly . . . rises on the southern slope of the Bulút Tágh or Cloudy Mountains "(in the Turkí language), but known to the Afgháns, and other tribes inhabiting these regions, by the Persian "name of Bilauristán, or the 'Region of Crystal" (*see* page 139), . . . at the Táláb-i-Níl, or 'Blue Lake,' "lying farther south than that of the Sar-i-Kol, visited by Wood, which is considered by him to be the source "of the Oxus.'"—"Notes on Káfiristán," page 5. I also alluded to it five years afterwards in my "Account of Káshḳár," as follows:—"The Chitrál river rises at the Táláb-i-Níl, or 'Cerulean Lake.' This lake must "not be mistaken for the Lake of Sar-i-Kol, from which the Panj, or main branch of the Oxus, takes its rise, for "the Táláb-i-Níl lies much farther south. The river of Káshḳár flows from it, and, having passed Mastúch "on the west, flows towards the south and south-west, through the two States of Káshḳár. . . . . The "existence of this lake was mentioned to Wood by natives of Badakhshán, and it is also corroborated by the "account of Moorcroft and Trebeck, who call the lake by the name of Hamú-sar, but which, if a Persian "name, as it appears to be, would rather seem to refer to that of the 'Sar-i-Kol,' the source of the Oxus, and "then, interpreted, would signify the 'Head or Source of the Hamú,' which latter word, in all probability, is more correctly Ámú, the name by which the Oxus is known to the natives of these regions."—Page 8.

In all the modern maps I have referred to here, the "Baroghil Pass" appears, but the name is evidently a very modern one. The author of these surveys has, I think, shown that he was not likely to omit all mention of such a name had it been known in his day. That a pass exists at the point indicated, of course there is no doubt, but it is called the Palpí Sang Kotal or Pass, as described at page 188. I have never yet met with the name of "Baroghil" or "Barogil" Pass in any native history or account whatever.

as night comes on, and this happens daily at all times of the year, the greatest difference being in summer. When more than a usual amount of snow and ice in the Kol-Áb of Chiṭṭí Bú-í becomes melted, the river becomes greatly flooded, and then much ruin takes place, and Chitrár and villages lying along its banks are liable to be swept away.

"North and north-west of Ḳáshḳár is a lofty mountain range, clothed with perpetual snow, known as Tíraj-Mír. The Mír, Sháh Riẓá, the Bádsháh or Chief of Drúsh,

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Mr. D. C. Boulger lately published a "Life of Yakoob Beg, of Kashgar," and in it he has drawn his early history of "Kashgar," as he styles Káshghar (کاشغر, which contains the guttural *gh*), from Mr. Bellew's "Historical Account," contained in the Report of the late Yárkand Mission. At pages 28—29, Mr. Boulger makes the following statement :—

"Genghis" (this is the 'popular' way of transliterating چنگز) "Khan carried the terror of his name into the most remote recesses of the Hindoo Koosh. *He wintered in the district of Swat*, on our north-west frontier, a territory which is quite unknown to us (Mr. Boulger?), except by hearsay, and which has only been occupied by the Mongol and Macedonian conquerors. (*See* pages 169 and 194 of this for the refutation of such silly statements.) *From his head-quarters on the banks of the Panjkora* he sent messengers to Delhi, and it is uncertain whether he did not meditate the addition of an Indian triumph to those already obtained. A rebellion in the far eastern portion of his dominions distracted his attention from the Indus, and he was compelled to hasten with all speed to quell in person the rising that was jeopardizing his position in the seat of his power. *He hastily broke up from his quarters in Swat, and by the valley of the Kunar and Chitral he entered Kashgar through the Baroghil pass.* Although he suffered much loss from a journey across mountain roads, which were scarcely practicable in the *early spring*, he succeeded in reaching Yarkand with his main body, and, hastening across Turkestan, arrived at Karakoram, his capital, in time to quell the disturbance."

All this reads plausible enough, but what does his sole authority for such statements say on the subject?

Mr. Bellew, in his "Kashgar History," first quotes what he calls the "Tabcati Nasari," and says :—"He "(Chingiz Khán) went into winter quarters in Gabarí, or the Gabar country (the country of the fire "worshippers), now known as Paklí and Swát, to wait the return of his envoys to the Emperor of Hindustan, "Sultán Sa'id"—(I beg to observe that there never was a Sulṭán of Dilhí called *Sa'id*, but Sulṭán-i-Sa'íd signifies the "August Sulṭán," and, when the Chingiz Khán invaded the countries west of the Indus, in pursuit of Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, the "August Sulṭán," Shams-ud-Dín, I-yal-timish, reigned at Dihlí)—"to ask permission for a passage to Chín, through Fárajal and Kamrúd, . . . his envoys at the same "time returning with an unfavourable reply, Chingiz at once set out across the snowy mountains while it was "yet *winter*, and with great difficulty and loss of life made his way *by Kábul and Káshghar* to Turkistan."—Page 142.

In the very next paragraph, Mr. Bellew appears to have forgotten the above statement, which is tolerably correct except that nearly two years were occupied in doing what he relates, and, totally contradicting it from his "personal observations or inquiry," says as follows :—"His route was *probably* (he does not say actually) "across the Swát country into the Kúnar, where Chaghán Saráe or 'white hostelry,' from its name, attests "Moghol occupation" (he should have said Turk, for the first word is Turkish. But who shall presume to say that it was called Chaghán-Saráe before or at the time of the Chingiz Khán? I have already shown how much of the present Afghán State was, in ancient times, peopled by Turkish tribes, *see* page 82), "and *thence up the Chitrál valley, also called Káshkár, through the easy Barogil Pass*" which is practicable for half the year, on to "the plain of Káshghár." Where Kábul? Where the Baroghil Pass? A reference to the map will show the fallacy of this statement.

It is out of this last statement, without noticing the first, that Mr. Boulger straightway asserts that "*he* "*did go* by the Baroghil pass," having previously added some extra strong colouring of his own as to "the "banks of the Panjkora."

But what are the facts? I may say that the Chingiz Khán was never within two hundred miles of the "Baroghil pass" in his life, and further, that none of his troops returned home from the Indus by that pass. In the spring of 620 H (1223 A.D.) he broke up his camp in the Gibarí country near Parsháwar (*see* my "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 1081), taking *the very same route as he had entered the Ghaznín territory by*, through Bámián and Tukháristán. His heavy material, wagons, felt tents, etc., had been sent to Buḳlán from his camp at the Pushta'h-i Nu'mán, between Ṭál-ḳán (not Táe-kán) and Balkh, soon after he set out in pursuit of Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, and to Buḳlán he marched in order to rejoin the rest of his forces in charge of them. He continued encamped in the pasture lands around Buḳlán during the whole summer of 620 H., and in the autumn crossed the Jiḥún or Oxus, and marched to Samr-ḳand. There he passed the whole winter of 620–21 H. (1223–1224 A.D.); and his sons, Chaghatáe and Úktáe, who had been previously detached at the head of two other armies into Sind and Mukrán, and Ghaznín and Ghúr, respectively, rejoined him. They took up their quarters at Bukhárá. In the spring of 621 H. (1224 A.D.), he moved towards the Síḥún, and passed it near Fanákat, only about eight degrees of longitude west of Káshghar and Yár-kand, and there the summer was passed; and in the last month of 621 H. (January, 1225 A.D.), he reached his native *yúrat*, not his "capital." He had thus taken one year and nine months in reaching it from the date he left the Gibarí country near Parsháwar. I have deemed it necessary to mention all this concerning the "famous "Baroghil Pass" because history to be useful must be correct. I may add, that what I have stated respecting the return route of the Chingiz Khán is *what every historian who has written on the subject confirms.*

Referring to Badakhshán in his "Central Asia," Part II., p. 184, Colonel C. M. MacGregor, contrary to Mr. Boulger, is of opinion that "none of the three great Tartar conquerors, Jangéz Khán, Timúr Lang, or "Shebáni Khán, seem to have penetrated so high up as the valley of the Oxus." This depends upon what may be considered the valley of the Oxus. The Chingiz Khán did not permanently occupy it, but the other two Mughal conquerors, for all three were Mughals, did. The Bádsháhs of Badakhshán, who were Musalmáns, "who claimed descent from Sikandar-i-Ẓú-l-Ḳarnain, and who had hitherto been independent, all joined "Amír Timúr against Amír Ḥusain." *See* note *, page 128.

Koshlúk, the last of the Náemán kings, was hunted into the valley of the Oxus by the Mughals, into the Dara'h of the Sárigh-Kol, or Yellow Valley, and was captured in Badakhshán in 614 H., some say at the Sárigh Chopán. *See* "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note to page 987.

quoted to the writer these three verses with reference to the vast height of this range:—

> "Zú-l-Ḳarnain went towards the Koh-i-Ḳáf.
> He saw it was a mountain (range) like an emerald clear.
> He said: '*Thou art* a mountain (range): what are others
> 'That they can supersede thee in thy vastness?'
> It said: 'These mountains are my veins,
> 'But in splendour and beauty they do not equal me.'"

"The Mír, Sháh Riẓá, likewise said that there cannot be any mountain (range) in the world which equals this one in altitude and vastness.* On the summit of the range, for the distance of several days' journey, there is an extensive open plateau, which is full of old and new snow. The range shows itself from a vast distance, in such wise that, during the period of fasting, the people of these parts, watching the sun's light on that snow (disappearing from its summit), know the time for breaking their fast. Chitrál is distant some seventy kuroh from the summit of the range, and some say ninety kuroh (from its highest parts?).

"Respecting the streams rising in and issuing from this mighty mountain range, all that issue from the northern side flow through Badakhshán, and enter the Jíḥún,† and all that issue from the southern face enter the Abáe-Sín (or Indus).

"This range extends in an unbroken, conterminous chain from the tract of country inhabited by the Ḳirghiz nomads (immediately south and west of Káshghar), as far as Hirát, and Hindú Kush is the name of one of the passes leading over it.‡ This range is also called Sarowar, and the Afgháns style it Kund.§

"The various minor dara'hs included in the territory of Ḳáshḳár are innumerable, but the chief and best known are the following nine."

I. *Dara'h of Chitrál or Chitrár.*

"This dara'h is so called after the town of Chitrál, which is the seat of government of the ruler of the Ḳáshḳár territory. Merchandise of various distant parts is brought to this place and sold, and merchants of Yár-ḳand, Badakhshán, Kábul, and Peṣ'háwar come and take up their quarters in this town.

"The Dara'h of Chitrál, as stated elsewhere, is of considerable size."

II. *Dara'h of Naghar.*

"Naghar is the name of a dara'h among the mountains, in length from west to east more than twelve kuroh; and on the west of it is the lofty mountain range of Tíraj-Mír, the summits of which are covered with perpetual snow. In that range dwell the people called Tor Káfirí by the Afgháns, and by Persian speaking people, Siyah or Sí'áh Káfirí, and Sí'áh-Poshán, signifying 'black-clad unbelievers.'

"A considerable river issues from this dara'h, which, flowing towards the east, joins the river of Chitrál. This is the lowest down (towards the south) of all the dara'hs of this territory, and its inhabitants pay obedience to the Bádsháh of Drúsh, the Mír, Sháh Riẓá.

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* This name also has escaped the notice of the various explorers, although so well known and so prominent an object from nearly every part of Upper Ḳáshḳár. I have never yet found any mention of the so-called "Bam-i-Dunya," or "Roof of the World," in all the books I have gone through, although Bilaur is mentioned in most works treating of the geography or history of these parts. A roof is something *covering* something else, like as the sky is the covering of the earth, but *bám* means "a terrace," "an elevated plateau,"—a much more appropriate term—as well as "roof." Meru in Sanskrit signifies an "axis."

Since the above was written, I have read Montgomerie's "Report" on the Mírzá's explorations, contained in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society" for 1871, page 149, and I find that the Mírzá also says he "never heard the term Bám-i-Dunya applied to it, although it may have been figuratively." *See* also preceding note, and the note on the Pá-Mír at the end of this Section.

The word Mír which occurs in Tíraj-Mír is the same as occurs in Pá-Mír and Kash-Mír. It is sometimes written Tírach-Mír, with چ for ج but, as the latter is so distinctly written several times, I have preferred it.

† According to this statement, the Panj appears to be regarded as the Jíḥún, or that, after the junction of various tributaries near the Ḳala' of Chap, the united rivers receive the name of Jíḥún.—*See* my "Notes on Káfiristán," "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," Vol. xxviii., page 324, respecting what the natives of Káfiristán consider to be the true Ámú, Ámúíah, or Jíḥún.

‡ The writer, like many others, makes a difference between Hindú-Koh as the range, and Hindú-Kush as the name of a pass only.

§ Sanskrit words, Sarowar and Kunḍ, both having the same meanings—"lake," "pond," "pool," etc. The author is quite correct in saying that the Afgháns call the range Kunḍ, and not merely a small portion of it, or a solitary peak, north of Lamghán, as some geographers have assumed. But the Afgháns also call the mountains in which the river Jzíob rises by the name of Kunḍ, for the same reason, apparently, as they call the mountain range here referred to by that name. *See* Section First, page 6, page 186, and the notes to the Seventy-second Route. Major Biddulph turns Sarowar into "*Meysurnoon.*"

From the Dara'h of Naghar to the village of Shanggar* there are six or seven small dara'hs, lying on either side of the river of Chitrál, inhabited by Tájzíks and some few Kohistánís.† They are under the rule of, and pay submission to, the Bádsháhs of Káshḳár, the Sayyids of Kúnar, and the ruler of Bájawr."

III. *Dara'h of Mír Khandey.*

"Another large dara'h is Mír Khandey, in length, from east to west, eighteen kuroh. East of it is the great mountain range clothed in perpetual snow, and in and about that range dwell the people known as Spín or White Káfirís by the Afgháns, and Safed Káfirís by the Tájzíks.

"A large river issues out of it, which flows towards the west, and joins the river of the 'Ashrit Dara'h. The inhabitants of the Dara'h of Mír Khandey are of the people known as Kohistánís, and they pay allegiance to the Bádsháh or Chief of Drúsh."

IV. *Dara'h of 'Ashrit.*

"This also is a dara'h of considerable size, facing the Dara'h of Dír; and, from the Láhorí Kotal or Pass (which separates them), to the mouth of the Dara'h of Mír Khandey, 'Ashrit is about twenty kuroh in length.‡ Its inhabitants are Kohistánís, and are under the sway of the Bádsháh of Drúsh, the Mír, Sháh Riẓá. This dara'h is bounded on the south by a high mountain range, over which the long defile, called the Láhorí Kotal, leads from it into Dír, and on to Pes'háwar. The summit of this range marks the boundary of the Káshḳár territory in this direction. A river flows out of the dara'h from the mountain range referred to, which runs towards the north, and joins the Chitrál river."

V. *Dara'h of Shaghut.*

"The Dara'h of Shaghut, which is also of considerable size, consists of three ramifications or branches, forming, so to speak, three smaller ones. The chief place in this dara'h is also called Shaghut,§ which is a town of some size, the residence of Khán Bahádur, Bádsháh. He has a following of about 3,000 foot soldiers, and pays allegiance to Sháh Khair-Ullah, supreme ruler of Káshḳár. Its inhabitants are chiefly composed of the people called Kohistánís, but there are some Dihgáns (Tájzíks) dwelling in it.

"There are four places in the Káshḳár territory in which taxes are levied: at Chitrál or Chitrár; from merchants and travellers from Pes'háwar and Kábul at Drúsh; from merchants and others of Yár-kand and parts beyond, at Mastúch; and from those of Badakhshán at Shaghut. The traders and travellers of Badakhshán come and go by this dara'h.

The three divisions, branches, or ramifications of this dara'h are:—1. *Újur* or *Ụjur*, which, in itself, is a dara'h of considerable size. It is also the name of a large village under the sway of the before-mentioned Khán Bahádur, Bádsháh, and the inhabitants of the dara'h are Tájzíks. On the north, it adjoins the great mountain range of Tíraj-Mír (referred to on the preceding page) and from that direction a river issues which, running towards the south, joins the river of Momí, about to be described.

"2. *Momí.* This dara'h is also of large size, being nearly sixteen kuroh in length. It is also the name of a large village. The inhabitants of the dara'h are Kohistánís, and like the other divisions of Shaghut are under the rule of Khán Bahádur, Bádsháh.

"On the west side of this dara'h likewise rises the lofty mountain range always clothed in snow (Tíraj-Mír), over which are two Passes. That on the right hand (*i.e.*, the most northerly) they call the Kotal-i-Nukṣán (signifying 'mischief,' 'detriment,' or 'injury,' etc., in the 'Arabic language), and which, from the excessive quantity of snow and ice (which accumulates there) is closed for great part of the year. Even in the height of the summer season, it is necessary to observe the state of the clouds and the wind before attempting to cross it.||

* *See* page 173.

† The people dwelling in the valleys bounding the present Káfirí country on the west, and who are under the sovereignty of the Afghán government, and known as Kohistánís, are, apparently, the same race of people as are referred to here, but they are not "Afghanized," I beg leave to say.

‡ "The Mulla" says it is but ten miles long, but I think he is mistaken in this as in some other matters.

§ Not "Shogoth" as in the translation of the "Havildar's" Report.

|| The Hawál-dár's account agrees with this description. *See* "Royal Geographical Society's Journal," Vol. XLII., for 1872, pp, 187 and 188. *See* also my Account of Káshḳár, p. 6.

"The left-hand Pass is called the Kotal-i-Khaṯíra'h,* and this route is most generally followed. The ascent of each of these Kotals is a day's journey; and the extreme point of elevation of this range marks the boundary between Káshkár and Badakhshán. Having commenced to descend in the direction of west and south-west, in two days you reach the Gogird Dasht, and, from thence, proceed towards Zíbák and Faiẓ-ábád.

"Out of both these Kotals streams issue, which, flowing towards the east, within one kuroh of Shaghut town, unite with the Ujur river, which latter, taking a northerly course from Shaghut, meets the river flowing out of the Dara'h of Úghaití, presently to be described, near the village of Changgúz†, and enters the river of Chitrál or Káshkár."

Faiẓ-Bakhsh, who undertook a journey in connection with the then Mr. (now Sir) T. D. Forsyth's Mission in 1870, gives some valuable information, but the proper names are either spoiled by himself or his translator. He refers to these Kotals, and, after mentioning them, stultifies his previous statement by the following:—"Between "Zaibák and Chitrál intervenes the Hindu-Kush chain of mountains. There are "three high snowy peaks on this chain, which are termed respectively Dorah, Nuksan, "Khar Tezah. The Nuksan and Khar Tezah adjoin each other, the former being on "the left, the latter to the right of the road," etc. He has here confounded the peaks with the names of the passes, which the Ḥawál-dár does not do, and vitiates the first and last names. One is simple Do-Ráhah, or Two Roads, which are Persian words, and not applicable to a peak; the other two are 'Arabic, and refer to the nature of the passes in question.

Although the words Do-Ráhah are sufficiently plain, the Ḥawál-dár (or his translator, probably) makes it Dora, and so we have the "Dora" Pass.‡ He, by-the-by, says nothing of the Khaṯíra'h Pass, the Khar Tezah," of Faiẓ-Bakhsh, which is scarcely applicable, for Khar signifies an "ass," and, in Pus'hto, "Khar tizah" means "an "ass's capers." Pandit Manphúl vitiates names in a similar manner, and calls these passes Darah and Kharteza. All three differ in their mode of spelling, and with regard to two out of the three names all are wrong.

Major Montgomerie says, in his report of the Mírzá's explorations, "Mustooch" and Chitral evidently have a tolerably easy communication with Badaksban (but which his "Havildar's" more correct account by no means bears out), as the Mír of the latter manages to extract an annual tribute from the chief of Mustooch. The road from Mustooch to Chitral is said to be a good one, &c.—"Royal Geographical Society's Journal," Vol. XLI., 1871, page 148.

At page 157 of the same report the same name is turned into "Mustúch" or "Mustuj," and "Mustúch" is supposed "to be a valley draining into the Chitral or "Koonur river." At this point the river of Chitrár, Chitrál, or Palpí Sang, is never called the "Koonur" river except by Europeans. When this river reaches the Kúnaṛ district it is, at times, called the river *of* Kúnaṛ, that is, the river flowing through Kúnaṛ, in the same way as it is sometimes called the river *of* Kámáṉ when it enters that territory. The Mullá correctly styles it the Chitrál river, but Major-General Walker, in his map, makes it the "Kunar" far up in Chitrál above Chaghán-Saráe, while by Major Montgomerie, in the map accompanying the Ḥawál-dár's journey, it is made the "Kama or Koonur" below Chaghán-Saráe, and "Beilum or Koonur" above! §

"3. *Úghaití.*—This is the name of a large village giving name to the dara'h,

* In each copy of the original this word is written Khaṯíra'h (خطيرة) four times in as many different places, but, in one place, in two of the four copies, the ر has a dot over it, and it thus becomes Khaṯíza'h (خطيزة). What Khaṯíza'h (with *z*) may mean I cannot solve, for the word to me is meaningless, but, from the letters in it, it is evidently 'Arabic. Khaṯíra'h, on the other hand, signifies "perilous," "dangerous," "hazardous," etc., and is used to signify a "burying-ground," a "grave-yard," as in note *, page 66; and taking into consideration the meaning of the name of the other Kotal—Nuḳṣán—which is 'Arabic, and its signification perfectly clear, I should imagine that the point over the ر = ز in Khaṯíza'h is redundant, and that it is more correctly Khaṯíra'h, or the Perilous Pass. The word, however, cannot by any means be made "Khar Tezah" or "Kharteza" of, for there is no ر between *kh* and *ṯ*.

† This is the "Chogor" of Major-General Walker's map, "Joghor" of the Ḥawál-dár, "Jughur" of Major Wilson's map, and "Yughar" of Colonel C. M. MacGregor, showing the necessity of their revision according to the correct vernacular form. *See* pages 184 and 186.

‡ And recent compilers follow suit. Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.B., has "Kotal Dara."

§ One error begets many others. An example of this is contained in Colonel MacGregor's Gazetteer, Part II., p. 214, in which my "Account of Upper and Lower Káshkár" is freely quoted. He says that "Chitrál is an independent State consisting of the upper portion of the Kúnar valley." After the same theory the whole tract of country from the Lake of Chiṯṯí Bú-í to Jalál-ábád is the "Kúnar valley;" indeed, farther on, the compiler says, "the Kúnar river runs through the whole country!"

which is of considerable size, extending for more than twenty kuroh in length. It is inhabited by Kohistánís, and is under the sway of Khán Bahádur, Bádsháh. The distance from the town of Shaghut to the village of Úghaití is nearly ten kuroh towards the south.

"At this point (Úghaití) two clefts or long valleys branch off. One, which is a large dara'h in itself, runs in the direction of west and north-west for a distance of about ten or twelve kuroh, and joins (terminates at, in other words) the mountain range of perpetual snow, or Tíraj-Mír. These passes lead over this mountain range towards Badakhshán, and likewise lead downwards, on the northern face, to the stage or halting place in the Gogird Dasht,* previously referred to. This pass (or double pass) is known as the Kotal-i-Do-Ráhah, or the Pass or Defile of the Two Roads, but, on account of the continual avalanches of snow, it remains for the most part closed. The ascent of it is one day's journey, and its highest point marks the boundary between Badakhshán and Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár in this direction. It is infested by the Tor Káfirís, who lie in ambush and fall upon and slay travellers off their guard.†

"The other valley branches off from near the village of Úghaití in the direction of south, and is inhabited by Kohistánís, and this dara'h they style Bushḳar.‡ On the south side it adjoins the mountains of perpetual snow, and in these mountains the Tor Káfirís dwell. A river flows through the Bushḳar Dara'h, which, passing south of Shaghut, to the east of that place, joins the Ujur river.§

"To the south of Úghaití, near the village of Dur-shub, there is a spring out of which hot water issues at all times.‖ If anything such as grain or the like be cast into it it speedily becomes softened. This spring is known as the Áb-i-Dur-shub. They (people of old) have constructed cisterns of stone or brick round about the place, and the water of this spring flows into them. After the water has been allowed to cool a little, people enter the cisterns and bathe; and it is said that the effect of the water is such that it cures diseases of long standing, and many sick people are saved from death thereby.

"A small stream of water from this same spring runs on and joins the river of the Bushḳar Dara'h. From this direction (the Dara'h of Bushḳar) you proceed towards Luṭ-Dih, which is a great dara'h inhabited by the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh Poshán."

VI. *and* VII. *The Kuhob-hah Dara'hs, or The Two Kuhobs.*¶

"Kuhob is the name of two large villages and two great dara'hs inhabited by the Tájzíks, who pay allegiance to Sháh Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh of Ḳáshḳár. These dara'hs really consist of one great dara'h which, towards its northern or upper part, branches off into two others, and they are of considerable length. The valley which runs north, and which is about twenty kuroh in length, is called Kuhob-i-Bálá or Upper Kuhob, and the village therein is known by the same name. On the north it terminates at the snowy range, or Tíraj-Mír. The other or western dara'h runs in a north-westerly and westerly direction, and also terminates at the range of Tíraj-Mír. It is fifteen kuroh in length, and is called Kuhob-i-Pá'ín, or Lower Kuhob, from the village of that name. Tíraj-Mír is also the name of a village,** so called after the range itself, belonging to the Tájzíks, at the foot of the mountains of perpetual snow; and this mighty range (as before stated) they likewise call Sarowar, and Kunḍ.††

"Out of each of these two dara'hs streams flow, which, running south and east (respectively), meet near the village of Kuhob-i-Pá'ín, or Lower Kuhob, and, issuing

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* Gogird, in Persian or Tájzík, signifies sulphur, and Gogird Dasht, the Sulphur Plain or Waste. Red sulphur and other mineral substances are found here. *See* pages 159 and 185.

† I referred to these passes, and to the streams issuing from the northern face of this great mountain chain, in my "Notes on Káfiristán" (page 9):—

"The Wardoj, which disembogues into the Ḳokchah, as already mentioned, rises on the northern slope of the mountains towards Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál, through the valley of which a winding pass, occupying a journey of three days, brings one to the borders of that State, and another pass to the west leads into the Káfiristán, but these routes are only practicable in the summer months. Another small stream joins the Panj at Ishtarak in Badakhshán, and, by following up its course for three days, the borders of Ḳáshḳár are reached."

‡ This evidently is what is turned into "Pooshtee Khur," in Elphinstone's map, and "in a glacier near "which," he says, "the Oxus rises." *See* "Caubul," Vol. I., page 144. Instead of the Oxus, the so-called glacier is the source of the Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál river. I may mention that I have never yet met with such a name as "Pooshtee Khur" (*lit.* "the ass's back") in connection with the geography of these parts, and fancy it must be classed with "Khar Tízah"—"the ass's capers." *See* the Twenty-seventh Route.

§ *See* pages 158 and 186.

‖ This is what Hayward confused with the Chiṭṭí Bú-í. *See* note †, page 155, and page 150.

¶ In some places written with "*p*," Kuhop. These Dara'hs have not been mentioned hitherto by European geographers.

** *See* page 186.

†† *See* note §, page 157.

from the Kuhob Dara'h (that is below where the two smaller ones branch off to the north and north-west), fall into the river of Palpí Sang, or Ḳáshḳár, or Chitrál."

VIII. *Dara'h of Mastúch.*

"This is another great dara'h, taking its name from the large village, or small town, of Mastúch,* the residence of Sháh Khair-Ullah, the Bádsháh of Ḳáshḳár,† and it is situated on the banks of the river Palpí Sang.‡ Here they call the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár by the name of Palpí Sang, and also river of Mastúch.

"The products and merchandise of Yár-ḳand and Khiṯá, Tibbat, and Kash-mír are brought to and disposed of at this town, and merchants and traders have to pay tax thereon.

"The Dara'h of Mastúch commences east of this place, and from the town of Mastúch to the Kotal of Sar-i-Lás-púr it is about forty kuroh§ in length. Through this dara'h you proceed to Báshḳár|| (*see* next page, and under the dara'h of that name, page 194) and Dír. A considerable river issues from the dara'h which, west of Mastúch, joins the river of Palpí Sang. The inhabitants are Tájzíks chiefly, and a few are Kohistánís; and they are under the sway of Sháh Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh of Ḳáshḳár."

IX. *Dara'h of Ḏángrak.*

"This is a very extensive dara'h, consisting of a number of ramifications or minor dara'hs. The drainage of the dara'h and of its branches flows towards the east, and unites with the Abáe-Sín (or Indus).

"Between this dara'h and the territory of Ḳáshḳár there is another vast mountain range, clothed in perpetual snows, and the pass leading over it is known as the To-e-¶ Kotal. On the east, north, and south of this dara'h the tribes of Spín or Safed or White (clad) Káfirís dwell; and to the north-west, and west, which parts lie near to the Kohistán of Ḳáshḳár, the inhabitants are Kohistánís, who pay submission to, and are under the rule of, Sháh-Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh of Ḳáshḳár. The chief place, and seat of government of the Dara'h of Ḏángrak, is called Balophar,** and another place of considerable size is Gilgiṯ."

This Dara'h, from its situation, is, evidently, what eastern geographers and historians call Bilaur or Bilauristán, or, at least, Ḏángrak constitutes a great portion of it.

"With respect to the difference between the names of the two countries of Ḳáshḳár and Káshghar of Turkistán, I made inquiry of the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh of Drúsh. He said that Kásh, in Turkí, signified *yashm* (jade), and Ghar, a mountain,†† and that Káshghar was a small country (or territory) near Yár-ḳand. Its inhabitants pay submission to the Bádsháhs, or sovereigns of Khiṯá.

"He also stated that this country (Ḳáshḳár) had no other, and was known by no other name than Ḳáshḳár, and that the reason why it was so called was unknown.

"The people of Ḳáshḳár are of the Shí'a'h persuasion, and the inhabitants of Badakhshán and the Afghán people, who are Sunnís, are hostile to them on that account; nevertheless, through the difficult nature of their country, the difficulties of the passes leading into it, and the arduous nature of the routes, the Badakhshís and Afgháns are unable to possess themselves of this country."

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* This name has been written Más-túch and Mas-toj, but both modes are incorrect. In the language of the country it is written as above with the vowel points.

† According to Múnshí Faiẓ-Bakhsh (who would not recognize his own name which is turned into "Buksh") in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," for 1872, page 448, "Yásin" is the "capital of "Upper Chitrál." I do not by any means agree with him, for Mastúch is the capital which he intends to indicate. Moreover, there is no country called "Upper Chitrál," but there is Upper Ḳáshḳár, which he possibly means, and Mastúch is its capital; Lower Ḳáshḳár is called Chitrál. *See* also my "Account of Ḳáshḳár," page 3. No river issues from "the Dara'h-i-Mastoj to join the Panja."

‡ This name also has entirely escaped the notice of the explorers, as well as Ḏángrak.

§ According to "the Mulla," it is but nineteen miles, but the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh of Drúsh, who paced it all on foot, is not a bad authority with respect to *his own* country. *See* page 154.

|| A totally different dara'h from Bushḳar, mentioned at page 160, it must be remembered. The one here referred to is not included in Ḳáshḳár at all: it lies farther east.

¶ It is spelt with a "ṯ"—ط—at page 189. *See* note ||, page 189.

** *See* page 190, and note ‡.

†† Ghar, with the guttural *gh*, is the Pus'h'to for a mountain, and the Sanskrit is girí. In the language of Wákhán, *tásh*, which is Turkí, is used to signify a stone in general. No doubt the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, knew this, hence we may presume that, when he stated that *ḳásh* signified jade, he knew what he was saying. Ḳár, the shortened form of which is ḳar, signifies snow in Turkí, and occurs in the name of the well known Turk tribe of Ḳárlúḳ or Ḳarluḳ, and, as '*ḳ*' is interchangeable with '*gh*' in Turkish, also known as Ḳárlúgh or Ḳarlugh. *See* my "Translation of the Ṯabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note at page 877. *See* also note ‡, page 153.

Respecting the rulers of the Ḳáshḳár State the accounts are but meagre.

During the reign of Naẓar Muḥammad Khán, who was contemporary with Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh (of Hindústán), over Balkh and Máwará-un-Nahr, the then Bádsháh of Chitrár and Báshḳár,* named Sháh Bábar, who accounted himself a descendant of Alexander the Macedonian,† and whose territory no sovereign had hitherto been able to molest or reduce under his sway, presented himself before Naẓar Muḥammad Khán, tendered his allegiance, and agreed to read the Khuṭbah in his name.

Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥaidar, the Doghlátí Mughal, mentions that, in his time, Sulṭán Muḥammad Khán, Badakhshí, claimed similar descent; and we know that the chiefs of Roshán, Shaghnán, and Wákhán claim to be descended from the same conqueror.‡

When these surveys were made, towards the close of the last century, Sháh Khair-Ullah, of Mastúch, was the supreme ruler of the Ḳáshḳár State. The Mír, Sháh Riẓá, our author's friend and informant, was Chief of Drúsh, but what relationship he bore, if any, to Sháh Khair-Ullah is, unfortunately, not mentioned; and Khán Bahádur was Chief or Bádsháh§ of Shaghut and its dependent dara'hs. Both these latter chiefs were dependent on Sháh Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh.

At the time I wrote my account of the two Ḳáshḳárs, in 1853,‖ the ruler of Upper Ḳáshḳár or Mastúch, including Yasin, was Gauhar-Amán Sháh,¶ surnamed Chál, the son and successor of Malik Amán; and, at present, the Amán-ul-Mulk is the ruler of the Ḳashḳár State, and a brother of his is located at Drúsh.

The son of the late Gauhar-Amán, Mír Walí by name, and son-in-law of the present ruler, is the person who is said to have put Hayward to death.

Neither Tajammul Sháh, son of Sháh-i-Kaṭor, of Lower Ḳáshḳár, nor Gauhar-Amán, son of Malik-Amán, of Upper Ḳáshḳár—Mastúch and Yasin—appears to have been related either to Sháh, Khair-Ullah, who was supreme ruler of the Ḳáshḳár State when these surveys were made, nor to the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, although it is said the two former were descended from an ancient family.

The present dynasties are not much older than the present century, and Tajammul Sháh was but the second ruler, and Gauhar-Amán the third, of their respective families. It would appear that soon after these surveys were made Sháh Khair-Ullah Bádsháh was dispossessed of his territory, and that with him fell, if still living, the Mír, Sháh Rizá. It must have been the grandson of Khair-Ullah whom Vigne saw living in exile at Skár-Dú, under the protection of Aḥmad Sháh of Little Tibbat.

Hereafter I may possibly be able to trace the descent of these rulers in a more satisfactory manner.**

Some little time ago, when the late Afghán campaign was about to commence or had just begun, it was said that "our ally," the ruler of Kash-mír, was to be allowed to annex Upper and Lower Ḳáshḳár, in order to secure the "famous Baroghil Pass," as though such a scheme could be carried out by the stroke of a pen, or, at most, by a mere display of Kash-mírí force. I think, however, that it is very fortunate the Dograhs never attempted it, for, certainly if they had, they would have come off second best, if any of them had returned to tell the tale. The Ḳáshḳárís would have had the aid of Raḥmat-Ullah Khán of Dír, Chief of Panj-Korah, son of the late Ghazan Khán (of whom I gave an account in my former paper on "Ḳáshḳár and Panj-Korah," page 21), with all his Molízí Yúsufzís at his back, and very probably many other sub-divisions of, if not the whole of, that great tribe. What a mere portion of them could do, the Anbela'h affair plainly indicated.

The chiefs of Panj-Korah and the rulers of Ḳáshḳár have been in alliance for three or four generations; and it was only a few years since, in 1872, when Maḥmúd Sháh, the ruler of Badakhshán, subject to the late Amír, Sher 'Alí Khán, attempted to invade Upper Ḳáshḳár, that the Afgháns of Dír came to the aid of their allies.

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* *See* pages 161 and 194.

† *See* pages 117 and 151.

‡ *See* "Notes on Káfiristán," page 50.

§ For the signification of Bádsháh here, *see* page 153.

‖ It was written at Púnah several years before it was published.

¶ This person is styled in Major T. G. Montgomerie's article on the "Havildar's Journey," in the "Journal Royal Geographical Society," for 1872, page 184, by the name of "the late Goraman of Yassin," while another writer calls him by the equally impossible name of "Gohr Aman."

Now Gauhar and Amán have both meanings, as have the words Amán-ul-Mulk, but "Aman-i-Moolk" and "Imán-ul-Mulk" are both equally incorrect. In geographical researches in Asia, as in other countries, a knowledge of the languages of the parts to be explored is as necessary as a knowledge of surveying, which two acquirements are not often found combined in the same person. The proper names of persons and places, however, might, at least, whenever possible, be obtained in writing from the people of the parts visited or surveyed.

** *See* note *, page 231, and notes to the last route in this Section.

From the facts recorded in history respecting the tribes of Yúsuf and Mandar,* and what we found a portion of the former able to do at Anbela'h in 1863, I believe them to be one of, if not really the most powerful, as well as one of the most numerous tribes of the Afghán nation, and to be even more powerful than the Ghalzís; and that, if thoroughly roused to combined action in a common cause, in combination with the Mandars, and the other kindred tribes of the Khas'hí sept, previously noticed, namely, the Tarkalárnís and Gagyánís, and their allied tribes, they would give an infinity of trouble, particularly if it should be found necessary to attack them in their own fastnesses. Under such circumstances, I believe, they would offer greater opposition than any lately shown, or any that has been shown by the Bárakzí Durrání faction even in their palmiest days.

Of course neither they, nor other Afgháns, can compare with regular troops. This could scarcely be expected, for they have no training nor organization; no arms of precision; nothing but rough weapons; while their ammunition is none of the best, and not easily obtained; and, to crown the whole, they have no artillery whatever, yet they offered a gallant and obstinate resistance in the Anbela'h Pass.†

In the twenty-two frontier expeditions undertaken against the Afgháns on our borders, from the first, which was against the Afgháns of Suwát and the Lúndaey Khwár valley, in December 1849 (in which I was present), up to the affair in the Kohát Pass in 1878, we sustained a loss of 516 killed, and 1,933 wounded, out of which the Anbela'h affair alone cost us 238 killed and 908 wounded, or more than all the other twenty-one put together.

Those who have had to deal with Afghán soldiers, including Yúsufzís and Mandars, especially in the Panj-áb Guide Corps, the Panj-áb Irregular Force, and the so-called "Balúch" Regiments of the Bombay Army, which contain a great number, more than half probably, of Afgháns, know what excellent soldiers they make; and, man to man, few nations can surpass them physically. It is also well known to those who have dwelt among them, not book-makers, that they neither lack courage nor enterprise. The trouble they caused, and the disasters they brought upon, the Mughal rulers of India, and their numerous armies, are a sufficient indication of it. One or two specimens of their successes I have narrated in these pages.

Khán Kajú, or Kachú, chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandars, already mentioned at page 39, and further on at page 225, could bring 100,000 men into the field.

Some 7,000 were at first assembled against us at Anbela'h, which went on increasing to 12,000 or 15,000; and, had not an accommodation taken place when it did, we should, in a few days more, have had more than double the number arrayed against us, for Ghazan Khán of Panj-Korah was ready to take the field‡ with his Molízí Yúsufzís, while those then opposing us were only the Buner Yúsufzís, some from the neighbouring valley of Suwát, and a few Mandars.

I venture to assert that any attempt on the part of the ruler of Kash-mír to gain a footing in Chitrál will bring such a combination as I have referred to about, and that the Khas'hí sept will prove more than a match for the whole power of the Kash-mír State, and that serious complications will result from such an attempt.

It is not without reason, as I have said before, that the Russians are pushing their *reconnoissances* in this very quarter. Darwáz is but a little over a hundred miles from the mountain range of Tíraj-Mír, and the Do-Ráhah, Khatíra'h, and Nuksán Passes.§

I now proceed to give an account of the routes.

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* Sometimes mentioned as one, but are distinct tribes.

† Respecting the Yúsufzís of Buner, Colonel C. M. MacGregor says:—"Their conduct throughout cannot "but be regarded with some admiration; they fought us like men throughout the defence of the heights of "Ambéla, and when they made peace they stuck to their engagements like gentlemen."

‡ It has been generally supposed that Ghazan Khán was present at Anbela'h, but a Yúsufzí of Buner, who had been previously in my service, and was the standard-bearer of his tapa'h or district on this occasion, assured me that that chief was not present. He was about to set out for the scene of warfare, if not actually on his way, when news of the hasty settlement of the affair reached him. My informant laughed heartily at the idea that the poor decrepid old recluse, the Ákhúnd of Suwát, was present "as one of the "leaders, directing military operations." Such an idea seems to me to be too absurd to be commented upon.—*See* my "Account of Suwát," page 17.

§ *See* note ‡, page 133, and pages 184 and 185.

The following extract may not be out of place in connection with these observations:—"In the year 1877, "by order of General Kaufmann, Governor General of Turkestan, an expedition, escorted by 30 Cossacks, "and guided by several Khirgiz, set out from Kuldja, crossed the Alai mountains by way of Shaktt (?), and "reached Northern Pamir, whence it returned to its starting point in November. On the 1st July, in the "following year, the explorers again set out, crossed the Alai range through the pass of Artshat, made again "for Northern Pamir, from there to the east, and further to Pamir Abitsthong, returning to Kuldja by the

Thirty-first Route. From Kábul to Dír, which is a distance of two hundred kuroh in the direction of north-east.

"The route from Kábul to the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ has been previously detailed (at page 112). From it four roads diverge towards Dír, which require to be separately described.

"I. From the S'hahr* to Dír by way of the Dara'h of Maidán.

"II. From the S'hahr to Dír by way of the Dara'h of Chanḍawul.

"III. From the S'hahr to Dír by way of Pashat of the Dara'h of Bábú-Ḳara'h or Bábá-Ḳará.

"IV. From the S'hahr to Dír also by way of the afore-mentioned Pashat.

First road.—"Setting out from the S'hahr, and proceeding three kuroh to the north-east, you come to a mountain pass which has to be ascended. It is called the Chirg Ghás'haey,† and is very level, but it has numerous ascents and descents in it. The Khalúzí river (mentioned at pages 113, 114, and 124) flows along below the S'hahr, and the village of Gang lies two kuroh distant on the left-hand side.‡ In the direction of east from the Chirg Ghás'haey is a small village, named Chirg, which lies close to the road on the right-hand side, and gives name to the pass. From thence one kuroh north is Da Míágáno Kalaey, or 'the Village of the Míás' or 'Míáns,' as descendants of holy men are styled, which lies at a distance on the left hand.

"One kuroh north-east from the Míás' Village is Tarlí, and east of it is a small river which comes from the left hand, from the direction of the Dara'h of Bábá-Ḳará,§ runs to the right, and in the neighbourhood of Jár joins the Khalúzí (or river of Láshoṛa'h). The village styled Ghás'haey or Ghák'haey‖ lies distant from the road on the left hand.

"Having passed over the before-mentioned river (Khalúzí) and proceeded one kuroh east, you reach Ṭákurá, a small village belonging to the district or Dara'h of Chanḍawul, and, on the way thither, you have to pass through a small defile, and from it, one kuroh north, inclining north-east, is Re-Shagey, which village also lies on the left hand.¶ From thence, two kuroh east, is Koṭ-kaey, the name of two or three hamlets on the east side of the Chanḍawul river, which comes down from the left hand, and, flowing to the right, passes on the east side of the village of Jár, opposite to Anís Khel,** and unites with the river of Bájawṛ. The village of Jár is the residence of the Ḥákim (governor) of this part, and lies three kuroh distant (from the Koṭ-kaey villages), on the right hand. Another village (the name of which is left blank in four MSS.) shows itself about half a kuroh distant on the left hand.

"From Koṭ-kaey two roads diverge. That on the left hand goes to Máyár,†† and from thence on to the Dara'h of Birawal, which is also written Biráhwol, but Afgháns reject aspirated letters. From this place (Koṭ-kaey) Máyár lies on the left hand, and is distant one kuroh north-west. North-east from Koṭ-kaey, and distant one kuroh,

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"same route, having chiefly explored the valleys of Khargosh-kul, Sares-kul, Rang-kul, Kara-kul, and "others. The aim of the expedition was to investigate the geography, natural features, &c., of the Pamir, and "to draw up exact maps of the same, a result which is described as having been fully obtained. Pamir is a "very mountainous country, as high as Himalaya; for instance, the peak of Kaufmann is 22,580 feet; Mount "Gurunda, from which many rivers of Central Asia flow, is 20,900 feet; Mount Mustag, 25,800 feet. Of "all these the summits are covered with eternal snow, the limit whereof on the northern slope is at 14,000 "feet high, on the southern at 19,000 feet. The valleys of the Pamir are described in general as barren, "only a few of them being covered with fertile meadows."

The Russian spies, under the name of explorers, were in these parts again last year. Hayward refers to the intrigues of Russian agents in these parts as far back as 1870. Their latest annexations have brought them within less than two hundred miles of the Yasín and Gilgiṭ valleys.

* I shall only give one form of this word in future, as I have previously stated that Eastern Afgháns,—those bordering on Hind,—pronounce ښ as *k'h*, while the rest of the Afgháns pronounce it *s'h*.

† Signifying the "Cock's Pass." The writer, I may mention, gives the names of these places generally after the manner a Tájzík would refer to them. An Afghán would call this "Da Chirg G'hás'haey." *See* page 183.

‡ *See* page 182.

§ This river is the Mullá's "Bábudarah" (he has mistaken Ḳará, which is sufficiently well known, for dara'h) nála'h or nadí.

‖ The "Gha Khi" of the Indian Atlas map, but it is not in the Mullá's nor in Major Wilson's. *See* pages 143 and 152.

¶ The second road to Dír, given farther on, diverges from this village. *See* page 167.

** Mentioned at page 250.

†† The name applied to two villages lying on either side of the river flowing through the Chanḍawul Dara'h, the "Maiar" of Major Wilson's map. *See* page 167.

is Shál-Kandey, a large village, lying on the right hand, while on the same side, close to Koṭ-kaey, are several villages named Rasúl-Bánda'h. Near Shál-Kandey is a village called Pushta'h, and it is situated on a pushta'h or spur of the mountains, as the name indicates.

"The tract of country extending from the S'hahr of Bájawṛ to this place, namely Shál-Kandey, is known as Rúd, and, according to the phraseology of the inhabitants of this part, the extent of territory which was formerly held by the 'Arab tribe (referred to at page 114) they style Rúd, but why, or whence the name, is not stated.*

"Setting out from Shál-Kandey, and proceeding one kuroh in the direction of north-east, inclining north, you reach Rustam Bánda'h, situated on a ridge or mountain crag. From thence proceeding three kuroh to the north you ascend a high mountain range, and having descended (on the other side of it) for a distance of two kuroh and a half, in the direction of north-east, you reach the small village of Lapka'í. The dara'h which you thus enter they call the Maidán Dara'h,† and it is long and narrow, being about sixteen kuroh in length from north to south, but only three or four kuroh broad. The southern half of it is held by clans of the Yúsufzí Afghán tribe, and the northern half by Tarkalární Afgháns. A river issues from the north side of this dara'h, which, flowing on to the south, finds its way through an exceedingly difficult mountain tract, and, in the direction of Úḍí-Grám,‡ unites with the river of Panj-Korah.

"The village of Maidán, which is of considerable size, and the seat of government of this dara'h, lies two kuroh distant (from Lapka'í) on the right hand, and its inhabitants are Yúsufzís. Half a kuroh north-east from Lapka'í is the large village of Koṭ-kaey,§ and in order to reach it you cross the river of the Maidán Dara'h. From thence, one kuroh north, is the village of Kunbbaṛ, and about half way on the road thither, on the right-hand side, at some distance away, is the village of Rasúl Bánda'h.‖

"One kuroh north of Kunbbaṛ is the village of Bánda'í, and from thence, two kuroh west, the road ascending up the mountains, is Ṭop-sí, situated on a crag or acclivity of the mountains, and the river of the Maidán Dara'h lies away on the left-hand side of the road. Continuing your way from thence for the distance of half a kuroh upwards, in the direction of north-west, you come to Khir-Kata'í, a village situated on a mountain height, on the left-hand side of the route. Another half a kuroh of ascent from thence, in the direction of north, brings you to Kur-Shagauná, the name by which two or three villages are known, situated on mountain crags. Having proceeded onwards from thence, and still ascending, for a distance of three kuroh to the north, you reach the crest of the pass over this high mountain range, which is known as the Maidán Ghás'haey.¶ You pass, by the way, through forests of pine, oak, *kashlánah*, and other forest trees, and places teeming with the narcissus, shrubs, and herbage of various kinds; and the mountains capped with perpetual snow show themselves towards the north, from the crest of the pass. On the way thither there is danger from the Tor Káfirís, or Sí'áh-Posháu, who are wont to lie in ambush to waylay and slay travellers passing by that route.

"You now begin to descend on the other side, and proceeding downwards, in the direction of north, inclining north-west, for a distance of three kuroh and a half, reach Bánda'h, or 'The Hamlet,' now a place of considerable size, the residence of Muḥammad 'Alí Khán, of the Tarkalární tribe of Afgháns. The dara'h which you have now entered is called the Dara'h of Birawal** (which name is also written Biráhwol in other works, and which appears to be the ancient name, but the Afgháns, as usual, have rejected the aspirate), and it is about sixteen kuroh in length from east to west. In the mountains at the western end of it a river rises, which, passing south of Bánda'h, flows on to Chugyá-ṭan. The second road, described a little farther on, here joins this road again.

The inhabitants of the Dara'h of Birawal take the gravel out of the bed of the

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* *See* also the description of Bájawṛ and the Rúd Dara'h at page 116. There is a tribe or sept of people styled Kohistánís, inhabiting Upper Suwát, beyond the Afghán boundary, called Torú Ál or Torw Ál or Rúdbárí, which latter name is apparently connected with the above word in some way. *See* my "Account of Upper and Lower Suwát to the source of the Suwát River," in the "Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society" for 1862, page 26, and the description of Suwát at page 194 of this Section.

† *See* the description of this Dara'h at page 117.

‡ A well-known place, but not in our maps. *See* pages 178 and 193.

§ This place is in the Ḥawál-dár's map, and in Major Wilson's.

‖ This is another Rasúl Bánda'h. It is a favourite name.

¶ Our maps are considerably out here, with the exception of the Mullá's, as far as it goes, but the Ḥawál-dár's and Major Wilson's particularly.

** *See* also the description of the Birawal Dara'h at page 118.

river running through it, smelt it, and obtain iron therefrom.* North of Báṇḍa'h† is another subordinate dara'h of considerable size, inhabited by Tájzíks and Tarkalární Afgháns, called the Shingárí Dara'h, on the northern boundary of which lies the country belonging to the Tor Káfirí or Sí'áh-Posh tribes. A small river comes down from that end of the dara'h, which flows towards Báṇḍa'h, east of which it joins the river of the Dara'h of Birawal.

"One kuroh north-east from Báṇḍa'h is the village of Nagar‡ Koṭ, and another kuroh in the same direction from thence is Túrá.§ Half a kuroh farther on in the same direction is another village, called Sind-rawal. On the left-hand side of the route on the way to this village (*i.e.*, north-west), is a dara'h, which lies near the country of the Káfirí tribes, inhabited by Tájzíks and Tarkalární Afgháns. By this dara'h you can go to Nárisát and Shúr-ṭan.|| Water enough to turn two or three water-mills issues from this dara'h, and, flowing onwards, east of Sind-rawal, unites with the river of the Birawal Dara'h.

"Half a kuroh north-east from Sind-rawal is Tigra'í,¶ a small village, perched on a mountain crag, on the right hand as you proceed, on the opposite side of the river of Birawal. From thence two roads diverge. The left-hand one, leading through a small defile, goes on to Dír, but that road is dangerous, on account of the Káfirís. The right-hand road is as follows.** Setting out from opposite Tigra'í, and proceeding for half a kuroh to the north-east, you reach Sor-báṭey, and after proceeding another kuroh in the same direction you reach Abá-Kanḍ, which village lies on the left-hand side. From thence another kuroh in the same direction brings you to the village of Ganúraey, and another kuroh, also in the direction of north-east, to Chugyá-ṭan,†† a considerable village belonging to the Panj-Korah Yúsufzís, and contained within the Panj-Korah territory. The road runs along the mountain side, and the river of Birawal lies in a depression of the mountains on the right hand as you proceed.‡‡ On either side of the route are lofty mountains. The river of the Birawal Dara'h, having passed south of Chugyá-ṭan, unites with the river of Báshkár, which flows on the east side of Chugyá-ṭan, and over it, close to the village, is a wooden bridge, from which point two roads diverge. The right-hand route leads over this bridge, and goes on to Báshkár, Chitrál or Ḳáshkár, and Panj-Korah. The left-hand route is as follows:—

"Leaving Chugyá-ṭan and proceeding for a distance of half a kuroh to the north-west, inclining north, you reach Ṭángaey,§§ a small village near by, on the left-hand side of the road. On the right hand, in a hollow or depression of the mountains, a small river runs. It comes from the direction of Dír, and, north of Chugyá-ṭan, joins the river of Báshkár, and flows under the bridge before mentioned.

"From Ṭángaey two kuroh north-west is Koṭ-kaey—'The Fortlet'—and you proceed thither along the mountain ridges or heights. A road on the left hand, coming from the Birawal Dara'h, joins the route at this point. From Koṭ-kaey one kuroh north, inclining north-west, is Dír, a very large village, or rather small town, situated on a spur of the mountain range, and containing about two hundred houses. It has a fortress for its protection, situated on a high mound or bluff, in which are the residence of the Chief and the dwellings of his immediate followers, which make up the whole to just four hundred houses, and the number of its inhabitants to over two thousand. The fort is about four hundred yards in length, and rather less in breadth, and is protected by

* Abú-l-Faẓl mentions the existence of iron mines in Suwád, but not those of Bájawṛ. What is meant by mines must not be understood in the light of what we understand by that term. "Stream works," as known in Cornwall, is more applicable here.

† This name is turned into Bandai in our maps. "Bíráúl," I may mention, is a strange way of writing Birawal, and is totally impossible out of the letters it contains. This, probably, is from a person "less likely to "be wrong than others when questioning Patháns."

‡ In one copy Tagar, but ; and ; are very liable to be mistaken one for the other, or for the two points to be run into one.

§ Túra'h probably, as Afgháns would write it.

|| *See* pages 151 and 173.

¶ In one copy written Tagrí.

** This route does not touch "Janbatai" and "Bandia" of others. Our maps are much out here, Major Wilson's very much so.

†† I mentioned this place in my "Account of Upper and Lower Ḳáshḳár and Panj-Korah," as one of the principal places in the Panj-Korah Dara'h; and although this large village, or rather small town, is well known, and the river of the Panj-Korah Dara'h is often styled the river of Chugyá-ṭan after it, it is not to be found in any of our maps.

‡‡ Our maps are defective here also.

§§ The word is without points in the original, and, it may be, more correctly, Ṭánga'í. I have read it as such words are usually read when not pointed to the contrary

bastions or towers at the four corners. The Chief is Ḳásim Khán, the Molízí Yúsufzí, of the Pá'indah Khel.*

"A small river (previously referred to) comes down from the east, and another from the north of this dara'h, which, having united farther south, run on to Chugyá-ṭan. From Birawal to this place the route is infested by the Tor or Black-clad Káfirís, or Sí'áh-Poshán, who lie in ambush to intercept travellers and traders, and kill them.

"Traders from Pes'háwar and Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár come to Dír, and, having halted there for a time, proceed to their different destinations."

Second road.—"The road from the S'hahr of Bájawr as far as the village of Re-Shagey has been already described (at page 164). Having gone two kuroh north from thence you reach Máyár, the name applied to two villages situated on spurs of the mountains on either side of the river running through the Dara'h of Chanḍawul.† Proceeding another kuroh to the north you reach Ákhúnd Kalaey—'the Ákhúnd's Village'—and going another half kuroh from thence in the same direction come to Kháni Dera'h, a village on the above-mentioned river, which you cross south of the village.

"From Ákhúnd Kalaey you go on to Bádín,‡ another kuroh north, and then about the same distance north, inclining north-west, to Shína'h, beyond which, still proceeding in the same direction for another kuroh, you reach the village of Bárwa'h.

"North-west of this place are several small villages belonging to the Tarkalárṉí Afgháns, lying in a hollow of the mountains (at the head of the Dara'h of Chanḍawul), and out of this hollow or depression the river of the Chanḍawul Dara'h issues.

"North of Bárwa'h is a lofty mountain range, the pass over which, from the south to the crest, is called the Chanḍawul Ghás'haey, and that on the northern side, the Birawal Ghás'haey, and likewise the Daham Tál (Ghás'haey). These mountains are clothed with vast forests of pine, oak (balúṭṭ), wild olive, *kashlána'h*, *chiṛí*, and other forest trees, the bitter pomegranate, wild grape, and other fruit-bearing trees, various species of shrubs, herbs, and grasses, the narcissus, and other wild flowers. The Tor Káfirís, however, infest these mountains, and issue from their ambushes on the route, and slay travellers who chance to fall into their hands.

"Having started from Bárwa'h,§ and ascended the Chanḍawul Ghás'haey for a distance of three kuroh in the direction of north, you reach the crest of the range. You then commence to descend by the Birawal or Daham Tál Ghás'haey for a distance of three kuroh more, still keeping north, and arrive at the small village of Daham Tál, situated on a hill or crag on the mountain side. West of it a small river rises, which flows on to Chugyá-ṭan.

"From Daham Tál you proceed three kuroh in the direction of north-east to Ján-Baṭey,‖ which is a large village, also situated on a mountain steep, and every step you

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* He was the father of the late Ghazan Khán, the renowned Chief of Panj-Korah, and the most powerful ruler of those parts, of whom I gave an account in my paper on "Upper and Lower Ḳáshḳár and the Independent State of Panj-Korah," page 23.

Ḳásim Khán here mentioned had three sons, Azád, Ghazan, and Sa'd-ullah. Azád, the eldest, by some untoward and unfortunate chance, became the slayer of his father, during the troubles which arose after the death of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, Bádsháh of Kábul, and was subsequently slain himself by his younger brother, Sa'd-ullah.

Ghazan Khán supported by the late ruler of Ḳáshḳár, commonly known to us as "Shah Kator," but, correctly, Sháh-i-Kaṭor, or Sháh of the Kaṭor, became chief of the territory known as Panj-Korah, after the five septs or divisions (in Pus'hto "kor," *lit.* house) of the Molízí section of the Khwádozí Akozí division of the great tribe of Yúsufzí, who possess it. He is said to have gone to war with the Ḳáshḳár ruler, and to have reduced his capital, but made no attempt to retain it. Whether this happened before or after this first alliance was entered into is not stated, and it was probably after, but since that disagreement arose the alliance between the two States has been kept up, and still continues. This it will be well to remember, in case the ruler of Kash-mír should attempt to interfere with Ḳáshḳár proper, which, if he should do, he will certainly repent of.

Ghazan Khán's younger brother, with whom he continued at enmity after the latter killed his elder brother, remained independent of him, supported by a small adverse party.

Ghazan Khán died about ten years since, leaving nine sons, but his eldest, Raḥmat-Ullah Khán, who filled important posts during his father's lifetime, has succeeded to the rulership, and reduced his other brothers to submission.

† This description clearly shows how much our maps are all at fault.

‡ *See* next page.

§ This is the "Havildar's" *Burwa* referred to at page 152.

‖ Here we touch the "Havildar's" track. He crossed by the two Ghás'haeys just named to "Janbattai," as it is written in his account, but these other names appear to have been entirely unknown to him as well as to the Mullá. In the Mullá's map it is "Janbatái." *See* note §, page 118.

take in proceeding thither is downward. The before-mentioned river lies on the right hand as you go along.

"Another kuroh north-east from Ján-Baṭey is 'Ídú, another considerable village, also situated on a mountain height, and the same river lies on your right hand. Going on from thence for another kuroh in the same direction as before, with the river still on your right hand, you reach Dáṛí Kan, another large village on a height. From thence you proceed, every step descending, for another half a kuroh, still keeping north-east, and reach Bánḍa'h,* or 'The Hamlet,' previously referred to in the first road (page 165). From Bánḍa'h to Dír the road has been therein described.

Third road.—"The road from the S'hahr of Bájawṛ to the village of Chirg has been described in the first road. From thence you proceed one kuroh to the north to Kalaey-i-Míágán—Da Míágáno Kalaey†—previously noticed at page 164, and from thence two kuroh north-west, inclining north, to Dágaey, then one kuroh to the north-west to Khaṛáraey. Another two kuroh farther on is Pashat,‡ the place of residence of Allah-Yár Khán, Tarkalární, the Ḥákim, or governor, of the Dara'h of Bábú-Ḳará. From the side of Gibar§ a river comes down, which, passing north of Pashat, flows on to the Chhár-mang Dara'h; and half a kuroh north-east of Pashat is Aṯka'í, a small village on the opposite side of the river.

"Half a kuroh north from the last-named village is Be-Gal (in one copy Ye-Gal), a small village, on the way to which you have to pass through a defile, which, however, is very even, and from this village northwards is a lofty mountain range. You ascend for the distance of a kuroh and reach the crest, and then, descending for a distance of a kuroh and a half, arrive at Rám-Gal, which is a small village dependent on the Chanḍawul Dara'h. Half a kuroh farther on is a large village called Ghanír, and proceeding from thence for another three kuroh you come to Bádín, the account of the road from which to Birawal and on to Dír, by the Chanḍawul and Birawal Ghás'haeys, has been already given (preceding page).

Fourth road.—"Leaving the S'hahr of Bájawṛ and proceeding four kuroh to the north you reach Dara'h, the name given to three large villages belonging to the Tarkalární Afgháns, and the village of Chirg, previously mentioned above (and at page 164) lies on the left hand as you proceed. Two kuroh distant from Dara'h is the small village of Kuwwá,|| and after going on from thence for a distance of half a kuroh you reach Khaṛáraey. From thence to Pashat (of Bábá-Kaṛá) and on to Dír by the Birawal Dara'h the road has been just previously described.

"The people of these parts style Chhár-mang, Útlaey, Bábú-Ḳará, or Bábá-Ḳara'h, Chanḍawul, Maidán, Birawal, and Rúd, the dwelling place of the Tarkalární Afgháns, each of which is a large dara'h with minor ramifications, mentioned in the preceding

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* This place is styled "Bandai" in the "Havildar's" account. Inflected it would become Bánḍey, it being a feminine noun, but not "Bandai." The Mullá's map makes it "Bandái," with the wrong vowels long. There is a village called Bánḍa'í at page 165, but it is different from the village here referred to.

† This place is certainly not "the capital of Bajáwár," if "Mián Kala" is meant for it, but it is said to be in "Yághistán," and that is a territory of which I have no cognizance, and never met with. It has just been stated, at page 165, that Bánḍa'h is the residence of the Chief of this part of Bájawṛ, but the S'hahr or the K'hahr is the capital of the Bájawṛ territory. Da Míágáno Kalaey, as the name plainly indicates, belongs to and is inhabited by the descendants of a holy man or holy men; and the present Ṣáḥib-Zádah, to whom it appertains, is not called "Saheb-Zada" because he has "been to Mecca," but because, as his name indicates, he is the descendant of a holy man; and he is not a Tarkalární Afghán. He is styled the Ḥájí because he has performed the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madínah. Being the descendant of a holy man, he has great influence among the chiefs and people around, but not to that degree possessed by the late Ákhúnd of Suwát, whom some persons made the leader of armies of Gházís, and others even made a king. *See* my "Account of Upper and Lower Suwát," in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1862, pages 15 to 21.

I have previously noticed the incorrectness of and discrepancies in our maps. I must mention another serious error here. In the "Havildar's" map the distance from Pashat to Kalaey-i-Míágán or Da Míágáno Kalaey, in a straight line, is 45½ miles; in Major Wilson's map it is 30¼ miles, but in the map of the Mullá, who is said to have surveyed the route between the two places, it is 38 miles, according to their respective scales. There are numerous other discrepancies and errors which these routes will rectify. The Mullá's map, upon the whole, appears the most correct, as far as it goes.

‡ *See* page 151.

§ This appears to be the tract of country, or part of it, in which the Chingiz Khán took up his quarters for about three months after his pursuit of the Ighráḳí Musalmáns, subsequent to the defeat of Sulṯán Jalál-ud-Dín, Khwárazm Sháh, on the banks of the Abáe-Sín or Indus. But this part could only have been occupied by a small portion of his immense host, which probably overran all the country from Aṭak to Nek-Anhár or Nangrahár. *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 1021 and 1043, and notes. It was from these parts that he set out, by the road he had previously come, towards Buḳlán, and returned to his *yúrat* in Mughalistán, but not by the "famous Baroghil Pass." *See* note §, page 151.

|| *See* page 151.

account, by the general name of Bájawṛ, but Saur Kamar, and the Kohistán, or mountain tracts inhabited by the Utmán Khel Afgháns, are considered quite separate; nevertheless, strangers, unacquainted with this country, imagine the whole to be contained and included in Bájawṛ, which is not correct."

At page 112 I mentioned that Zain Khán, the Kokal-Tásh,* had been sent to operate against some of the Táríkís, who had betaken themselves to the difficult tract of country in and around Bájawṛ.

Having entered Bájawṛ, as previously stated, Zain Khán erected small forts every here and there, in the lower and more open parts, and the Afghán inhabitants deserted their villages and withdrew into the different dara'hs. From these they used to issue at night, reap their corn—for it was harvest time—and carry it off into the fastnesses in the hills.

To put a stop to these proceedings, Zain Khán adopted the plan of sending out small bodies of troops as soon as night set in, to take up their position near the entrances of these dara'hs, and there conceal themselves, and not to molest any Afgháns issuing therefrom. About midnight the fugitive Afgháns used to come out in strong bodies, go to their fields, and set about reaping their corn. About the same time, however, Zain Khán used to send out other bodies of troops, which would come down upon the reapers, harass them, and compel them to suspend their operations, and retire to the dara'hs again. Then it was that the Mughal troops in ambush would assail them also, and the Afgháns had to fight their way back, each time sustaining some loss.

Such like desultory fighting went on, every now and again, for about eight months; and, during this time, the Afgháns, unable to cultivate their lands, and after numbers of them had perished, were forced to submit to the terms of the Mughal commander. What these terms were is not stated, but, doubtless, they were sufficiently hard, and must have included a pledge not to aid or succour the other Afgháns who were of the Táríkí sect, and other followers of the Táríkí leaders, and give hostages for their good behaviour, and the carrying out of the terms.

Having "settled" matters (as he supposed) in this part, Zain Khán was able to turn his attention to Suwát. At the point where the river of Panj-Korah issues from the mountains, he erected a strong fort, but the Yúsufzí Afgháns blocked up the roads around with rocks and breastworks, and were prepared to resist his advance. But while they were occupied in the celebration of the 'Íd-i-Ḳurbán—the festival of Abraham's offering up Isaac—which is held on the 10th day of the month Zú-l-Ḥijja'h, the last month of the Muḥammadan year, Zain Khán, whose intelligence department must have been efficient, having heard of a secret route, succeeded in entering Suwát thereby before the Yúsufzís became aware of it.†

At the end of the month Sha'bán, of the year 1000 H. (about May, 1592, A.D.), Zain Khán had again to be despatched, at the head of an army, to act against the Táríkís, and "to arrange for the re-peopling, and bringing under cultivation again, the "territories of Suwád and Bájawṛ, and to root out the remaining Afgháns." From this we must understand that the Mughals had been carrying out some "high-handed measures," in devastating those countries, burning the villages, slaughtering the people, and rendering those who remained homeless; and that it had been discovered that such proceedings were not calculated to make them "friends," or render them and their country "so prosperous" as to lead them to consider it "a boon" to be brought under the rule of the Mughals.

Previous to the disturbances breaking out in Kash-mír in 1001 H.‡ (1592-93, A.D.), Zain Khán had been again despatched against these same Afgháns of Suwát and Bájawṛ, but who, according to Abú-l-Faẓl's account, were always "completely reduced," and "made good subjects of." When the disturbances began in Kash-mír, the Afgháns also rose; and as the troops quartered in the Bagrám district (Pes'háwar) were neither very numerous, nor of the best, the Gagyání and Muḥammadzí Afgháns, who hitherto had been good and peaceful subjects, joined with the Táríkís and Yúsufzís,

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* Kokal-Tásh is a Mughal title. The Nú-yín, Íljídáe or Ílchíḳdáe, who destroyed and depopulated Hirát, was Kokal-Tásh to his uncle, the Chingiz Khán. Some European writers have said that it means a foster brother, but he could scarcely have been his uncle's foster brother. *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 1142, note 2.

† Afẓal Khán, the Khaṭak, in his History, says the place where Zain Khán was stopped by the Yúsufzís was called the T'ra'í. This word in the Afghán language signifies a narrow track or roadway at the skirt of a mountain, on one side, with cliffs or high banks of a river on the other. Its position will be found described at page 235.

‡ The year 1001 H. began on the 27th September, 1592.

and invested Muḥammad Ḳulí, the Turk-mán, and his troops in Bagrám itself. The appearance of Zain Khán upon the scene, with his forces, saved it, and the rebels dispersed.

The Yúsufzís, with some Táríkís, under the leadership of Waḥdat 'Alí, a kinsman (by some called a brother) of Jalálah, however, retired to the mountains of Bájawṛ, and Jalálah, sending his family along with Waḥdat 'Alí's party, betook himself to the strong district of Tí-ráh. The plan was that Waḥdat 'Alí should take up his quarters near that part of the Káfirí country lying close to Ḳáshḳár, and there prepare a place of safety, and a secure retreat in case of need.

Zain Khán first entered Suwád by the Malá-khand Pass on the 18th of Mur-dád, 1001 H.,* and then marched across Suwád into Bájáwṛ by the Maidán Dara'h, and "quiet was restored to both those tracts," according to Abú-l-Faẓl, "and the rebels, "unable to cope with him," retired into the mountains in the direction of the Káfiristán. Zain Khán then marched into the Birawal Dara'h, and "the hills and dales were cleared of the infidels (the Táríkís)." He had reached a point where, east of him, lay Suwád (and Panj-Korah also), west Kúnaṛ and Núr-Gal, immediately south the Bájawṛ territory (in which he then was), and north Ḳáshḳár and Badakhshán. The "rebels" had in that part prepared their place of retreat and shelter, which was Changází,† and there sat down in defiance.

Zain Khán determined to dislodge them. He entrenched his camp at every stage as he advanced, and so, whenever the Táríkís and their adherents made night attacks upon it, they failed. He reached their stronghold and invested it. On the 1st of Abán (October), after fighting a great battle, the particulars of which, unfortunately, are not given, and defeating the "rebels," he obtained possession of it; and, according to Abú-l-Faẓl, as usual, "the disturbances caused by them were suppressed."

In the following year, the 38th of Muḥammad Akbar's reign,‡ Zain Khán had again to take the field against these very same "rebels." After his capture of Changází, Zain Khán had returned to his fort of Fatḥ-ábád (mentioned at page 112), which he had founded in Bájawṛ, and there he took up his quarters. From thence he detached Mubárak Khán to hold Suwád in subjection, for all the different tracts of country between the Sind (Indus) and Hindú-Koh had been placed under Zain Khán's jurisdiction, consequent on these disturbances, and in order that he might completely root up the Táríkís.

Soon after, however, he had to leave Fatḥ-ábád and march into Tí-ráh against these schismatics, the particulars of which I need not enter into here, as I wish to confine myself more particularly to a short account of his movements in Bájawṛ and parts adjacent, one of the many so-called "blanks in Afghán history."

"After having been driven out of Changází, Waḥdat 'Alí and his adherents, after the departure of Zain Khán, by the help of the Yúsufzís, obtained possession of a fortification known by the name of Ganshál or Ganashál,§ and some small tracts of land within the Káfirí territory. Jalálah, unable to remain in Tí-ráh, consequent upon Zain Khán's movements therein, fled from thence in order to gain this new stronghold in the Káfirí territory. Zain Khán resolved to attack this place likewise, and wrest it from the Táríkís.

"Leaving a strong force at Jalál-ábád under Ḳásim Khán, and another at Bagrám, he began his march towards the Káfirí country, in which Ganshál lay; and so quick were his movements, that, before Jalálah could cross the river of Kábul, the Bádsháh's troops barred his road, and he had to make for Tí-ráh again. Zain Khán was advised to face about and pursue him, but he determined to root out Waḥdat 'Alí first, as he had obtained a strong place of shelter, which might prove a source of much mischief, if allowed to remain in the hands of the Táríkís.

"Leaving his heavy materials and baggage behind him,—it is not stated which route he took, but from what happened on the previous occasion it must have been by Danish-Kol,‖—he began his march towards the Káfirí country, by way of Sháh-zádaey,¶

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* July, 1593.

† *See* pages 117, 182, and 183.

‡ The Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí says on the 5th of Zí-Ḳa'da'h, 1001 H.

§ This is an ancient place, and extensive ruins are said to exist here. It is situated in the valley through which the river Tal flows, north-east of the Maidán Dara'h of Bájawṛ, and is about twelve kuroh from Dír. An account of the Maidán Dara'h, and the routes leading from it, will be found at pages 118 and 165.

‖ Abú-l-Faẓl, in his short notice of Bájawṛ in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, says there are but three routes into it. One from the side of Hindústán, called the Dánish-Kol route, and two from the side of Kábul, styled the Smats and Kúnaṛ Núr-Gal routes respectively. From the mention of Jalál-ábád, Abú-l-Faẓl appears to intimate that Zain Khán went by the Smats route. *See* pages 112 and 181.

¶ There are at present two Sháh-zádaeys, near each other, on the west side of the river issuing from the Maidán Dara'h, and near its junction with the river of Panj-Korah.

and near the village of Kundí-gáhar (*see* Kundí-gár, pages 179 and 230), he threw a bridge over the river of Bájawṛ which, at that point, was seventy *gaz* broad,* and deep and rapid in proportion, and conveyed his whole army across. While this was being effected the troops got sight of the rebels. Leaving a strong detachment under the Khwájah, Shams-ud-Dín, to guard the bridge, Zain Khán moved forward, and, after proceeding seventeen marches from thence, up hill and down dale, through a most difficult country, he at last reached the entrance to a defile of eight kuroh in length, through which his troops must pass to get at the rebels. Waḥdat 'Alí was in the stronghold of Ganshál, arrogant in the supposed strength of his position. For one half the distance through this defile or pass, the road was so narrow that a single horseman could scarcely get along,† and the rest of the way led along the skirts of the mountains and precipices. The Táríkís and their allies had blocked up the road in ten different places with rocks and breastworks, with the determination of offering a stout resistance.

"Zain Khán, the Kokal-Tásh, on the 6th of Khur-dád (May), having previously sent on a large portion of his force, under Takhtah Beg and Sa'íd Khán, the Gakhar, and other leaders, to occupy a suitable spot whereon to encamp, and hold it, set out himself, attended by a small escort. The Afgháns had occupied the defile in force, and when he came up he found the troops engaged hand to hand with them, for the defile was very narrow, as already stated, and there was no means of getting along at the sides.‡ Nothing remained but to force his way on or fall back, and, as he was determined to force a way, this hand to hand conflict was sustained for three watches (nine hours). Suddenly, Waḥdat 'Alí, also unable to crown the hills for the purpose of aiding the others by creating a diversion, descended with his immediate followers into the defile itself, and the efforts of the rebels became more desperate than before.

"The upshot was, that, with God's help, they were entirely overcome, and compelled to fly; and the stronghold of Ganshál, with a considerable extent of cultivated land, fell into the hands of the Mughal troops."

The historian entered into some little detail respecting the defile, but, as usual with eastern historians, fails to give us any respecting this stronghold, and other details which we should have liked to have.

"Many of the Afgháns betook themselves to the higher mountains for shelter, and there remained. The most active of the force followed in pursuit of them, and succeeded in capturing several. Some of the headmen of the (Spín) Káfirí tribes came and joined the Mughal forces, and tendered their services.‖ These being accepted, they used their utmost efforts in pursuing and destroying the fugitive Afgháns, some of whom fled towards Chaghán-Saráe of Badakhshán,§ thinking to pass the river of Bájawṛ, and obtain shelter among other Káfirí tribes. This, however, was more than they could effect, and the fugitives were reduced to such straits that several Yúsufzí chiefs gave themselves up and sued for pardon; and Waḥdat 'Alí, also, finding no means of escape, had likewise to give himself up.

"That mountainous tract of country (in which the stronghold of Ganshál was situated) lay in a part in which a deputy (dároghah) of the ruler of Káshghar (Ḳáshḳár?) dwells, and all the year round it is more or less blocked with snow."

In this affair, the Yúsufzí Afgháns and other adherents of Wadḥat 'Alí, the Táríkí, are said to have lost 400 killed, and great numbers taken captive, while the victors, according to Abú-l-Faẓl, only lost 30 killed and 150 wounded, which numbers do not indicate "very desperate fighting." The same writer also asserts that, "by this success, all the country as far up as Káshghar (Ḳáshḳár?) and Badakhshán fell into the hands of the Mughal commander," which, certainly, is not correct.

"After the fall of Ganshál and parts adjacent, and all the Táríkís had been killed or dispersed, Zain Khán, the Kokal-Tásh, prepared to return, having first amply rewarded the (Spín) Káfirís for their services, and given them great encouragement."

The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, gives some interesting details confirmatory of these events. He says the Yúsufzís were being exterminated everywhere, and that Muḥammad Khán, the chief of one of the clans of the tribe, with a portion of them, turned his face towards the mountains of Hindú-Ráj (mentioned at pages 126 and 143), and was

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* This breadth appears exaggerated, but such is stated in the copies of the history I am quoting, and by Abú-l-Faẓl in the Akbar-Náma'h. The gaz would be about twenty-six inches.

† A little exaggeration, possibly, for the sake of effect.

‡ Or crowning the heights.

§ According to Abú-l-Faẓl.

‖ The Spín Káfirís of Ḍángrak are here referred to. *See* pages 161 and 190.

clearing the tracts before him, along the banks of the river of Panj-Kora'h, of the Káfirís—the Spín Káfirís—and pushing forward with the object of getting into Ḳáshḳár and settling therein.

"Some time passed in these operations, when, unfortunately for them, one of Pír-i-Tárík's notables, Waḥdat by name, joined them; and the misfortune attending the presence, and their being followers of, this infidel brought ruin upon them. Muḥammad Khán obtained martyrdom fighting against the Káfirís, and then the fugitive Yúsufzís, chose Ghází Khán as their Bádsháh, or Chief, but they did not get rid of their infidel Táríkí. Not one of the Chiefs of the Yúsufzís equalled Ghází Khán in piety, uprightness, and learning, and he also fell fighting against the Káfirís. His people subsequently fell into the hands of Zain Khán, Kokah, and those who escaped with their lives were transported to the Pes'háwar district (that is, south of the river of Kábul), and lands were assigned them on one of the *wála'hs* there (*see* page 177); and the rest of Yúsufzí tribe became dispersed in all directions, after having withstood the Mughals for a period of twelve years."

Zain Khán had by no means crushed the Táríkís, however, and for many years afterwards they gave an infinity of trouble to the Mughal Government, notwithstanding the repeated "severe chastisements" which they received, according to Abú-l-Faẓl and some other historians of Akbar's reign, but which assertions are contrary to fact. In reality, as is clearly proved by events, the Afgháns were never really subdued by the Mughals at any time, not even the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs and others around the Pes'háwar district; and the Mughals were unable to hold an inch of ground in their difficult country without overwhelming forces, and even then their communications were continually interrupted.

Thirty-second Route. From Kábul to Chitrál or Chitrár, the capital of the country of Ḳáshḳár, by way of Pashat, a distance of two hundred and fifty kuroh. This road also goes on to Yár-ḳand and Khiṭá.

"The route from Kábul to Pashat of Kúnaṛ has been already described.

"Having proceeded half a kuroh east from Pashat, you enter a dara'h, or defile in the mountains, which the people of this part call Tangaey, which signifies a pass, gorge, or road between two mountain ranges, and the river of Chitrál, Chitrár, or Ḳáshkár, as it is also called, lies distant on the left hand.

"From Tangaey to Kúz (Lower) Danúhí,* on the banks of the Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár river, the road has been detailed (at page 118), and the distance between them is about five kuroh. The way thither is dangerous, however, as the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán infest it. Two roads branch off from Kúz Danúhí, the right-hand one of which goes to the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ, already detailed (page 112), and the left-hand one is as follows:—

"Proceeding three kuroh north, inclining north-east, from Kúz Danúhí, you reach Bar (Upper) Danúhí, a village inhabited by Sarkáṟní Afgháns, situated on a mountain crag, and the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár lies on the left hand. From thence four kuroh farther in the same direction is Pál-Koṭ, the name of a ruin (or ruined place or site), on the right hand, on a spur of the mountains. On the left-hand side there is an established ferry over the river, which is called the Bádsháhí Guẕar, or Royal Ferry; and having crossed over by means of a raft you can go on from thence to Chaghán-Saráe. From this place (Pál-Koṭ) the territory of the Tarkaláṟní Afgháns commences.

"Proceeding from Pál-Koṭ (not crossing the river) for a distance of three kuroh, in the same direction as before (north, inclining north-east), you reach Ḥiṣára'h,† a mud-built fort on a spur of the mountains, and the river still lies on the left hand. The villages of the Dara'h of Chaghán-Saráe can be seen on the opposite side of the river. Another two kuroh distant from Ḥiṣára'h is Maṛwirá,‡ and having wended your way from thence for another seven kuroh you come to Shúr-ṭan.§ From thence you go on to Asmár, a distance of four kuroh, and from thence another five kuroh north to

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* In Major Wilson's map this appears under the vitiated form of "Donai."

† *See* pages 143 and 152.

‡ The Afghán boundary, that is to say, of the territory under the sway of the late Amír, Sher 'Alí Khán, Bárakzí, Durrání, extended to this place.

§ *See* page 148.

Shanggar*, after which you proceed another five kuroh in the direction of north-east and reach Shál†, the residence of Manṣúr 'Alí Khán, Tarkalární. This village the Káshkárí people call by the name of Sálmá.

"From Shál you proceed four kuroh to Bal-yam,‡ a large village of the Tájzíks, the Afghán territory having terminated at Shál.

"Leaving Bal-yam you proceed onward for a distance of one kuroh, and reach Palás-Gor or Gúr, which the Afgháns style by the name of Nishá-Gám. Five kuroh farther on from thence, having proceeded in the same direction as before, you reach Sá-wa (in one copy Sá-ú), and seven kuroh farther on is the large village of Nárísát, belonging to the Tájzíks; and the tract of country extending from the village of Bal-yam to this place is known by the general name of Nárísát.§

"Four kuroh from the last-named place is the small village of Harandú; || and on the left hand, on the opposite bank (west) of the river of Chitrál, is a great dara'h named Luṭ-Dih, out of which two rivers issue. One flows towards the east and joins the Shaghut river,¶ and the other southwards, and unites with the river of Chitrál opposite Harandú. By this dara'h, and crossing over the Apá-luk Kotal, Badakhshán is reached. It is peopled by the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán, who issue from it and carry their depredations as far as Dír, the Maidán, and Birawal Dara'hs.**

"Leaving Harandú, still proceeding up the river for a distance of twelve kuroh, you reach Ḍamil, which is the name of a dara'h in the mountains nearly twelve kuroh in length, and which lies adjoining on the right hand. A river likewise issues from that direction and joins the Chitrál or Káshkár river.

"Proceeding from Ḍamil in the direction of north-east, inclining east, for a distance of fifteen kuroh, you arrive opposite Naghar, which is a large dara'h, on the left hand (described at page 157), on the opposite side of the river of Chitrál or Káshkár, over which there is a wooden bridge.†† It adjoins the country of the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán on the north-west. A river issues from the Dara'h of Naghar which also unites with the main river, that is the river of Káshkár.

"Another four kuroh north, from the point opposite the Dara'h of Naghar, is Kal-Kanak, which is a large village, two kuroh farther north from which is Drúsh, one of the towns of Káshkár. In this town the dues are levied from the traders of Pes'háwar and Kábul. Round about the town is a wall of sun-dried brick, and the river of Chitrál or Káshkár, as before, lies on the left‡‡ hand.

"The town is under the sway of the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh, who was the author's informant on many subjects connected with these surveys, and who has been referred to elsewhere."§§

The town of Drúsh is situated in the middle of the valley, on a rising ground, on the left or eastern bank of the river, over which there is a large and well built wooden bridge. The town is said to contain about two thousand houses, and between nine and ten thousand inhabitants. All the chief men of this part of the country have houses of considerable size, and are expected to reside here for the best part of their time. Persons engaged in trade, and artisans, dwell almost exclusively at Drúsh.

That part of the dara'h south of Drúsh is thinly peopled, but towards the north-east and west it is populous. The inhabitants are Tájzíks, who are Muḥammadans of the Shí'ah sect.

All complaints of importance, and cases of litigation, are investigated and decided at Drúsh by the ruler himself. All complainants dwelling within four days' journey of it are required to repair to that town, and prefer their complaints there.||||

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* This place is probably what appears in Major Wilson's map as "Sangar?" *See* also page 158. This name has also been written Sanghar, which is not correct: the initial letter is "sh," and there is no "h" in the word.

† In Major Wilson's map Shál is placed below "Sangar" (Shanggar) instead of above it.

‡ It is from this word, incorrectly spelt "Beilum," that the error of calling the river of Káshkár or Chitrál the "Beilum river" has evidently arisen. The people of Bal-yam may, at that point, call it "the river of, or "running by, Bal-yam," just as the people of Kúnaṛ and Kámáṇ call the river, when it enters their territory, "the river of, or running through, Kúnaṛ and Kámáṇ," but they do not mean to say that either of those names is the actual name of the river. At the same time it is quite certain that the people of Bal-yam never call it "the Koonur," nor "the Kama." The "Mullá," on the other hand, writes this word "Bálim." *See* also next page, and page 159, note §.

§ *See* page 166.

|| *See* pages 133 and 149.

¶ *See* page 150.

** A detailed account of these important dara'hs will be found at pages 117 and 118. *See* also page 149.

†† *See* pages 157 and 179.

‡‡ That is, going upwards from Pashat.

§§ *See* pages 155 and 157.

|||| From the Report of the Sapper Ḥawál-dár, as given in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,"

"*From* Drúsh you proceed fifteen kuroh north, and arrive opposite Á'ín, a large village on the left hand, on the other or west bank of the river of Ḳáshḳár, and proceeding another kuroh north from this point reach Barúz. Another two kuroh farther north brings you to Chamar Khanḍ, situated on the east bank of the river. You proceed from thence another kuroh upwards to Jughúz,* another village on the river bank. At this place a wooden bridge spans the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, and a little to the west of the bridge is Chitrár or Chitrál.

"This is a considerable town named after the dara'h described at page 157, and the residence and seat of government of this country, which is at present under the sway of the Sháh, Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh.† There is no *town* called Ḳáshḳár."

Tajammul Sháh was ruler of Chitrál at the time of the first Afghán war, and for some time subsequently, but he was afterwards assassinated by a nephew, who was soon after slain by Tajammul Sháh's son. The present ruler, the Amán-ul-Mulk, is the son of Tajammul Sháh's elder brother. *See* page 162, note ¶.

The late Tajammul Sháh‡ was able, upon occasion, to muster a force of 12,000 matchlock men, who were not paid for their services in money, but in kind. The whole of the people are well provided with fire-arms, with rests, indeed, there are few persons who are unprovided with arms. These matchlocks are long and heavy, similar to those of Turkistán, from whence they are probably obtained, and carry a ball a long distance.§

The Ḳáshḳárís are good marksmen, and powder and lead being very expensive, when they do discharge their pieces, they generally do so with effect, and no shots are thrown away.

"On the route from Pashat to Jughúz, you meet with many ascents and descents as you proceed along at the side of the mighty range which rises on the right hand, and the crest of which is not far off. You also pass many villages, and plenty of water; and the river of Ḳáshḳár runs along near by on your left hand.

"Although the country from Bal-yam to Ḍamil is not contained within the Ḳáshḳár territory, nevertheless, the inhabitants thereof are of the Tájzík race, and, consequently, pay submission to, and are under the rule of, the Chiefs of Ḳáshḳár.

"From Pashat to Naghar the Tor Káfirís infest the country, and lie in ambush, fall upon travellers, and slay them. It is therefore necessary to be provided with a proper and experienced guide; and, unless travellers form a strong party for self-protection, it is dangerous to proceed onwards."

Before giving an account of the various routes diverging from Chitrál, I must describe four other routes here; two leading from Kábul to Pṛáng of 'Ash-Naghar and Pesh'áwar by way of Kaṛappa'h, and two leading from Pes'háwar to Chitrál, as these routes intersect others here given."

Vol. 42, for 1872, who passed through Chitrál in 1870, the Ruler or Bádsháh is styled "Aman-i-Mulk" (an error for Amán-ul-Mulk), but this is only his title, signifying "the Safety of the State," not his name.

According to the same Report, the town of Chitrál is now the "capital" of the country, and "Darosh," as it is called therein, is a mere village. What geographical information the Ḥawál-dár may have imparted to the late Colonel Montgomerie, of course, I cannot say, but, in the article in the Journal above referred to, it is of the most meagre kind: in fact his journey appears to have been a flying one, and the rough survey of a single route. All he says of Drúsh is (page 194):—"Leaving Ashreth ('Ashrit) on the 28th, they reached the "village of Darosh at night. . . . Darosh possesses a fort, which is the residence of Kokan Beg" (Beg is a strange name for a Tájzík), "brother of Aman-i-Mulk, the Badshah of Chitral. This Khan (*sic*) levies "on all merchants and others a toll or tax," &c. Subsequently it is mentioned (page 199) that "they," the Ḥawál-dár and his party, "halted for two days at Darosh, three at Dir, and two at Hotee Murdan," but no particulars are given.

* In order that no mistake might possibly be made with regard to this name by a careless scribe, the author describes it in writing, and also gives the vowel points, and says that the last letter is dotted ر = ز "z" yet the Ḥawál-dár has "Joghor," and in Major Wilson's map it is "Jughur."

† *See* page 162.

‡ Under the heading of "Drúsh," Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.B., "Central Asia," Part II., page 237, quotes my Ḳáshḳár paper in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1864, but makes me say that "it is the "residence of Shah Kator." This is a mistake. I say, "residence of Tajammul Sháh, son of Sháh Kaṭor." Another error is that, under a different heading, I am made to spell this name with one "*m*"—Tajamal—which renders it meaningless. The word is Arabic تَجَمُّل—Tajammul—as I spelt it, and signifies "enjoying the good things of life," etc.

§ At the present day the people may be better provided.

Thirty-third Route. From Kábul to Pṛáng, which is one of the large villages of the 'Ash-Naghar District, by way of Khaṛappa'h or Kaṛappa'h, a distance of one hundred and ten kuroh east.*

"The road from Kábul to Ílah Baghá, otherwise 'Alí Baghán, has been already described (at page 48).

"From the latter place two roads diverge. The right-hand one goes to Báṣaur or Báṣaul, '*r*' being interchangeable with '*l*,' and by La'l-púra'h to Gand-Áb. The left-hand road is as follows:—

"Setting out from Ílah Baghá you proceed to Da Musáfiro Chína'h, which has been referred to at page 120, and from thence eight kuroh eastwards is Ḍháka'h, a considerable village, situated on the banks of the river of Kábul, and the place of residence of Arsala Khán, Mahmand, chief of the Tragzí division of that tribe of Afgháns (whose fate has been mentioned elsewhere, at page 122). La'l-púra'h is on the opposite side† of the before-mentioned river, and Ḍháka'h in the Khaibar defile, near its western entrance.

"Nine kuroh north-east from La'l-púra'h is Bihí ká Júhaṛ,‡ the Bihí Júhaṛ, the name of a lake which is dependent on rain, and which the former governors of these parts, on the part of the Gúrgáníah sovereigns, caused to be built round with stone and lime. The signification of the Hindí word júhaṛ has been already described. The road from La'l-púra'h to this point, which is very like the bed of a river, and without water, they call the Bihí Ḍág,§ Ḍág signifying, in Pus'hto, a hard and arid tract of country.

"From this place you proceed for a distance of eight kuroh, in the direction of north-east, to Gand-Áb or Gand-Áo,‖ the name by which several villages belonging to the Tragzí Mahmands are known. Leaving them you go three kuroh to the east, and enter a great defile known as the Kaṛappa'h Ghás'haey. Ascending it for a distance of two kuroh, you reach the crest of the defile, and then descend for a distance of seven kuroh, still in the direction of east. The road winds exceedingly; and from the crest of the Ghás'haey or Pass, the city of Pes'háwar and its buildings, and the towns and villages of the Do-Ábah, can be distinctly seen.

"Having thus descended from the crest of the Ghás'haey, you go on for another two kuroh, still keeping east, and reach Shab-Ḳadr, which is a small town in the Do-Ábah district, the village of Maṭa'h¶ lying on the left hand, and Mícharna'í on the right, as you proceed. Starting from Shab-Ḳadr you proceed ten kuroh east to the Ḥiṣár, and by the way have to cross the Jinda'h river by boat. The Ḥiṣár or Fortress is the name by which a large village in the sub-district of 'Ash-Naghar is now known, and which lies on the eastern bank of the Jinda'h river. It is the site of an ancient fortress, and the place of residence of Ghulám Maḥay-ud-Dín Khán, son of Faiẓ-Ṭalab Khán. Proceeding one kuroh farther east from thence you reach Pṛáng, another large village under the sway of the Khán before referred to.

"The route just described is known as the Khaṛappa'h or Kaṛappa'h route; and, whenever that by the Khaibar is closed by the rebel Shinwárís and Áfrídís, travellers with their loads and effects proceed to and fro by this route."

'Ash-Naghar—the name the district now called Hasht-Nagar was known by in ancient times, and down to the time these surveys were made—at the period when the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, expelled from the neighbourhood of Kábul by the Mughals, issued from the Khaibar defile, and besought the Dilazák Afgháns to assign them lands on which to dwell, as already described (at page 35), was in the possession of the Shalmánís. They are one of the Tájzík tribes, now known to us, but erroneously so, as Dihgáns or Dihḳáns, which words merely mean a husbandman, and have been very

* *See* page 180.

† I have put down La'l-púra'h as it is at present situated, on the northern bank of the river, but the author plainly states here, as he did before (page 43, Section Second), that La'l-púra'h lies on the south bank. This statement seems incredible, but the question arises, whether the physical feature of the tract within a few miles is such as to permit of the river changing its course at any period. From the fact of there being several islands in its bed for some miles above and below La'l-púra'h, such a change is not impossible. Strange to say, Faiẓ-Bakhsh says that "Dhakha" is on the *north* bank of the Kábul river, and that "Lalpurah" is north of it Ḍháka'h is now on the *south* bank.

‡ This is called the Joeyṛ or Júhaṛ of Mullá Baní at page 120.

§ *See* pages 180 and 183.

‖ This is the place where Ae-mal Khán, Áfrídí, and the confederate tribes, overthrew and annihilated the Mughal army under Jaswant Singh and Shujá'át Khán, soon after the annihilation of the Mughal army in the battle at the Landey Khána'h Kotal, narrated at page 40.

¶ Turned into "Muttah" in our maps.

loosely used. They came originally from Shalmán, subsequently known as Shanúzán and Shalúzán, and Kaṛmán, which dara'hs appear to have been their ancient seats, and hence they are known to history as Shalmánís. They had been displaced by other tribes from the westward, by the Khalj, Ghuzz, and other Turks, in all probability, as already mentioned at page 82.

The Shalmánís of 'Ash-Naghar, at this period, were subjects of Sulṭán Awes of Suwát, son of Sulṭán Pakhal, one of the Jahángírián Sulṭáns mentioned elsewhere. The governor of the 'Ash-Naghar district dwelt in the Ḥiṣár of 'Ash-Naghar, the place above referred to, which can be distinguished from Pes'háwar on a clear day.

At the time the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs came into these parts, the governor of 'Ash-Naghar was the Mír, Ḥandá, son of Arzú, a Tájzík of the family of the Dúd-Ál, and he was a Sardár of renown, and one of the bravest men of his time. His authority extended over the whole tract of country south of the mountains bounding the Dara'h of Suwát in that direction, which tract extended as far east as the river known as the Kálah or Kalá-Páṛní, which has been described at page 244. He resided within the Ḥiṣár or fortress of 'Ash-Naghar, which was stone built, and a place of great strength, situated on a mound of considerable elevation. After the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs obtained possession of 'Ash-Naghar, and that district was subsequently assigned to the Muḥammadzí tribe of Afgháns, who still possess the district, it became the residence of Malik Fatḥ Khán, son of Malik Sá'íd Khán, son of Malik Khiẓr Khán, a Bárakzí* of the Muḥammadzí tribe. At the time these surveys were made the fortress was in ruins.

It is amusing to notice the plunges made by would-be historians, and the absurd statement that "Hashtnagar" was only brought extensively under cultivation in the time of Akbar by "Mahamadzai emigrants from Kandahár."†

There are very few Shalmánís at present to be found in the Pes'háwar district, but there are numbers, under the name of Dihgáns, dwelling in the neighbourhood of Jalál-ábád, in Bájawṛ, and in Lamghán; and there are two villages of Shalmánís,‡ bearing the same name, in the Khaibar mountains, between the Tahtara'h mountain range and the river of Kábul,§ and some in Agroṛ, east of the Indus.

Thirty-fourth Route. From Kábul to Pes'háwar, by way of Khaṛappa'h or Kaṛappa'h, a distance of one hundred kuroh.

"This route is the same as the preceding one as far as Shab-Ḳadr, where the road diverges.

"From Shab-Kadṛ you proceed two kuroh to Katúzí, a large village on the banks of the Jinda'h river; and on the left hand, on the opposite side of the river, is the 'Ash-Naghar district. You then go on for a kuroh and a half more to Ḥasanzí, another considerable village, and from thence proceed half a kuroh farther to Kángṛa'h, which is a very ancient village, contained in the jágír or fief of the Ḳáẓí, Faiẓ-ullah, Tímúr Sháh's chief minister, mentioned at page 122.||

"Leaving Kángṛa'h you proceed a kuroh and a half in the direction of north-east to Baṭ-Giráwn, and then on to Yághí Band, distant one kuroh to the south-east, and from thence two kuroh farther, in the direction of south, to Tarkhaey, another village of considerable size. Rather more than a quarter kuroh south from thence brings you to

* This clan of the Muḥammadzís must not be mistaken for Durrání Bárakzís, like a clan of the Mandaṛs has been for an offshoot of the royal tribe, which, of course, they are not.

† *See* page 225. The Muḥammadzís were settled in the Hasht-Nagar district in the reign of Bábar Bádsháh, Akbar Bádsháh's grandfather.

‡ According to Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, the Khaṭak historian, there appears to have been a tribe of people located in the Tahtara'h mountain range called Táhtarah.

§ There is a small elevated valley still known as Shalmán after this people. It is situated on the southern bank of the river of Kábul, between Ḍháka'h and Mícharna'í, but nearer the former, and lying in the Tahtara'h (but not "Tártara," for there are not two "r's" in the word, but there are two "h's") route, also known as the Áb-Khána'h route, between Pes'háwar and Ḍhákah. A short distance east of the latter place the river of Kábul makes a bend from east to north-east for ten miles, and then bends again almost due south for the same distance. After that it makes a sharp turn, at right angles, to the east again. This sharp turn is just opposite the middle of the Shalmán valley, which there slopes down towards the river. Coming from Pes'háwar you first reach the village of Kam Shalmán, or Shalmán-i-Khúrd, or Lesser Shalmán, at the eastern end of the valley, and at the other, Lo-e Shalmán or Shalmán-i-Kalán, or Greater Shalmán. A few Shalmánís inhabit the former village, and the latter is inhabited by part Mahmands, and part Mulágúṛís, an Afghán clan long connected with and dependent on the Mahmands. They also have several other small hamlets in the mountains near the right bank of the river of Kábul, where it bends sharply to the south, as mentioned above.

There are still a few Shalmánís to be found scattered about in some of the villages to the north of the Lanḍaey Sín or river of Kábul, as the Settlement and Census Reports show. I shall give a more detailed account of them in my Afghán History. *See* also page 125, and page 222.

|| Vast changes have taken place in this as well as in other districts of the Pes'háwar valley since these surveys were made. What then must they have been during eight centuries?

the banks of the river of Kábul, and then, leaving the Do-Ábab and the Muḥammadzí Afgháns, you cross the river by means of a boat. After going another quarter kuroh farther from the river bank, still in the direction of south, you reach the large village of Ḍab,* south of which again is a small canal, brought from the right hand (west), from the river of Kábul, and which canal runs to the left, and joins the Jinda'h river.

"From Ḍab you go on to Kúchán, distant a kuroh and a half to the south-east, a village inhabited by Dá'údzí Afgháns, and then proceed about a quarter kuroh to the south of it to Gul-Bela'h, which is also a large village. On the right hand of it is another canal, which has been cut from the river of Kábul. It runs towards the left, and unites with the Jinda'h river.

"Setting out from Gul-Bela'h you proceed two kuroh to the south, and reach Murwárá or Murwára'h, which is the name given to a considerable river (a branch of the river of Kábul), which, coming from the right hand, flows towards the left, and unites with the Jinda'h.† Another kuroh south from thence is the small village of Kharak, and from that place you go on for about the same distance, in the direction of south-east, and reach the small village of Gújar, situated on the river of Kábul.

"This river consists of two (large) branches; the first branch was crossed by boat, as already related, and the branch now reached cannot be passed except by means of a boat likewise. Between these two (unfordable) branches the country is intersected by several canals; and hereabouts the Dá'údzí tribe of Afgháns dwell, together with some of the Dilazák tribe of the same people.

"A canal which is cut from a river is called a *wála'h* by the Afgháns, and a naturally formed one, that is to say, a channel formed by a river, they call a *bela'h*, both being Pus'hto words.

"Leaving Gújar you proceed a short distance south-east to Yalam Guẕar, also called 'Alam Guẕar, the name of the ferry over the branch of the river of Kábul, just referred to, which you have to cross by boat. On the other or southern bank is a village of the same name, which lies near by on the right hand. On the left are several villages belonging to the Afghán tribe of Dilazák.‡ From the banks of the river you proceed three kuroh in the direction of south-west, and reach the Bálá Ḥiṣár, or citadel of Pes'háwar, and by the way cross several canals, pass many villages, and much cultivation."

Thirty-fifth Route. From Pes'háwar to Chitrál, by the direct route of 'Ash-Naghar, now called Hasht-Nagar, and Panj-Korah.

"The route between Pes'háwar and Ṗráng has been described farther on (at page 243), and also from thence to the village, or rather town, of Tangaey.§

"Setting out from Tangaey and proceeding eight kuroh north, through a dara'h of the mountains, along the banks of the Jindá or Jinda'h river, you reach Búcha'h‖ a small village belonging to the Utmán Khel tribe of Afgháns. The river of Suwád or Suwát, coming from the kohistán or highlands of N'al-Band and Mekh-Band, passes to the northward of, and under (below) the village, and, flowing towards the west, joins the river of Panj-Korah, and obtains the name of Jindá or Jinda'h, and continues its course on to 'Ash-Naghar.¶

"From this village of Búcha'h two roads diverge. By the left-hand road you cross the Jinda'h river on a *jhola'h* or *jhála'h*, or raft, which, in the Pus'hto language, is called a *zángo*, and go on to Bájawṛ. In taking the other road, you cross the river of Suwád by a bridge north of the village of Búcha'h, and, after proceeding twelve

* It was in the neighbourhood of this place that the famous battle of Shaikh Tapúr, also called Patúr, was fought *See* page 227.

† "River of Swát" is as loosely applied as Kúnar and Koonoor to the river of Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál. On entering the plain of 'Ash-Naghar the river of Suwád or Suwát is called the Jinda'h as far down as Nisata'h, at the Do-Bandí ferry. After that it unites with the river of Kábul, and receives the name of Lanḍaey Sín or Little River, to distinguish it from the Abáe Sín or Father of Rivers—the Indus, and is also called the river of Kábul as before its junction with the Jinda'h. The channels of both these rivers have considerably altered since these surveys were made, the number of small branches have increased, and numerous cuts have been made from them for irrigation purposes. *See* page 243.

‡ There are three villages in the Dá'údzí district of the Pes'háwar province, as at present constituted, still peopled by Dilazák Afgháns.

§ *See* page 239.

‖ Originally Bútsah, in all probability, with Pus'hto 'ts.' *See* page 250.

¶ It is also known as the Ágaṛah, between its confluence with the river of Panj-Korah and its issuing from the mountains into the 'Ash-Naghar district. Ágaṛah is also the name of the ferry here referred to.

kuroh north along (the banks of) the river of Panj-Korah, reach Khema'h,* a large village, also belonging to the Utmán Khel, on the opposite side of the river of Panj-Korah. Having passed over the river by a wooden bridge, you enter the bounds of the village afore-mentioned. The river of Bájawṛ issues from the mountain tract to the west, and, running to the south of Khema'h for about the distance of one kuroh, unites with the river of Panj-Korah.

"From thence (Khema'h), having proceeded three kuroh north, you come to Gunáṭír,† a large village belonging to the Yúsufzí Afgháns. The before-mentioned river lies on the right hand. From thence you proceed three kuroh north-east, inclining north, to Úḍí-Grám,‡ another large village, from which two roads diverge. The left-hand one passes over the great mountain range to the Maidán Dara'h and the Dara'h of Birawal, while by the right-hand one you cross the river of Panj-Korah, east of Úḍí-Grám, by a wooden bridge, and, going on from thence for a distance of two kuroh in the direction of north-east, reach Shar-batí, the before-mentioned river being on the left hand as you proceed. A distance of three kuroh farther, in the same direction, brings you to Ribáṭ,§ which is also a large village. The river runs on your left hand. Continuing onwards for another five kuroh in the same direction, you reach the large village of Toṛ-mang, situated on a mountain spur, and south of the village is a small stream, which comes from the right hand, from near the village of Gáwṛín,‖ and, flowing to the left hand, joins the river of Panj-Korah.

"A little to the north-west of Toṛ-mang is Dokarí, a small village close by (the road), on the left hand. Proceeding on from thence for a distance of two kuroh in the direction of north-west, inclining north, you reach a small river, coming from the right-hand side (the eastward), which issues from a dara'h in the mountains, called the Kárú Dara'h,¶ and flowing towards the left, joins the river of Panj-Korah. Another kuroh and a half towards the north brings you to the little village of Wáṛah,** lying on the right hand.

"Leaving Wáṛah, and proceeding onwards in the direction of north for a distance of one kuroh more, you arrive at two rivers. One comes from the right-hand side, out of the Dara'h of Nihák,†† also called Níáka'h, runs to the left, and unites with the river of Panj-Korah; the other flows from the left hand, out of the Dara'h of Panj-Korah, which will presently be described, and joins the river of Panj-Korah, that is to say, the main river of the Panj-Korah Dara'h. From this point (the junction of the two rivers) you proceed onward for another two kuroh in the direction of north, inclining north-west, and reach Jughá-ban, the name given to two small villages which lie on the right-hand side of the road.‡‡ You then go on for another three kuroh in the direction of north, and reach the large village of Dáṛúṛa'h. The river of Jabar comes from the right-hand direction, and falls into the river of Panj-Korah to the west of the village.

"The river of Panj-Korah, from this point, is called the river of Chugyá-ṭan. After crossing the river of Jabar to the north of the above-mentioned village, you proceed two kuroh farther north, and reach the village of Kundí-Gál, also called

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* *See* my "Account of Ḳáshḳár and Panj-Korah," page 19. Khema'h is the chief place in the Maidán Dara'h, which is included in Bájawṛ. *See* pages 117 and 250.

† It is incorrectly spelt "Koonateyr" in the Indian Atlas map, and also placed more than a kuroh south-west of the river, instead of three kuroh to the north-east of it; but, in a map which accompanies an article on "Dardistan" in the "Geographical Magazine" for August, 1876,—in which the names of places are terribly vitiated, notwithstanding my papers referred to below have been used in its construction,—it is "Komâtir."

This place is now noted for the manufacture of soap, and it supplies all the districts round with that article. *See* my account of "Upper and Lower Ḳáshḳár and Panj-Korah," page 16, and of "Upper and Lower Suwát," in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal," for 1864 and 1862 respectively.

‡ *See* also pages 165 and 193.

§ This is the Ribáṭ-i-Muḥammad Khán, mentioned in my Panj-Korah paper, page 17, so called after a ribáṭ or caravansary founded by or named after a person of that name. It also means a station on an enemy's frontier.

‖ In one copy, this word is written Gáḍrín in four places, but two others, equally plainly written, have Gáwṛín, which I have consequently adopted. *See* page 231. There is also a pass called the Gáwṛín Ghás'haey, the crest of which is the boundary between Suwát and Panj-Korah in that direction.

¶ Not "Karoh." It is called Kárú, after the dara'h, that is, the river of the Kárú Dara'h, but that is a feeder of the Áo-Sherí river, or Ú-sherí, as it is sometimes written, or river of the Dara'h of that name. I gave some account of it in my Panj-Korah paper, and also mentioned that Sulṭán Muḥammad Khán, Bárakzí, had taken guns by this route into Panj-Korah several times. The Sherí river mentioned at pages 143 and 182 are totally different from the Ú-sherí river here referred to, for which *see* page 250.

** Sometimes called Wáṛey, but this must be in its inflected form, the word being feminine in Pus'hto.

†† Nihák or Níáka'h, and not Nahák, is the correct name of this dara'h, which is also called Láhor. *See* also page 231.

‡‡ The "Dardistan" map, before referred to, is somewhat mythical here in many ways.

Kundí-Gahár or Kundí-Gár,* on the north side of which is the tomb and shrine of a Darwesh, and a burying ground.

"Leaving Kundí-Gál and going one kuroh and a half in the direction of north, inclining north-west, you reach the small village of Bab-Baur, on the left-hand side, on the other (west) bank of the river of Chugyá-ṭan. From thence you proceed four kuroh in the same direction and reach Jiblúk, which is another small village on the other side of the river before mentioned, which here is spanned by a wooden bridge. From this village you go on a distance of two kuroh and a half in the direction of north-west to Bey-Namází, situated on a mountain crag.†

"From the village of Shar-batí to this place a great mountain range lies near by on either hand; and the river of Chugyá-ṭan, chiefly known as the river of Panj-Korah, flows close by on the left hand as you proceed on your way.

"From the village of Bey-Namází two roads diverge. The right-hand one leads into Báshḳár,‡ and on the left hand there is a wooden bridge of sufficient strength to enable horses, camels, and bullocks to pass over it. The river of Báshḳár and that of Dír, having united a little to the north of it, flow under this bridge.

"Having crossed this bridge, to the west of it lies the large village of Chugyá-ṭan, the account of the route from which to Dír has been previously given (at page 166).§

"From Dír you proceed onwards for a distance of four kuroh in the direction of north-west to Ḳol-Ḍanḍí, the name of a small village belonging to the Yúsufzí Afgháns. Near this village a small stream rises which runs on to Dír.‖ From Ḳol-Ḍanḍí you begin to ascend considerably, and, having proceeded upwards through the Láhorí defile, for a distance of six kuroh in the direction of north-west, you reach the crest of the great mountain range separating Bájawṛ and Panj-Korah from the Ḳáshḳár territory. This crest, which is very lofty, is called the Láhorí Kotal;¶ and from the crest of this kotal the territory of the Yúsufzí Afgháns, in this direction, terminates, and the Ḳáshḳár State commences.**

"Having commenced to descend the north-western face of the range, and proceeded downwards in the direction of north-west, inclining west, for a distance of nearly six kuroh, you reach 'Ashrit Khanḍey,†† a village inhabited by the sept or race of people known as Kohistánís.‡‡ The language and usages of these people are similar to those of the people of Ḳáshḳár, or the Ḳáshḳárís, as they are styled after their country.

"Five kuroh from 'Ashrit Khanḍey towards the north, on the right hand, is the Dara'h of Mír Khanḍey, and from it a small stream issues and unites with the Áb-i-'Ashrit, or river of the 'Ashrit Dara'h, both described at page 158.

"Leaving 'Ashrit Khanḍey, and proceeding three kuroh northwards, inclining north-west, you reach the wooden bridge leading to the Dara'h of Naghar, which lies on the left hand, on the opposite (west) side of the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár (that is to say, you reach the eastern bank facing the Dara'h of Naghar at the point where stands the wooden bridge, as stated in the Thirty-second Route).§§

"An account of the route from thence to the town of Chitrál or Chitrár has been already given at page 173.

"On the way thither there is danger from the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán, who

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* Erroneously printed Kandí-kár instead of gár or gál in my former paper; *k* and *g*, if not marked, are very liable to be mistaken in names of places. It was near this village that Zain Khán threw a bridge over the river when marching northwards against the Táríkís, as mentioned at page 171.

† *See* page 228.

‡ *See* pages 161, 162, and 193.

§ All our maps are very defective hereabouts.

‖ The river of the Láhorí defile. Here, too, the "Dardistan" map is imaginary. *See* my paper previously referred to, pages 13 and 14.

¶ Compare this account, written some ninety years ago, with the "Havildar's" account in the "Journal "of the Royal Geographical Society" for 1872, pp. 182 and 183.

** According to the Mullá, the heights of the mountains on either side of the Láhorí Kotal are 13,700 and 14,300 feet respectively, but between his calculations and the Ḥawál-dár's there is considerable difference.

†† The name is not 'Ashrit only, but 'Ashrit Khanḍey: "Ashreth" is incorrect.

‡‡ Some of the aboriginal Tájzík inhabitants of these parts probably, or, possibly, a remnant of the Turkish tribes formerly possessing large tracts on the river of Kábul and farther south, who have been, from time to time, dispossessed of much of their territory by the immigration of the Khas'hí sept of Afgháns. The word "kohistání," I may mention, merely signifies a mountaineer or highlander. I believe the term Nímcha'h or half-breed has been rather loosely applied to those people. *See* also page 158, and note †.

§§ Major Wilson's map seems defective here, and the positions of Naghar, spelt "Nagar," and Mír Khanḍey, spelt "Mirkani" therein, are misplaced.

infest this route, and lie in ambush to attack caravans of traders and travellers, and slay them. There are also dense forests of walnut, oak (balúṯṯ), pine, *kashlána'h*, and other forest trees, and the bitter pomegranate, wild grape, fig, and other fruit-bearing trees, shrubs, and various species of herbage, are almost beyond description. The mountain ranges from Tangaey* to Chitrál or Chitrár tower to the heavens, in such wise that the sun shows itself with difficulty,† and the keenness of the air is to that degree, that even in summer time you cannot pass the nights without blankets and a fire."

Thirty-sixth Route. From Pes'háwar to Chitrál or Chitrár by way of the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawr.

"The route leading from Pes'háwar to Shab-Ḳadr has been given at page 176. From it two roads diverge. The left-hand road is called the Kharappa'h route, also written Karappa'h and Karapa'h by Afgháns, and the right-hand one the Lakhandey‡ route. This latter consists of two branch roads, one of which is well known as the Ghar-ángey Road, and the other as the Láchí Road; and both again emerge at Dánish-Kol. From the last-named place three roads diverge:—1. The Náwa'h-ga'í Road; 2. The Yakh-Ḍanḍ§ Road; 3. The Anbhár‖ Road. Of these roads, although the first mentioned is the easiest of the three, it is not practicable for artillery and such like heavy *materiel*,¶ while the Yakh-Ḍanḍ and Anbhár roads are beyond description difficult."

I. *The Left-hand or Kharappa'h, or Karappa'h, or Náwa'h-ga'í Route.*

"The left-hand route is as follows. From Shab-Ḳadr to Gand-Áb the road has been described elsewhere (page 175). From thence proceeding half a kuroh north you reach the little Kotal of Náḳaey, and from thence another kuroh in the direction of north-east is Darwáza'í, the name of a dara'h in the mountains; and at this place, the left-hand road coming from the direction of the Bihí Ḍág, and the right-hand one coming from Dánish-Kol, both again converge.

"Leaving Darwáza'í, and proceeding for two kuroh north, you reach Am-rú-í,** which lies on the left-hand side of the road. On the left hand, likewise, there is a great mountain range; and as you proceed along the road you pass by much cultivation.

"Setting out from Am-rú-í, and going one kuroh north, you reach two villages, called Chingaey, lying on the left hand, and a quarter of a kuroh farther on is Palo-Sind, and, about the same distance, still farther on, Tsaparaey,†† also on the left-hand side. Another quarter kuroh brings you to Gogaey, another kuroh farther, to Tirkah Tangaey, and another kuroh from thence, to Bábú Tangaey. Proceeding onwards for another half a kuroh you reach Pashat,‡‡ and after a similar distance, the Ziárat,§§ or Shrine, and half a kuroh more brings you to Khazína'h. All these villages belong to the Sáfí tribe of Afgháns, and lie near by the road on the left-hand side. West of these villages the lofty mountain range rises, bounding Kúnar on the east.

"A quarter kuroh from Khazína'h is a hill called Da Butáno Ghunḍa'í, signifying,

* *See* page 177. There is more than one place so called.

† The writer means probably that the sun is seen only for a small portion of the day. The great range forming the eastern boundary of the Ḳáshkár State, and separating it from Panj-Korah, crossed by the Láhorí Kotal or Pass, already described, is sometimes called the Lás-púr range. It rises gradually, from near La'l-púrah on the river of Kábul, to the height of about 9,000 feet some miles north of Pashat, but increases in elevation as it runs north-eastward, until, to the eastward of the town of Chitrál, it attains the vast height of about 18,500 feet. *See* note **, preceding page.

‡ The correct spelling may possibly be Lakhanḍa'í, for no vowel points are given. *See* page 183.

§ Literally, "The Ice Lake or Mere." It is also the name of the village near which it lies. *See* page 183.

‖ Also called 'Anbar. *See* page 123, and note ‡.

¶ This is the writer's private opinion only, but, with some little engineering, the route might be made practicable for light guns.

** "Oomeray," of the Indian Atlas map.

†† *See* page 152.

‡‡ Pashat of Bábú-Ḳará. *See* page 151.

§§ I notice here again another instance in which our maps contradict each other. If a line be drawn from Chaghán-Saráe to Fort Abází, and another, in the contrary direction, from La'l-púra'h to Jár, it will be found that in the Mullá's map this Ziárat lies just 2 miles *north* of the line from Chaghán-Saráe to Abází, and 5 miles to the *westward* of the cross line from La'l-púra'h to Jár.

In Major Wilson's map, on the contrary, the Ziárat is 7½ miles *south* of the first line, and 6½ to the *westward* of the cross line. In other words, the Ziárat, according to the Mullá, is 5 miles from the point where the two lines cross, in the direction of *north-west*, while in Major Wilson's it is 9½ miles *west* inclining to the

in the Pus'hto language, 'The Idols' Hill,' or 'Hill of the Idols,' where, in ancient times, a large and lofty idol temple stood.* About another quarter kuroh from thence is Da Smats Ghunda'í, signifying, in the same language, 'The Hill of the Cavern,' which is another hill of the same mountain range in which is the great cavern of Kábul Tsapar, and the Hindú-Ráj Ghás'haey,† where the route coming from the west, from Kábul, joins this route.

"From Da Smats Ghunda'í a quarter kuroh farther on is Kúz (Lower) Chinárí, from which place to Náwa'h-ga'í the route has been described (at page 113). From thence (Kúz Chinárí) two roads diverge. The right-hand one is known as Khuṭa'h Lár, and has been previously described (same page), also the routes from the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ to Dír, from Dír to Naghar, and from Naghar to Chitrál."

We have here, I think, quite a nest of Buddhist sites, as I shall endeavour to show.

The Dragon Lake of Hwui Seng and Sung Yun in the Puh-ho-i (untrustworthy) Mountains is the lake of Chiṭṭí-Bú-í. The great Snowy Mountains, "which in the "morning and evening vapours rise up like gem spires opposite one" (Beal, page 184) is the Tíraj-Mír range (*see* pages 157 and 188). "Ná-kie" appears to be Nihák, the dara'h so called, mentioned at pages 178 and 231, also called Níáka'h and Láhor. The name "Nákaey" also occurs in this route, but that is the name of a little kotal or pass, which lies to the southward of Kábul Tsapar. Da Butáno Ghunda'í is possibly the site of the temple of Po-kin (Beal, page 196), or, more probably, the To-lo temple north of the city (the name of which is not given—the S'hahr of Bájawṛ?) in the country of Ouchang, and in which were "sixty full length figures." Da Smats Ghunda'í is in all likelihood "the rock cave of the Prince (Beal, page 194), to the south-east of the crest of the "hill of Shen-chi." Kábul Tsapar is apparently the great cave in which Buddhah left his shadow, "east of the river and south of the city," which was "to the south of "Ná-kie, half a yôjana, on the south-west face of a large mountain." The rock "east of the river and south of the city," on which Buddhah stopped to dry his robe (Kasha), and "about 12 feet high and 24 feet square, and smooth on one side," is Laka'h Tíjza'h, a remarkable rock, mentioned at page 123. The Nága Rájah's tank too, "west of the river," is probably the *júhar* mentioned at page 120, or page 183.

Compare these sites with the accounts in Fah Hian, and Hwui Seng, and Sung Yun, and the striking similarity will be noticed, but in the course of many centuries names become altered, especially when the old inhabitants are expelled by new-comers and foreigners, and they, in their turn, are also ousted by others.

Beal says, in a note at page 27, that Ná-kie is "Nagrâk, and that the town or village of Nagrâk is close to Jellâlabad." What map shows it he does not say, nor does he give his authority. He appears, or his authority, to have mistaken Kangkrak for "Nagrâk," by dropping the first two letters to suit his theory, or the name was incorrectly spelt in the map he consulted. *See* Ḍángrak, at page 161, and page 190.

There is a village called Gang in the neighbourhood of these evidently Buddhist sites, mentioned on the next page, and near it is a spring of water known as the Gang, which the Hindús from parts adjacent come to bathe in in the month of Baisákh.

It may not be out of place to say something here respecting the word Wihár, which Muḥammadans write Bihár.

Al-Bírúní says that the Buddhists are called Shamanán by the people of Khurasán,

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south, consequently, there is a difference between the two maps respecting the situation of the Zíárat of *ten* miles.

There is equal discrepancy regarding the situation of Náwa'h-ga'í. In Major Wilson's map, "Mount *Naoghai*" is situated just 2 miles *south* of the line from Chaghán-Saráe to Abází, and 9 miles *west* of the point where the line from La'l-púra'h to Jár crosses the former line, while, according to the Mullá's map, "*Nawágí*" is 10 miles *north*, inclining *east*, from the former line, and 8 miles *north-west* of the latter or line from La'l-púra'h to Jár, so that between the situation of "Mount Naoghai" of Major Wilson, and the "Nawágí" of the Mullá, both meant for Náwah-ga'í, and both incorrectly spelt, there is a difference of no less than *nine* miles. The Indian Atlas map differs from both the others.

* Those writers who attempt to trace the routes taken by the Buddhist pilgrims, and Fah Hian in particular, from Khutan downwards towards India, will do well, I think, to try and trace him by the light of these routes. I do not imagine, from reading the account of his pilgrimage in Beal's translation of his Travels (London: 1869), that Fah Hian kept so far to the eastward as the Indus after crossing the "Tsung-Ling," or "Onion Mountains" (which I shall again refer to when I come to write of Bilaur), neither does he appear to have come down the valley of the river of Chitrál, but to have taken the route by the Tal river—"To-li"—also known as the river of Panj-Korah, and river of Chugyá-ṭan, after the Afgháns possessed themselves of these tracts. *See* Beal's "Buddhist Pilgrims," page 21.

† *See* page 143.

and that their monuments called *bihárs*, and their *idols* styled *farkhárs*, are still to be seen on the frontier territories (of Islám).

Musalmáns interpret the word Bihár as "an idol-temple, a fire-temple, a place "adorned with carvings of figures or paintings, and ornamented with gold or colours," in fact, any place of worship containing images of any kind or description, whether a monastery or a temple; and, at page 63, I have given their interpretation. The Burhán-i-Kátí', a very excellent authority, says "Bihár—ترکستان آتشکدهٔ , چین بتخانهٔ و خانهٔ منقش , و طلا کاری بود ." In a paper read before the Society of Arts on the 10th of December last, Mr. W. Simpson, the artist, who examined some of the Buddhist remains near Jalál-ábád, and who appears to have studied the subject, says, with reference to the religious structures thereabouts, "A style of architecture was followed, in which "sculpture was largely practised, and in which the effect was heightened by the use "of colour and gold;" and he also refers to niches for figures of Buddhah. Any one who can read the definition of Bihár above given can tell how correct the description is. Such buildings Muhammadans call idol-temples, whatever its technical Buddhist name may be. *See* also Wood's "Oxus," new edition, Introduction, page xxviii.

The Turk tribes which held the different tracts of territory on either side of the river of Kábul, where so many Turkish names still attest their occupation prior to the irruption of the Muhammadans into those parts, were Buddhists, hence the remains of so many Buddhist monuments are to be found in these localities.

It must not be forgotten that numerous ancient ruins exist at Ganshál in the Tal Dara'h, where the Táríkís took refuge, and which Zain Khán, Akbar Bádsháh's general, took, the details of which are given at page 169. Anbhár, or 'Anbar, mentioned at pages 116 and 123, is said to be the site, or close to the site, of an ancient city; and about two kuroh west of Dír are other ruins. These latter are said to be extensive.

"The left-hand route from Náwa'h-ga'í is as follows:—

"One kuroh and a half from Náwa'h-ga'í, in the direction of north-east, is Bánda'h, the Pus'hto for a hamlet—'The Hamlet,'—a small village on the left-hand side of the road, on a crag or spur of the mountains, and about the same distance from it, in the direction of north, is Tangaey. Another half a kuroh farther brings you to Shewaey, also on the left hand, on a mountain height; and from thence, having proceeded another two kuroh, you come to Kot-kaey, or the Fortlet, as its name implies. This is a village of considerable size, which is noted for the excellent bows made there.

"You proceed from thence half a kuroh to the east, and afterwards about the same distance north, and reach another Bánda'h, lying on the right-hand side of the road on a ridge of the mountains. Going onwards for another kuroh and a half to the north, you arrive at Dág, which is a large village lying on the left hand at some distance from the road. You then go on for one kuroh and a half to the south-east, when you reach a small river called the Sherí, which comes down from the left hand, and flows to the right towards the S'hahr or K'habr of Bájawr.

"In the direction of east lies Tarín, which is a large village; and the village of Khalúzí lies on the left hand, at some distance off, on the east side of the stream in question—the Sherí.*

"Two roads diverge from Tarín. The right-hand one is this. Leaving the latter place and proceeding south-east for the distance of one kuroh you come to Da 'Ináyat Kalaey—''Ináyat's Village'—which lies on the right hand of the road, on the opposite side of the stream before mentioned. South of the village is a spring of water, exceedingly cold and sweet (pure), and known as the Ghazní Chína'h, or 'The Ghazní Spring.' Going farther on, in the direction of east, for half a kuroh, you come to the village of Chawítzí, lying near by on the left hand. The stream previously referred to flows close by on the right hand. Proceeding on from thence one kuroh to the south-east you reach Changází, with the stream before mentioned, as before, on your right hand, and the fort of Láshora'h shows itself on the other (right) side of it. Proceeding from Changází for a distance of two kuroh south-east you reach the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawr, on the other (right) side of the before-mentioned stream.

"The left-hand road diverging from Tarín, previously referred to, goes on from thence to Chawítzí, as in the right-hand route just described, and really diverges from the last-named place. Leaving Chawítzí, therefore, and proceeding a distance of one kuroh and a half east, you come to a small village called Gang, situated on a hill, a spur from the mountains, and west of the village is a spring of water, which is called

* The same as mentioned at pages 143 and 250.

the Gang; and in Baisákh,* the first solar month—April, May—the Hindú people of these parts come and bathe therein. A little water flows out from this spring, and close to the village named Mahmand unites with the Sherí stream, previously referred to. The village of Changází lies about one kuroh and a half from this spot, on the left hand.

"From Gang you proceed two kuroh east, inclining north-east, and reach the Chirg Ghás'haey or Pass; and the route from thence to Dír has been described at page 164."

II. *The Right-hand, or Lakhandey Route, from Shab-Kadr.*

"From Shab-Kadr you proceed three kuroh north to Matá, also written Mata'h, a large village belonging to the Gagyání Afgháns, in the district of the Do-Ábah. They have cut a canal from the Jinda'h river, which is called the Wála'h,† and brought the water therefrom into the lands of this district. Leaving Mata'h and proceeding three kuroh to the north, the ascent of the mountain range commences. You go on, ascending for a distance of seven kuroh, until you reach the crest of the range; and in this distance of seven kuroh there are thirty-two Kotals or Passes, each of which is known by a separate name. The Pass terminating this succession of Kotals is called the Lakhandey Ghás'haey;‡ and from it the buildings of the city of Pes'háwar, and the villages of the Do-Ábah and 'Ash-Naghar, can be plainly seen.

"From thence, after having descended one kuroh north-west, another half a kuroh in the same direction brings you to Muhabbat Kalaey, also called the Kalaey of Muhabbat Khán, and another kuroh and a half north-west brings you to Pund-yálaey, a village of considerable size belonging to the Tragzí Mahmand tribe of Afgháns. Leaving that, and proceeding a distance of three kuroh north, you reach a point where two roads diverge. The left-hand road they call the Gharángey road, which again converges with the other at Dánish-Kol. The right-hand one is this. From this Do-Ráhah, or 'Two Roads,' having gone half a kuroh to the north, you come to Láchí, a great defile of considerable altitude, and to reach the crest of which you have to ascend for a distance of half a kuroh. Having descended from thence on the other side for about the same distance, you reach Dánish-Kol, the name by which three large villages§ are known, belonging to the Tragzí Mahmands. North of these villages is a *khwar*, or bed of a mountain torrent, which comes from the Bihí Dág (mentioned at page 180), and, running to the right, passes through the hill tracts of the Utmán Khel Afgháns, and unites with the river of Panj-Korah.‖

"Proceeding half a kuroh north from Dánish-Kol, you come to a place where there are also two roads. That on the left hand is the Gharángey road, which comes from the left hand and joins this one. Having gone on from this point of juncture a short distance farther north, the road separates into three.

"The first, or Náwa'h-ga'í, or left-hand one, goes on to Chinárí; and the road from thence to the S'hahr, or K'hahr, has been already described (page 182).

"The second, or Yakh-Dand, road is as follows. You leave Dánish-Kol and go on for a distance of one kuroh in the direction of east, and reach Kamálí, a large village of the Tragzí Mahmands, on the right hand of which, and near by, is a lofty mountain range. From that village you proceed three kuroh east to Yakh-Dand, another large village belonging to the same sub-tribe of Mahmands. You then have to proceed for a distance of six kuroh to Kalá'-ga'í, signifying 'The Fortlets' (*kalá* being the plural of *kala*',¶ a fort, with the Pus'hto termination, as explained respecting Náwa'h-ga'í at page 113), another large village, but belonging to the Sáfí or Sápí Afgháns. East of the village is a great Kol-Áb (*lit.*, Kol-i-Áb, signifying a lake or large pond) of rain-water, which is filled by the accumulation of water from the mountain range of Chamar Khandey and Kalaey-i-Bahádur, after heavy falls of rain.** When this Kol-Áb, or lake, becomes dry (in the hot season), the inhabitants have to bring their water from the Chína'h, or

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* The Eastern Afgháns, especially those nearest the Panj-áb, have adopted the names of the Hindú months for agricultural purposes. For the names of the Afghán months, *see* my "Grammar," page 187.

† Signifying a canal in Pus'hto.

‡ The "Mullá" has this Ghás'haey down in his map, but it is incorrectly spelt "Lákande Pass."

§ A recent writer, quoting some "Report," says:—"'Dánash Kúl' is the name of *a* village in the Pandíálí "Mohmand country." This is a great mistake, and the mode of writing the name of the villages and the tribe is equally erroneous.

‖ Our maps are defective here, too.

¶ It is also written with *i*, "kila'," which is equally correct.

** S[illegible] 113, 116, 119, and 120.

Spring of Pashat,* mentioned previously (page 120), which lies from Ḳalá'-ga'í one kuroh and a half to the west.

"From this last-named village, likewise, two roads branch off. The left-hand one goes on two kuroh and a half to Náwa'h-ga'í, from which to the S'hahr, or K'hahr, of Bájawṛ has been already explained (page 113). The right-hand road leads on to the S'hahr, or K'hahr, a distance of eighteen kuroh, through numerous defiles of great elevation, where water is scarce, and in which tract the Utmán Khel tribe of Afgháns dwell as *íláts* or nomads.†

"The third, or Anbhár, road from Dánish-Kol is as follows. You proceed from thence to Yakh-Ḍanḍ, which road has been described above, and from the latter place go on five kuroh east to Anbhár,‡ a large village belonging to the Gagyání tribe of Afgháns. From it Ḳalá'-ga'í lies between three and four kuroh away on the left hand. From Anbhár you have to proceed for a distance of twenty-five kuroh north-east, inclining north, to reach the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ. There are several mountain ranges to be crossed by the way, the practicable crossing places or passes over which are but few in number."§

Thirty-seventh Route. From Chitrál to Badakhshán, by way of the Kotal-i-Do-Ráhah, or "Pass of the Two Roads."

"From Chitrál you proceed two kuroh north to Changgúz,‖ and the river of Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál lies near by on the right hand. The river of Shaghut¶ unites with the river of Ḳáshḳár on the northern side of this village. Having set out from thence (Changgúz) and proceeded for half a kuroh to the north-west, you cross over the river of Shaghut by a wooden bridge, and reach the small village of Sín, on the river in question, and continuing onwards from thence four kuroh, still keeping in the direction of north-west, you reach Búr-túlí, a large village on the river of the Shaghut Dara'h. A smaller river comes down from the right hand and joins the above-mentioned river, and this smaller one you also cross by a wooden bridge. Having proceeded four kuroh from thence (Búr-túlí) to the north-west, you reach Shaghut itself, which is a village of considerable size. The river of the Momí Dara'h** comes from the right hand, and, flowing towards the left, unites with the Áb-i-Dur-shub,†† or Dur-shub river. This having crossed by the wooden bridge you enter Shaghut.

"Leaving that, and passing over the river of Dur-shub by the wooden bridge south-west of that place, you go on for a distance of four kuroh in the direction of south-west and reach Múgh,‡‡ and another three kuroh in the same direction brings you to Dur-shub. From thence two roads diverge. The left-hand one leads into the Dara'h of Luṭ-Dih, as has been already mentioned (at page 133). The right hand one is as follows. Setting out from Dur-shub, and proceeding towards the right hand, in the direction of south-west, for the distance of five kuroh, you reach Jitar, and then go on three kuroh farther, in the direction of north-west, to Parbik, which is a strong

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* Pashat of Bábá Ḳará.—*See* pages 151 and 168.

† The Utmán-Khel Afgháns will be mentioned farther on.

‡ This is the place referred to at pages 116 and 123 as one of the earliest parts of Bájawṛ occupied by the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs. It is now chiefly known as 'Anbar. Anbhár appears to have been its ancient name, but as the Afgháns eschew aspirates in their language, which prevail so much in the Sanskrit family of tongues, they dropped the ه and turned the simple initial ا into ع. At the present time there are several small villages round about Anbhár or 'Anbar.

Bábar Bádsháh refers to the Anbhár and Punḍ-yálaey route in his "Tuzúk" under the year 925 H. (1519 A.D.). He was encamped, he says, at the junction of the Bájawṛ and Panj-Korah rivers, and, having held counsel with the Dilazák Afgháns (he always styles them Afgháns, because he knew who and what they were. *See* note ††, page 225), he was advised to proceed by that route, cross the river of Suwát above the 'Ash-Naghar district, and invade the Sama'h of the Yúsufzís. It was, therefore, determined to send back the heavy materials and baggage to Lamghán by way of Kúnaṛ, thus showing the practicability of that route. He says:—"The next morning—it was early in February, 1519—having made over the heavy baggage and camels "to the care of the Khwájah, Mír-i-Mírán, and despatching him by way of Jorghátú, Darwáza'h, and the "Kotal of Ḳará Kobah (in one copy Kojah), we set out ourselves, accompanied by the unincumbered cavalry, "made a forced march, crossed the Anbáhír *Kotal*, and, having crossed another great one, we reached Pání-"yálaey—the Punḍ-yálaey of this route—before afternoon prayers, and alighted." The latter place in Erskine and Leyden's Bábar is, by mistake, turned into "Panimáli."

§ *See* page 152.

‖ *See* pages 159 and 186.

¶ *See* page 158.

** *See* page 158.

†† *See* page 150.

‡‡ *See* page 150.

fortified position. From thence you proceed four kuroh farther to the north-west and reach Úghaití,* which is a village of considerable size at the foot of the mountains of perpetual snow (the Tíraj-Mír range. *See* pages 157 and 188). A stream falls down from that range, and flows on to Shaghut; and in going towards Úghaití you follow the course of that stream, while mountains, towering to the skies, lie close by on either hand.

"Leaving Úghaití and proceeding eight kuroh to the north-west, and ascending the afore-mentioned range, you at last attain the crest of it, at which point the territory of Ḳáshḳár terminates. This pass over the range is known as the Kotal-i-Do-Ráhah, the Kotal or Pass of the Two Roads;† and having descended from the crest of the range on the other side, in the direction of north, for a distance of eight kuroh, you come to the Gogird Dasht—'The Sulphur Plain or Waste'‡—and reach a desolate halting place known by the same name, within the territory of Badakhshán, which is under the sway of the Bahádur,§ Asḳál. From this halting place, Faiẓ-ábád, which is the seat of government of the ruler of Badakhshán, is four stages distant."

Thirty-eighth Route. From Chitrál into Badakhshán by way of the Kotal-i-Khaṯira'h and the Kotal-i-Nuḳṣán.

"The route from Chitrál to Shaghut has been already described. From the last-mentioned place you proceed four kuroh north, inclining north-west, to Momí,‖ which is a village of considerable size, and from thence continue onwards for another four kuroh to Shaley. Leaving that place and proceeding seven kuroh more, in the direction of west, you reach Argarí, and from thence, another three kuroh west brings you to the small village of Úí-rú,¶ situated at the foot of the mountains of perpetual snow, or Tíraj-Mír range. From this point two roads diverge. The left-hand one is named the Kotal-i-Khaṯira'h—'The Perilous Pass'—and the right-hand one the Kotal-i-Nuḳṣán—'The Pass of Mischief or Detriment.'**

"Setting out from Úí-rú, and proceeding upwards for twelve kuroh, in the direction of west, you attain the crest of the range, and here also the territory of Ḳáshḳár terminates. You now begin to descend the northern face of the mighty range, and having descended for a distance of about twelve kuroh, in the direction of south-west, you reach another desolate halting-place called Sang Lakh or Sang Lákh—'The Place of Stones,'—and the desolate halting-place of the Gogird Dasht, or 'Sulphur Waste,' before referred to, lies five kuroh on the left hand (south-west). From Sang-Lakh you go on for a distance of another twelve kuroh to Zíbák, which is a small town, under the sway of the before-mentioned Bahádur, Asḳál. From Zíbák four stages more bring you to Faiẓ-ábád, each stage being long, about fifteen kuroh each.

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* *See* page 160.

† That is to say, it branches off into two which again unite. *See* page 159. Do-Ráhah is not an uncommon term, there are two other roads styled Do-Ráhah in this Section of Notes. *See* page 183.

‡ Dasht having this signification, it is ridiculous to call it "the Gogirdasht valley."

§ "The Mughals call a warrior Bahádur." *See* "Translation of the Ṯabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 968.

‖ *See* page 158.

¶ In the account of the "Havildar's" journey these places are turned respectively into "Hurkarri" (adding an "*h*" where none exists) and "Aweer." In Major Wilson's map, on the contrary, they are "Harkari" and "Obir."

** *See* note †, page 159.

"The nearest road from Chitrál to Badakhshán lies across the Hindú-Kush range, on the northern slope of which a small river rises, which, after flowing about twenty-five miles, enters the Panj, or upper branch of the Oxus, at Ishtárak in the latter country. The path lies along the banks of this stream, and is only practicable in the summer months, and then only for persons on foot, who can thus reach Chitrál in three days.

"Another route into Badakhshán, practicable for beasts of burden, and that pursued by caravans of merchants and traders, is by the Mastúch Pass, and by descending from thence, along the banks of another small stream, rising on the northern slope of the mountains bounding Lower Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál to the north-west, which falls into the Panj at Iṣár (Ḥiṣár?) in the district or territory of Wákhán. This is the main road between Badakhshán and Gilgiṯ to Kash-mír. The Yár-ḳand road branches off from Iṣár to the north, through the dara'h or valley of the lake, called Sar-i-Kol, over the table land of Pá-mír.

"Farther west there is another pass into Badakhshán, called the Kotal-i-Nuḳṣán, or 'Defile of Mischief or Injury.' This road winds along the face of precipices, and through frightful defiles, by which the hamlet of Gáo-Khána'h, lying in a plain, may be reached in two or three days. Farthur north is Rabáṯ (Wood's 'Robat') on the Wardoj river.

"A route into Káfiristán joins the above road amongst the defiles of Hindú-Koh, by which the districts, held by the Kám-úz, Skín or Askín, Shpín or Ashpín, tribes of Tor Káfirs or Sí'áh-Posh, may be reached in from three to four days, without much difficulty in the summer months."

The above was written twenty years ago, and printed in 1864. *See* my "Account of Upper and Lower Ḳáshḳar," etc., pages 6 and 7.

"By the right-hand road from Úí-rú you first proceed for a distance of three kuroh to the right hand, and then have to ascend, in the direction of west, for a distance of twelve kuroh, when you reach the crest of the range. A similar distance of descent, in the direction of south-west, brings you to the usual halting place. From that point, Sang-Lakh lies twenty kuroh to the south, and the distance from thence to Zíbák has been previously mentioned."

Thirty-ninth Route. From Chitrál to the Village of Ujur.

"The route from Chitrál to Shaghut has been previously given. From thence setting out and proceeding for a distance of twelve kuroh in the direction of north, you come to Ujur.* This is a large village, situated at the foot of the mountains of perpetual snow, out of which a river issues, and which, near Shaghut, unites with the Momí river. On the way towards Ujur you pass through much cultivation and population, and wend your way along the said river. All this cultivation belongs to the race of people known as Kohistánís, referred to in many places in the account of these routes.†

"In the winter time all the Kotals here described become closed, and, even in the summer season, it is necessary to regard the appearance of the clouds and the direction of the wind before setting out with the object of crossing this great mountain range."‡

Fortieth Route. From Chitrál to Tíraj-Mír.

"Leaving Chitrál and proceeding north-east, you cross the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár by a wooden bridge, and then go on one kuroh north-east to Daníl, on the afore-mentioned river, and from thence proceed for a distance of two kuroh north to Kárí, also situated on that river. The village of Changgúz§ lies at a distance of two kuroh on the opposite (east) side of the river. From Kárí you go on for a distance of one kuroh to the north and reach Rágh, and then another kuroh farther north to Ḳaghúzí,‖ below which village, on the north-west side, is a wooden bridge. On the other side of the river (that is, on the western side, for Ḳaghúzí is on the east) there is a village called Múrí.

"Leaving the village of Ḳaghúzí you proceed four kuroh north, and reach the village of Múrí, below which village is the wooden bridge. You then continue onwards for another four kuroh, and reach Barnis, and another stage of the same distance brings you to Rishan. Proceeding two kuroh farther you reach Chiran, from which place two roads diverge. The right-hand road leads to Mastúch by the river side,¶ and the left-hand one is this. Crossing over to the west bank of the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár by the wooden bridge, and proceeding five kuroh to the north-west, you reach the Dara'h of Darasin, from the northern part of which dara'h a river issues, which west of the bridge at Chiran unites with the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár.

"The tract of country between Darasin and the before-mentioned bridge is called the Dara'h of Múrí Kuho.** From Darasin you go on for a distance of five kuroh to the north-west to Warkub (in two copies of the original written Warikub). This tract is called Kuhob-i-Pá'ín, or Lower Kuhob. From Warkub, after proceeding for a distance of four kuroh north, you come to Rayan or Rayana, from which place two roads diverge. The right-hand route leads to Kuhob-i-Bálá, or Upper Kuhob. The left-hand one is as follows. Leaving Rayana you proceed for a distance of twelve kuroh to the north-west and reach Tíraj-Mír, which is a large village situated at the foot of the great mountains of perpetual snow, which range is also known as Tíraj-Mír, one great mountain of which towers immediately north of the village. On the way to this village you pass through a populous and well-cultivated tract of country, and follow the course of a small stream, with a lofty mountain tract on either hand. This small stream, south of the village of Rayana, unites with the Áb or River of Kuhob-i-Bálá, or

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* *See* pages 150, 158, and 159.

† *See* pages 102, 108, 132, 145, 146, 147, 158, 160, 161, 179, and 189.

‡ *See* page 159.

§ *See* pages 159 and 184.

‖ This is the place which the Ḥawál-dár styles "Koghuz," but in Major Wilson's map it is actually turned into "Kirghiz."

¶ *See* the Forty-second Route, page 187.

** This place, apparently, is what Major Biddulph turns into "*Moolkhoo*." It is written plainly as above.

Upper Kuhob, and that village is situated in the *do-ábah* or space between these two streams.

"The country from Chitrál (town) to Rayana is inhabited by Mughals, and this people are sometimes erroneously styled Tájzíks, through dwelling in a Tájzík territory, but they are nevertheless Mughals."*

Forty-first Route. From Chitrál or Chitrár to Kuhob-i-Bálá or Upper Kuhob.

"The route from Chitrál to Rayana has been already described. Setting out from the latter place, you go seven kuroh north to Shagarm, and then proceed another three kuroh north-east, inclining north, to Washaj.† Advancing from thence for the distance of five kuroh more, in the same direction, you reach Kut, which is a large village at the foot of the mountains of perpetual snow, or Tíraj-Mír, and the dara'h, for such it is, is called the Dara'h of Kuhob-i-Bálá or Upper Kuhob. From this direction (the upper part of the dara'h) a stream issues which, south of the village of Rayana, unites with the river of Tíraj-Mír.‡

"Every footstep which you take from Chitrál to this point is upwards, and you have to wend your way along the mountain heights and the sides of precipices. In some places, on account of the impracticability at certain points, *rafáks* are erected, the meaning of which term may be gathered from this, that in places where the cliffs rise sheer upwards from the bed of the river, and the mountains cannot be scaled, great logs of wood are placed upright (in the bed of the river below, or on ledges of rock where available), a platform of wood laid upon them, and a road or crossing place formed, and such a construction is termed a *rafák*.§

"From the village of Kut, you begin to ascend the mighty mountain range of Tíraj-Mír; and, having proceeded upwards for a distance of ten kuroh, you reach the crest of the range, and enter upon a vast and comparatively level tract of country—a great table-land—covered with snow for great part of the year, extending in length, from the Kohistán or mountain tracts bounding Panj-her on the west, as far east as the territory of the Kírghiz or Kírghíz, a distance of two hundred kuroh, and about fifty kuroh in breadth. This level tract, however, on account of the excessive cold, is incapable of cultivation, but, in the summer season, grass is plentiful; and at this time tribes of nomad Mughals and Turks repair to it, and range about it in accordance with their nomadic ways."‖

Forty-second Route. From Chitrál or Chitrár to Mastúch.

"The road leading from the town of Chitrál to Chiran village has been previously described in the Fortieth Route.¶ Leaving the latter place, and proceeding five kuroh to the north, you come to Baní, and the river of Chitrál or Káshkár lies on the left hand. You proceed from thence two kuroh north to Awí,** and, after that, four kuroh more, in the same direction, and reach Sunghur.†† Another kuroh farther brings you to the river of Lás-púr, which you cross by a wooden bridge, and reach Mastúch, which is a place of considerable size.‡‡ The river of Chitrál or Káshkár,

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* Mughal and Turk tribes, or rather sections of tribes, also inhabit the tracts between this and Káshghar, but they are nomads.

† In one copy written Washíḥ— وشيح, —but 'Arabic ḥ at the end of a name here is very unlikely to be correct, and the two dots of ي appear to be but an error of the copyist for ج or چ and thereby giving an extra letter to the word.

‡ The stream mentioned in the preceding route.

§ In some places, probably, beams of wood are driven horizontally into holes in the sides of cliffs made for their reception, and planks laid over them, for, in some places, logs of wood placed upright would scarcely be long enough.

This is the "easy route" of "Muhammad Ameen" quoted by Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.B.

‖ A part of this great open tract is what we call Pá-Mír, and the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, the Doghlátí Mughal, also calls it the Pá-Mír, but it is strange that the author of these surveys, who proves how much he does know, does not call it by this name. *See* note on the Pá-Mír, in the Seventy-second Route.

¶ Preceding page.

** These are the "Buni" and "Ava" of Major Wilson's map.

†† In one copy this word is written Shunghur.

‡‡ Mastúch appears to have declined considerably of latter years, for, from the information which I embodied in my account of these parts, in the article previously alluded to, although, even then, it was a place of no great size, it contained about four hundred houses, with a population of some 2,000 people.

It lies on the western bank of the Chitrál or Káshkár river. The town is protected by a small fortress; and the main routes followed by caravans of merchants from Pes'háwar, Badakhshán, and Yár-kand, meet here.

as before, lies on the left hand as you proceed; and you have to go along the mountain skirts, and at the sides of the cliffs, sometimes overhanging the river, and over broad and extensive *rafáḳs* or wooden platforms to reach it."*

Forty-third Route. From Mastúch to the Kotal or Pass of Palpí Sang, which lies on the extreme northern point of the Ḳáshḳár State.

"Setting out from Mastúch, and proceeding for a distance of three kuroh north, you reach Birap, and go on from thence for a distance of another kuroh to Wezak. You then proceed another four kuroh and reach Mírá-gram, and then, after going another two kuroh, reach Gazzin. In coming from Mastúch to this place you have to wend your way, in the direction of north, along the mountain sides and precipices, and over narrow *rafáḳs* or wooden platforms, with the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár running on the left hand.

"At Gazzin, two roads diverge. The right-hand one leads eastward, over a lofty mountain range, into Ḍángrak, and the left-hand one is this. Leaving Gazzin, you cross the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár by a wooden bridge,† and, proceeding for a distance of twelve kuroh north, reach Sar-i-Yár-Khún, the name of a desolate village at the foot of the mountains of perpetual snow—Tíraj-Mír or Sarowar. From thence you begin to ascend the mighty range, and, moving upwards in the direction of north for a distance of four kuroh, you reach a ridge of the mountains, where you come to a halt. The crest of the range, which towers to the heavens, and which from the abundance of ice and snow appears like unto *bilaur* or crystal, lies on the left hand, and the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár on the right. This defile or narrow valley is also called Sar-i-Yár-Khún.

"From this halting place on a ridge of the mountains, twenty-four kuroh north-east, inclining north, is Chiṭṭí-Bú-í, the name of a deep *kol-i-áb* or narrow lake, at the foot of this great mountain range, and its water, from the excessive coldness of the air, continues frozen. From beneath the ice, water, sufficient in volume to turn six or seven water-mills, issues. This becomes a great river, which flows on to Mastúch and Chitrál through Ḳáshḳár‡, and unites with the river of Kábul, north of Ílah Baghá, and east of Jalál-ábád, as mentioned at page 119. In the summer season, when the snows in vast quantity melt, the river becomes greatly flooded, as has been previously stated (at page 156).

"Leaving the lake of Chiṭṭí Bú-í on the right hand, and going northwards, you ascend the great mountain range; and the long and narrow dara'h or valley through which you proceed upwards is known as the Kotal or Pass of Palpí Sang. It extends upwards for a distance of nearly ten kuroh; and having gained the crest of the range, you reach the great level plain, previously mentioned, which is full of snow for great part of the year.

"In bygone times, the Badakhshí race (the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Badakhshán) were in the habit of making inroads into the Ḳáshḳár territory by this Kotal, and carrying off the people of Ḳáshḳár as slaves, and plundering caravans of travellers. At the present time, however (when the author wrote), now that the people of this territory have given their allegiance to the sovereign of Khiṭá, the irruptions of the Badakhshís into these parts are put a stop to.§

Gauhar Amán, Bádsháh, surnamed Chál, who was the ruler at the time I wrote the article in question, resided a good deal at Yasin, which is smaller than Mastúch, but is more conveniently situated, being nearer towards the Dar-band, or fortified pass, leading into the country from the west.

The route from Chugyá-ṭan to Mastúch by the Lás-púr Dara'h will be found at page 228.

* This is another of "the Mírzá's" easy roads—"The road from Mustooch to Chitral is said to be a good "one."—Montgomerie's Report in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society for 1871," page 148.

† This bridge is mentioned by the Mullá.

‡ In the Mullá's map—which appears to have been based upon that of Hayward, who did not actually visit this lake or the pass, he never having penetrated farther west than to what he calls "the Moshabur Pass"—a difference is made between the lake, which is called "a glacier," and "Chatiboi," as though the latter was the name of a place some miles north of the lake in question; and the river of Ḳáshḳár, or river of the Palpí Sang, is made to appear as rising some ten miles farther up, in the direction of E.N.E., instead of out of the Chiṭṭí Bú-í lake, as it undoubtedly does. This part of Major Wilson's map, which is evidently taken from the same, has this difference, that "Ghattiboi," as he has it, is put in as the name of the village or halting place, a few miles north of the Chiṭṭí-Bú-í lake. All three appear to have confused the names. I have previously noticed Hayward's error in calling the lake "Ab-i-garm," for such a name, signifying "hot water," is an impossible one for a *frozen lake*, and what the Mullá calls a "glacier." In the map, illustrating the Hawál-dár's journey, Ab-i-Garam—hot springs—appear at the foot of the "Dora" (Do-Ráhah) Pass, and these words have caused another error which I have referred to at page 154. *See* also pages 150 and 160.

I notice that Montgomerie calls the "Yarkand river" (the river of Yár-ḳand he means) the Boi river, which is certainly curious, but probably erroneous. "Report," page 150. *See* also the Seventy-second Route.

§ *See* page 154, and the note on Bilaur at the end of the Seventy-second Route.

"By the Palpí Sang route you can proceed to Yár-ḳand through the elevated tracts frequented by portions of the nomad Turks styled Ḳírghíz,* previously alluded to. By this road Yár-ḳand is nearly thirty caravan stages distant, and by the way there is great paucity of inhabitants and excess of snow.

"The crest of the Kotal of Palpí Sang is the extreme boundary of Ḳáshḳár in this direction."†

Forty-fourth Route. From Chitrál to Warshigum, and from thence to Gilgiṭ and Saigur.

"The account of the route from Gazzin to Chitrál has been given in the preceding route. East of Gazzin‡ is a lofty defile always covered with snow, called the Kotal-i-Ṯo-e.§ It is completely closed in the winter time, and, even in summer, it is necessary to pay attention to the direction of the wind, and rain, if there should be any, before setting out and attempting to cross it.

"Leaving Gazzin for the purpose of doing so, after proceeding for a distance of ten kuroh in the direction of east, you reach the crest of the Pass, and then begin to descend.‖ You go on for a distance of eight or nine kuroh, in the same direction as before, and reach Ṯo-e (in one copy written Tú-e), which is a large village inhabited by the race of people styled Kohistání. Setting out from thence, and continuing in the same direction as before, for a distance of eight kuroh, you reach the village of Sindey, belonging to the same people. As far as this point the dara'h through which the route lies is known as the Dara'h of Ṯo-e, and it is contained within the Ḳáshḳár territory.

"In this dara'h a river rises, which, south of the village of Sindey, unites with the river issuing from the Dara'h of Darkut.¶ This dara'h is situated on the left-hand side from Sindey, towards the north, and is of considerable size. Through this dara'h you can also proceed to Yár-ḳand.

"From Sindey you go on for a distance of four kuroh more, in the direction of south-east, and reach Yasin;** and the river before mentioned (the united streams) lies on your left hand. Setting out from Yasin, you go on for a distance of seven kuroh in the direction of south-east and reach Gupz,†† and from thence for another four kuroh, still in much the same direction as before, to Rawashan‡‡. Up to this point this tract of country is known as Warshigum (ورشگم),§§ and the Dara'h of Khalṭey‖‖ lies on the right hand, a little to the south of west.

"Leaving Rawashan, you proceed four kuroh, but in a direction more to the north-east, to Súma'h, and then eight kuroh farther, still in the same direction, to Hautang,¶¶ which is a village of considerable size.

"On the left hand (north-east), on the other or farther side of the before-mentioned river, there is another large Dara'h styled 'Ana-Sar, which is close upon forty kuroh in length. A river of considerable size rises in this dara'h,*** which, near Hautang, unites with the river of the Dara'h of Warshigum (and Ṯo-e), and the combined streams

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* It does not follow because a tract of country is inhabited by nomads, or parts of nomad tribes, that it should be straightway styled Ḳirghíz, as some writers endeavour to make out. *See* page 139, and note to the Seventy-second Route.

† Some of the members of the late "Yarkand Mission" appear to have reached as far south as Sar-Ḥadd—the same place as "The Sárígh Chopán" of the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar (*see* page 140)—and the "famous Burogil Pass" from Ák-Tásh, but we hear nothing from them of the Chiṭṭí Bú-í, the Palpí Sang, or the Kuhobs. *See* note †, page 155.

‡ The "Gazan" of Major-General Walker's map is probably intended for this place.

§ Spelt with simple "t"— ت —at page 161.

‖ This is Hayward's "Moshabur Pass," a fanciful name, or a mere local one, I believe.

¶ To guard against error the writer describes the vowels in this word in writing. "Darkot," consequently, is not correct.

** There is but one "s" in Yasin, and the "a" is short, not long, neither is it "Yasan". There is a practicable road from this place into the upper part of the Suwát valley by the Úshú Dara'h of the Gárwís.

†† The "Gopis" and "Gupis" of others.

‡‡ Not "Roshan."

§§ Such words as "Woorshigoom," "Warshgúm," "Vorshigon," "Warchagam," or "Varshgum," are out of the question, and show what can be made of original words when trusting to the ear alone. To prevent error the vowels, in the original, are explained as well as written. Hayward calls this "the Yassin river or Warchagam river," but its proper geographical name is mentioned under.

‖‖ The Mullá's, "Khalta" apparently. It is "Khulti" in Hayward's map.

¶¶ Not Utang as in Hayward's map; the "h" has been left out.

*** Hayward calls this "the Karambar River," and Lieutenant-Colonel Tanner, in the latest survey, styles it the "Ishkoman River," which last name is a mistake, because the latter is but a tributary of the former.

obtain the name of Rúd-i-Ḍángrak, or River of Ḍángrak. The climate of this dara'h ('Ana-Sar) is exceedingly severe, and uncongenial to the health of travellers. By it you can proceed towards Yár-ḳand and Káshghar.*

"Setting out from Hautang, and proceeding seven kuroh south, you arrive opposite Grunjur, which lies to your left hand, on the opposite (or northern) side of the afore-mentioned river (the Rúd-i-Ḍángrak). From this point you go on for a distance of three kuroh in the direction of south-east to Bubbur,† and then eight kuroh more, in the same direction as before, to Chúár. Another three kuroh, still in the same direction, brings you to Balophar,‡ which is a place of considerable size for this part, with a strong fort, the place of residence of Prí-Tham, the Bádsháh, or Chief, of the Spín or White (clad) Káfirís.§ The river of Ḍángrak, previously mentioned, lies on the left hand as you proceed, and east of the fort there is a wooden bridge.

"Leaving the town of Balophar, and going three kuroh to the south-east, you arrive opposite the village of Shirawut, which lies on the left hand, on the other side of the afore-mentioned river. You then proceed, from that point, three kuroh farther (in the same direction), and reach Shkí-út, which lies on the southern side of the river. From thence, the next stage is Bárgur, a distance of three kuroh in the direction of east, and after that a further distance of nine kuroh south-east brings you to Gilgiṭ, which is another considerable town, also under the sway of the before-mentioned Prí-Tham, Bádsháh, who pays allegiance to the Sháhs of Ḳáshḳár.

"After leaving Gilgiṭ, you proceed for a distance of six kuroh in the direction of south-east to Da-yaur,|| which place is under the sway of another Bádsháh or Chief, named Khusrau Khán. The distance between Gilgiṭ and this place is not more than about three kuroh in a direct line, but you cannot get there without going a considerable way round. You have to go down the river for some distance, cross, and then go up the river again by the opposite bank. On the left hand (north), just before you reach opposite Da-yaur, there is a great opening in the mountains, which is the entrance to the Dara'h of Kanjut,¶ and the place of residence of its ruler is called Honz,** which is a town of considerable size, situated in the upper part of the Kanjut Dara'h.

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* In former times, the Russian traders used to reach Kash-mír from Badakhshán by the Oxus valley. They probably crossed the Tíraj-Mír range by one of the Passes already noticed, and, very likely, took this route by Gilgiṭ to Kash-mír. It is scarcely probable that they would cross the Pá-Mír steppe and go all round by Yár-ḳand and Laddákh to reach it when such a road as this existed, but some writers, unaware of the existence of the route here described, have supposed so. *See* note **, page 185.

† Not "Babar," nor Búbar.

‡ In two copies it is written both Balobhar and Balophar (this is what Hayward calls, or lets appear in his map as, "Gulapur"), but the latter is the most correct, the three points of the Persian 'p' having been run into one in MS., thus making 'b' of it. Hayward and others probably mistook the sound of the word for Gulapur; and a good deal would depend on the person who pronounced it, whether a Kash-mírí, a Sikh, or a native. The above, however, is the proper and correct mode of writing the name.

In a paper entitled "Monograph on the Oxus" in the "Royal Geographical Society's Journal," for 1872, by Major-General Sir H. Rawlinson, K.C.B., the writer remarks, with reference to Colonel A. Gardiner's account of his travels, and mention of the names Darkoot (Darkut, just mentioned above), Rivanshur, and Booloophir, as lateral valleys of the Upper Gilgit country:—"I always doubt his independent authority, and in the present "case am rather inclined to believe that he *copied* the names of Darkoot (printed Varkoot), and Booloophir "from Arrowsmith's map of 1834. . . . . At any rate, thanks to Mr. Hayward's enterprise, we are now "sufficiently acquainted with the nomenclature of Gilgit and Yassin to be satisfied that *no such names* are "known in the present geography of these districts."

The three names, nevertheless, do exist, but with the spelling much vitiated, but scarcely more so than in most of the names in our maps, viz., Darkut. Rawashan, and Balophar; and "Darkot," and the "Darkot Pass," appear in the Mullá's map, and, strange to say, also appear in Hayward's as "Darkote" and the "Darkote Pass," as well as "Roshan;" and the first-mentioned place he appears to have visited. Still more strange to say, "Darkote" was the very place where he was murdered, and which Mr. Frederick Drew, in his letter to Sir Roderick Murchison, of 21st December, 1870, giving an account of his murder, calls "Darkút."

This information is contained in the volume preceding that in which the "Monograph on the Oxus" appears. *See* also the "Quarterly Review" for April, 1873, page 529.

I may mention that I met Gardiner at Multán in 1855, and he placed the manuscript of his travels in my hands. He was anxious that they should be edited, but I was then fully occupied with my Pus'hto works, and could only glance at the manuscript, and returned it. Some things struck me as being rather marvellous. If his travels were now examined by the help of the geographical information contained in this Section of Notes some light might be thrown upon them, and their accuracy tested. I must remark, however, that he told me the original MS. had been lent to Sir Alexander Burnes, and was lost when the outbreak occurred at Kábul, in which Burnes lost his life; and that the account he then lent me had been subsequently written from recollection. This fact may account for some errors.

§ *See* page 130. "Tham" signifies king in the Khajunah language, which is spoken in the territories of Yasin and Naghar.

|| "Dainyur" in Hayward's map, and "Dainyor" in Tanner's, but there is no "n" in the word. Vigne, more correctly, calls it "Dyur." This is one of the places where gold washing to a considerable extent is carried on.

¶ Not Kunjoot certainly.

** Hunza of others. It is also known as Naghar, from the town of that name, its chief place.

It is the capital of the before-mentioned Khusrau Khán, and is contained within the territory of Little Tibbat.

"The distance from Da-yaur to the village of Kanjut is about twelve kuroh in the direction of north, and from the latter place to the town of Honz is a distance of nearly thirty kuroh to the north-east. By going towards the north-east from Kanjut for a distance of fifteen kuroh, you reach another dara'h among the mountains to the north through which you can go to Yár-ḳand by Tásh-Ḳúrghán—'The Stone Fort.'

"From the direction of Honz and out of that Dara'h (Kanjut), a considerable river flows, which, near Da-yaur, unites with the river of Ḍángrak, and then the combined streams are known by the name of River of Gilgiṭ. At this point, likewise, the mountains on the right and left begin to recede, and the dara'h or valley becomes broader and more open.

"Leaving Da-yaur, you proceed ten kuroh south-east, following the course of the river, until you reach a point where stands a wooden bridge. You cross the Abáe-Sín, which unites, some three kuroh farther north, with the Gilgiṭ river, by this bridge, and enter the village of Búnjzey,* also written Bújzey. From this place you proceed for another ten kuroh, in the same direction, and reach As-túr,† sometimes written Ash-túr, the Abáe-Sín flowing on your right hand as you go along for part of the distance, and the river coming down from As-túr for the remainder of the way. From As-túr you proceed for a distance of twelve kuroh east and reach the large village of Saigur.

"North of it is a great dara'h called the Dara'h of Balotar, which, on the east and north-east sides, adjoins the territory of Little Tibbat. A great river flows down from that dara'h and unites with the river of Gilgiṭ, after which the united rivers receive the name of Abáe-Sín.

"From Warshigum‡ to this place (Saigur) the country is called Ḍángrak, and its inhabitants are Spín or Safed-Poshán, or White-clad Káfirís."

Forty-fifth Route. From Gilgiṭ to Kúz (Lower) Tahá-Koṭ, and from thence to Maraiṛ.

"The route leading from Gilgiṭ to As-túr has been described in the preceding route. From the last-mentioned place two roads diverge. The left-hand one leads to Saigur, and the right-hand route is as follows.

"Having re-passed the Abáe-Sín below As-túr to the west bank by means of a wooden bridge, you proceed thirty kuroh in the direction of south, inclining south-west, and arrive opposite to Jál-Koṭ, which is the name of a dara'h among the mountains, lying on the left hand as you proceed, on the other (east) bank of the Abáe-Sín, containing a number of villages and hamlets, but on the road to it there is neither cultivation nor inhabitants,§ and mountain ranges show themselves at a considerable distance.

"From Jál-Koṭ to Saigur is a distance of forty kuroh, and on the way to it there are numbers of villages and much cultivation, and you proceed thither along the banks of the afore-mentioned river (but by the east bank).

"Crossing the river on a raft from opposite Jál-Koṭ to the east bank, and going on for a distance of twelve kuroh in the direction of south-west, you reach Pális,‖ and the river, as before, lies on the right hand. Setting out from thence, and proceeding for a distance of three kuroh, also in the direction of south-west, you come to Koh-lí, and then go on for twelve kuroh more, still in the same direction, to Baṭeṛa'h or Baṭeṛá, the road winding considerably.¶

"From thence you continue onwards for a distance of twenty kuroh, the road still winding considerably, and in much the same direction as before, and reach Kúz (Lower) Tahá Koṭ, which is within the Pakhla'í district. On the way you meet with many ascents and descents, and the river Abáe-Sín flows on your right hand.

"In continuing on your way to Maraiṛ, you leave Kúz Tahá-Koṭ, and go on for a distance of twelve kuroh south, inclining south-west, along cliffs, and skirting mountains, and then cross the Abáe-Sín by means of a raft and reach Kábul-Grám, a large

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* The "n" here is nasal. This place is not known as "Bowanji."
† The "Astor" of our maps. It is written Asht-wár in the Histories of Kash-mír.
‡ *See* page 189.
§ Except at the halting places.
‖ This place is not called "Palos:" the way it is written in the original precludes it, neither is it "Palas."
¶ From this point a road leads to Ḳaryah-i-Bádsháh, or 'The Bádsháh's Village,' in Buner. It will be found farther on as the Sixty-second Route.

village belonging to the Yúsufzí Afgháns, situated on the west bank. The ferry where you cross is called the Guzar or Ferry of Kábul-Grám.

"You have now again entered the tracts held by the Afgháns, their territory west of the Abáe-Sín terminating, on the north, a little above Kábul-Grám.* South of that place is a considerable stream, which issues out of the Dara'h of Sháng (described in the Sixty-second Route), and unites with the great river. Having crossed it, you proceed southwards, keeping along the heights, and skirting the mountains, which every here and there abut on the Abáe-Sín, the great river flowing in a depression on your left hand, for a distance of seven kuroh, and reach Bagíána'h, a small village belonging to the Yúsufzí Afgháns. From this place another kuroh south brings you to Maraiṛ,† and the road is of much the same description as before.

"The details respecting the road from Maraiṛ to Aṭak will be found in the route from Aṭak to that place, described farther on."

I have now gone round from Kábul, up the river of Chitrál or Ḳashḳár on either side, into the Káfiristán, and to the utmost limits of the Ḳáshḳár State and its dependencies, and the great snowy mountains on the north, to the Abáe-Sín or Indus on the east, and down again to within a short distance of its junction with the river of Kábul, into which two rivers all those of the different tracts described drain. I must now, therefore, give some account of the various other districts and valleys not yet described, contained within this intermediate space, and then will proceed to give the details of the various cross routes leading into and out of them, and the Afghán tribes inhabiting them.

The Yúsufzí Tribe of Afgháns and their Country.

The Yúsufzí tribe‡ belongs to the Khas'hí or Khak'hí sept, being descended from Mandaey, son of Khas'haey or Khak'haey, who had two sons, 'Umar and Yúsuf. 'Umar had a son named Mandaṛ, and Yúsuf an only daughter. 'Umar sought his cousin in marriage, and they had two sons, whom they named Yusúf and Mandaṛ, in order to perpetuate the names of their respective parents. The two great tribes, the Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ,§ are descended from them; but they are sometimes, rather loosely, and certainly incorrectly, styled by the general name of Yúsufzís by writers unacquainted with these particulars.‖

Yúsuf had five sons,—1, Músá; 2, Ako; 3, Malaey; 4, 'Ísá; and 5, Bádaey. The four first-mentioned sons were the progenitors of a number of sub-tribes, but they are too numerous to be mentioned here. In my History of the Afgháns I shall enter into full details respecting these matters. Suffice it to say that, in point of number of clans and sections, the descendants of Ilyás, son of Músá, are the most numerous; and

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* Their territory extends farther up at present: they have been pushing northwards by degrees, and now reach nearly opposite Pális.

† This well known place is not in either of the Mullá's maps.

‡ I may mention here that a male of this tribe is correctly called a Yúsufzaey, a female, a Yúsufza'í. The plural masculine form of *zaey*, namely *zí*, is applied to the tribe as a whole, therefore to call the tribe Yúsufzáis is quite incorrect, and "Yúsafzai" still more so: "Yúsúfzái" is wholly wrong. This rule applies to all tribes the names of which end in زي or in ي. *See* my "Pus'hto Grammar," on the Declension of Nouns.

§ This name is written منډړ—Mandaṛ—with the Pus'hto "ṛ," and sometimes منډړ—Mandarn—with the Pus'hto letter "rn" which partakes of the sound of "ṛ" and "n," a sort of nasal sound, only to be learnt from a true Afghán's lips, hence persons unacquainted with the language, on hearing the latter form of the word pronounced, would write it "Mandan," which, however, conveys no correct idea of it.

‖ A recent European writer says that "one Mandai" had two sons, "Ŭmar (*sic*) and Yúsaf," and that "Ŭmar died, and had one son (*sic*), Mandan," and that the "Yúsafzais" are descended from "Mandai's" son, and the "Mandans" from his grandson. With this account of their descent I do not agree, nor will they.

Two sections of the Barech tribe emigrated from their old seats in Shorábak many years ago, and took up their quarters with the Yúsufzís, and are confounded with them by writers unaware of the facts. Hence we find one writing,—"These Malízais (who may be termed the Búner Malízais, to distinguish them from the "Panjkora Malízais) occupy the lower portion of the Búner valley," &c. The two Barech sections I refer to are Malízí and Chaupánzí. But few Barechís now dwell in their old seats, a vast number having emigrated into and settled in Hindústán from time to time, as have a great many Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, and sections of many other Afghán tribes.

The Panj-Korah Yúsufzís, that is, of the Khwádozí *section* of the Akozís, descended from Ako, are always called Molízí by the Khas'hí historian, and correctly so, in order to distinguish them from the *sub-tribe*, the descendants of Ako's brother, Malaey, who are called Malízí.

There are twelve *astána'hs*, or families, among the Afghán tribes of the Saṛabarn division, who are considered sacred by them, from their progenitors having been devotees, and chiefly Sayyids, who settled among them. One of these *astána'hs* dwell among the Yúsufzís, but they are not peculiar to that tribe, as some would lead us to believe who were not aware of the existence of the others.

the father's name has been eclipsed by the more famous name of his son, whose descendants are the Ilyászí. The next most numerous are the descendants of Ako, who are known as Akozí. The descendants of the other two sons are the Malízí and 'Ísází. The descendants of Bádí, or the Arrogant, were always few in point of numbers, and soon became extinct.* They were known by the name of Bádí Khel. The Yúsufzí are by far the most numerous and powerful of all the eastern Afgháns, and are computed to number about two hundred thousand families.

"They dwell in a very strong and mountainous tract of country, to which access is difficult. A large number of Yúsufzís dwell in the Dara'hs of Panj-Korah, Báshkár, Suwád or Suwát, and Buner, and some, but not a considerable number, are located in Chhachh Hazára'h, on the east bank of the Abáe-Sín. These latter have to pay taxes to the Durrání Government, and to furnish a contingent of troops to the Bádsháh's army, but all the others are entirely independent, and acknowledge no allegiance but to their own chiefs.

"Although they are not now under the authority of a single chief, as they used to be in former times, when their power was far greater than at present, nevertheless, in time of danger or necessity, they unite under Kásim Khán of Dír, Chief of the Molízís, of the Páíndah Khel. He resides at Dír, as has been previously stated, and sometimes undertakes expeditions against the Tor and Spín Káfirís.

"Each of the four great Dara'hs, in which the Yúsufzís chiefly dwell, contains within itself a number of minor dara'hs branching off from, or rather opening into, the main one. These large dara'hs are five, Panj-Korah, Dír, Báshkár, Suwád or Suwát, and Buner."

I. *The Dara'h of Panj-Korah.*

"This is the most northern of the dara'hs possessed by the Yúsufzí Afgháns. It extends in the direction of north and south for a distance of thirty kuroh in length, from Údí-Grám† to Chugyá-ṭan; and from the crest of the mountains bounding Suwád on one side to the commencement of the mountains of Bájawṛ on the other, it is about eighteen kuroh in breadth from east to west.

"Throughout the whole of this area, there is scarcely a single spot of level ground; and the people dwell on the hill sides, and there, in available places, cultivate as much land as they require. The climate is very severe, to that degree that, even in the height of the summer season, you cannot pass the nights without a blanket and a fire.

"A considerable river issues from the Dara'h of Báshkár, which, near Chugyá-ṭan, unites with the river of Dír. Subsequently it is joined, lower down, by the river of the Birawal Dara'h, and the united streams, flowing through the midst of the country of the Utmán Khel tribe of Afgháns, unite with the river of the Suwád Dara'h.

"On either side of the mighty cleft in the mountains to which the Dara'h of Panj-Korah may be compared, are six other and smaller dara'hs opening out upon it, each of which is from ten to twelve kuroh in length. Out of each of them a river issues which unites with the main stream. These lesser dara'hs have also others still smaller opening out into them. The largest village in the Dara'h of Panj-Korah is also called Panj-Korah."‡

II. *The Dara'h of Dír.*

"From Chugyá-ṭan, previously mentioned, to the pass known as the Láhorí Ghás'haey, the narrow strip of territory which extends for a distance of twenty kuroh in the direction of north, inclining north-west, is known as the Dara'h of Dír. It is very narrow and gloomy, and cold all the year round. A small river issues from the direction of the Láhorí Kotal, which, near Chugyá-ṭan, unites with the river of the Báshkár Dara'h.

"Dír is also the name of a small town, the dwelling place of Kásim Khán, the Sardár or Chief of the Yúsufzís of Panj-Korah, and who is looked upon by his tribe as

* There were still a few of the Bádí Khel dwelling among the Chagharzís in the Ákhúnd, Darwezah's time.

† *See* pages 165 and 178.

‡ *See* my previous account of them in my paper on "Káshkár and Panj-Korah," in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1864.

The article on "Panjkora," in Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I., Vol. 2, page 541, contains twenty-six paragraphs, and out of this number eighteen paragraphs are taken verbatim from my paper above referred to, and the others partially so, and at the end the authorities are said to be "Bellew, Lockwood, Sapper." Any one referring to the article in question would not, for a moment, suppose that the paragraphs were mine, and would naturally attribute them to "Bellew, Lockwood, Sapper." *See* note ‡, page 130.

a sovereign prince. He can assemble a force of 40,000 horse and foot. The merchants and traders of Pes'háwar, Suwád, and other parts, come to Dír, and from thence proceed into Káshkár; and here certain fixed taxes are levied from them.*

"The Tor and Spín Káfirís are in the habit of infesting the mountains on the west and north, and lie in wait for travellers off their guard, and put them to death. The Khán, however, manages to propitiate them generally by sending them a few presents of pieces of cloth and other fabrics, and thus enters into a sort of truce with them, which is known as *arogh*, and explained in the account of the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán (at page 131). Traders proceeding into Káshkár, nevertheless, out of fear of the Tor Káfirís, take care to provide themselves with a *badraka'h* or escort of tried men of the Afghán clans of this part."

III. *The Dara'h of Báshkár.*†

"This is the name of a long and narrow dara'h in which the cold is very great, and snow is always to be found there. It extends from Chugyá-tan, on the south, to the Kotal or Ghás'haey of Tal,‡ for a distance of thirty-five kuroh, in the direction of north, inclining to the north-east. A considerable river flows through it, known as the river of Báshkár, which unites with the river of the Dara'h of Dír near Chugyá-tan.

"The southern half of the Báshkár Dara'h is inhabited by Yúsufzís, but the upper part is inhabited by the race of people known as Kohistánís (referred to more particularly at pages 161, 171, and 190).§ Traders occasionally proceed by the route through this dara'h into Káshkár."

August 7th, 1880.

IV.—*The Dara'h of Suwád or Suwát.*‖

The brief account of the Dara'h of Suwád or Suwát, in the possession of the Yúsufzí Afgháns, I now propose to give, as an account of the upper parts of the Dara'h, or Kohistán, has been given farther on, at page 235, will greatly

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* *See* page 166, and compare the work just mentioned, Part I., Vol. 1, page 486, with my Panj-Korah paper, page 20.

† The name of this Dara'h has hitherto remained unknown. *See* pages 161 and 162.

‡ *See* note * to "the Mullah's" Narrative, page xxiii., contained in Major-General J. T. Walker's General Report for 1878–79, and note ‡, page 118, and page 161 of these "Notes."

§ Since this account was written the Yúsufzís have been gradually extending farther up the Dara'h.

‖ In his "Central Asia," Part I., Vol. 3, page 145, Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.B., has an article on "Swát," consisting of seventy-nine paragraphs, of which thirty-eight paragraphs, constituting the bulk of the article, and all about the geography, the divisions, customs, products, etc., are taken from my paper on Suwát published in 1862. Some of the most important of these paragraphs have been wrongly attributed to "Lumsden" (*see* para. 4, page 146), but I am credited with *three paragraphs*, and two of these are sufficiently indicated by numerous brackets. These errors and omissions are the more inexplicable, and appear to be caused by the faulty editing, for the other thirty-six paragraphs are taken nearly verbatim from my paper. For these reasons, and because I am elsewhere incorrectly quoted, I think it best to give here a brief notice of the Suwát Dara'h and the Yúsufzí clans inhabiting it, in order to make the following routes the more useful. *See* also note *, page 196.

Since the fair copy of this portion of Section Third of these "Notes" was written out, I have obtained, by favour of the authorities at the India Office, a copy of Major-General J. T. Walker's Report on the Indian Surveys for 1878–79, which contains "the Mullah's" survey of "Swat," etc., and the map accompanying his explorations. This Report has come under my notice at a most opportune time. Having been the first to despatch a person into Suwát to gain some information respecting that dara'h, I was naturally much interested in the explorations of "the Mullah," who is a qualified surveyor, but I must say I have been totally disappointed in the result of them.

I am pleased to find, however, that I have nothing to alter in my account of the dara'h, the information contained in which had been chiefly derived from the account furnished by my explorer, who preceded "the Mullah" by twenty years. My man went in August, 1858, and "the Mullah" in July, 1878. My man knew Pus'hto (which the other evidently does not), as well as he knew his native tongue—the Tájzík Persian. He had acquired a taste for geographical as well as historical research, during the years he was in my service; and he knew the history of Suwát, from the time of its conquest by the Afgháns, by heart, having assisted me in the collection of materials for a history of those people, some of which have already appeared in these "Notes."

I am glad, in some ways, that the Surveyor General shut his eyes upon my account of Suwát in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal," referred to above, and the rough map accompanying it, a copy of which I now append to the present account of Suwát and its people. I compiled it from my explorer's description and information; but he was not a surveyor, nor did he know the use of a single instrument save a common pocket compass, but his account shows that he was a keen and intelligent observer. He did not reach the upper part of the dara'h, the Kohistán, so called; and that portion of the map was composed by himself from the information furnished by an intelligent man who had lived several years there, and whose account "the Mullah's," as far as it goes, confirms, but, from Kálám upwards, the dara'h bends to the north-west. A great deal will, however, be found mentioned in the following account, that did not come within "the Mullah's" explorations. *See* page 235.

I have pointed out some of "the Mullah's" shortcomings farther on.

tend to elucidate the routes which follow, and in this I shall embody, within brackets, what the author of these surveys says on the same subject.

In doing so, I propose to follow the route from Pes'háwar and 'Ash-Naghar or Hasht-Nagar, through the Sama'h by Káṭlang, and enter the Suwád valley by the villages of Pala'í, Zor-manḍa'í, and Sher-kháná'í, which places I have some personal knowledge of, and by the Mora'h Ghás'haey or Pass.

Leaving Káṭlang, the route to which from Pes'háwar has been described elsewhere, you proceed by way of the little village of Ghází Bábá, so called after a reputed Musalmán saint, whose descendants are its inhabitants, situated on a hill, a spur from the Mora'h mountain range, known as Mora'h Ghar, on the right hand of the defile leading to Pala'í, a walled village of considerable size, situated on the border of British territory in this direction. From thence you go on to Zor-manḍa'í and Sher-kháná'í, two other large walled villages belonging to, and inhabited by, another section of the Bá'ízí Yúsufzís, the chiefs of which are often at feud with the Pala'í chief, although the two last villages are only distant about one and two miles respectively from Pala'í, but higher up. These three places were set fire to and partially destroyed by the force under Colonel J. Bradshaw, C.B., in December, 1849.

Proceeding onwards from Zor-manḍa'í for about a mile, you reach the entrance of the defile leading into the Báz Dara'h—Falcon Dara'h or Valley, and to the two villages of "Bar," or Upper, Báz Dara'h, and "Kúz," or Lower, Báz Dara'h, and known to non-Afgháns as "Bálá" and "Pá'ín." The dara'h is so called because a number of falcons are taken here, and it belongs to the chief of Pala'í, who is, like the chief of the other two villages, connected with the head of the Bá'ízí Yúsufzís, who dwells at Tárṉah, in Suwád.

From the Báz Dara'h there is a road practicable for bullocks and ponies, although seldom used except by men on foot, through a narrow defile and over the hills down to Girára'í, in the Salárzí *tapa'h*, or district, of Buner, distant five miles. It then unites with the road from Suwád by the Bijwáṛa'h Ghás'haey, leading to Ḳaryah-i-Bádsháh, or "The Bádsháh's Village," subsequently referred to (at page 252), in one direction, and to Túrsak and Koga'h, or Kogá, in another, also subsequently described. There is, however, another practicable way, more to the south, which branches off rather more than a mile from Bar Báz-Dara'h, and leads over a *kotal* to Kingár-Galí, and from thence to Girára'í, where it unites with the other road previously referred to.

To return to the ascent of the Mora'h Ghás'haey or Pass.

Having passed beyond the road leading to Bar, or Upper Báz Dara'h, you have to dismount and proceed to ascend the pass on foot. You soon pass another road, on the right hand, leading to Kúz, or Lower Báz Dara'h, which is not far off, but hidden from the sight by a spur of the mountains. The ascent is fully two miles from this point; and no laden camel could possibly get up it, unless indeed it were one of the double-humped Bákhtrián breed, and even then not without considerable risk. The pass, however, is practicable for ponies, horses, mules, and bullocks. Much grass, which is known as *sábah*, grows in this pass, as well as another description, called *saṛ-gaṛí*. The path is a steep ascent, and, like most paths in this part of the world, is full of fragments of rock and boulders in all directions. The path does not lead along between two cliffs as it were, but is trench-like, as if deepened by the action of heavy floods. It is very winding, and appears to consist of a soft description of stone, like sandstone. If one wanted to make a good road into the Suwát Dara'h, this is the best for the purpose, probably, on account of the softness of the stone, while in the other *kotals* or passes there is only hard rock. The breadth, as you ascend, is, in some places, enough to admit of two persons walking abreast, but, generally, it is so narrow that you have to ascend in single file. There are no pine trees near the path itself, but the sides of the mountains, to their very summits, are clothed with patches of forest.

This pass also contains, in fact all these mountain tracts contain, immense quantities of a sort of gravel, both coarse and fine, which is like small shot almost, and very heavy. It is called *charata'í* by the Afgháns, who use it to shoot partridges, pigeons, quail, and other small birds. It may be found in most of the passes leading in and out of Suwát, and, in Upper Suwát, near Khúzah Khel, and other places, it is found in the roads and paths. Its colour is that of earth, turbid, or nearly black, very heavy, not smooth like pebbles, but rough or many sided, like stone broken into particles, and partially rounded from having been rubbed together. It is emery, possibly. In Upper Suwát this gravelly substance is called *giṭa'í*, but this is the Pus'hto term for gravel in general. It has evidently given name to the pass which

lies a little to the west of the Mora'h Ghás'haey, now under description, which is known as the Charat Ghás'haey. It is very steep and difficult, and only practicable for men on foot, and animals without loads.

In proceeding from Sher-Khána'í up the Mora'h Pass, the road branches off a little to the right, and the path leading to the Charat Pass lies to the left, in a direction about north-west.

Having by degrees reached the crest of the Mora'h Pass, on descending a short distance on the other or northern side, you come to a large plane tree, beneath which there is a spring of cool, pure, and sweet water, and round the spot the spikenard flourishes. It is a very pleasant spot, enhanced by the fact that it is the only place in the pass where water is procurable. When standing on the crest of the mountain at the summit of this pass, you can see part of the lower half of the Suwát valley stretched out below you to the north and west, but you cannot see Tárnah, for it is hidden by the mountains. You can, however, see the village known as Nal-Bánda'h, and by going a little on one side, towards the east, you can discern Sher-Khána'í to the south.

Malik Sháh Manṣúr, son of Malik Sulímán Sháh, the chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, who was put to death by Mírzá Ulugh Beg, along with the other Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ notables, and cousin of Malik Aḥmad, used to reside in a large and lofty building, belonging to the Suwátís, near the crest of the pass. It was known as the Takht of Sháh Manṣúr, and is still well known at the present day. It was here that Bábar Bádsháh, in the disguise of a ḳalandar, first beheld Sháh Manṣúr's daughter, whom he subsequently married, as mentioned at page 224.

You now commence to descend into the Suwát Dara'h or Valley. The southern side of the mountain range, forming its boundary in this direction, and which has just been passed, is very steep, but you do not find this to be the case in descending into the valley on its northern side, Suwát being much more elevated than the Báz Dara'h, and Pala'í, passed by the way. Continuing to descend, at the foot of the pass is Nal-Bánda'h, the first village in Suwát reached by this route. It lies at the very skirt of the Mora'h range of mountains, on a spur which has become separated from the higher range, and runs about three or three and a half miles a little south of Tárnah.

After passing Nal-Bánda'h, the land slopes down towards the river, but gradually, and not in such a manner that anything set a-going would of itself slide down to the river. The land consituting Suwát has been compared to a flat-bottomed boat, the sides of the boat being the mountains, and the bottom part, or flooring, the land as differing materially from the mountains on either side. The lowest land in the dara'h is that portion through which the river flows, and it gradually rises on either side until close up to the mountains. It has also been compared to the two hands placed together like as when a person wishes to drink out of them, but only just sufficiently raised at the sides as to prevent the water from running out.

Leaving Nal-Bánda'h, and proceeding about two kuroh farther in the direction of north-west, but inclining north, you reach the town of Tárnah, to the west of which there is a small stream, and on its banks there is a fine grove of *chinár* or plane trees, about a hundred in number, all very large and lofty, and very old.

The town of Tárnah lies at a short distance from the skirt of the mountains bounding Suwát on the south, which throws out a cross ridge towards the river to the north, immediately east of the Mora'h Pass, and runs down to within about half a mile of the main branch of the river. The hills, at one point, approach towards and overlook the town, which consequently is commanded by them, but this is by no means indicated by our maps, which would lead us to believe that Tárnah is at least half a mile or more from them.

It is the most considerable town in Suwát, and contains somewhat more than a thousand houses, which, at the usual computation, gives over five thousand inhabitants. The people are Afgháns of the Bá'ízí branch of the Yúsufzí tribe. About a hundred houses are inhabited by Hindús, Paránchahs, and other traders, and those who follow such occupations as that of shoemakers, smiths, barbers, and the like.

Tárnah*—generally supposed to be a corruption of the Sanskrit Thánah, signifying

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* I have several times mentioned how Afgháns, and Tájzíks likewise, reject the 'h' in the Sanskrit letters "tth," "ṭh," "jh," "gh," in names of places, and, therefore, the way in which, in modern times at least, they write and pronounce the names of places in these parts, once under the sway of Hindú sovereigns, especially in such as are likely to have contained these letters, is no criterion of their correctness. The Hindús, for example, write the name of this dara'h or valley Suwáthh, instead of Suwád and Suwát, in the same way as they write Satháṇah instead of Satána'h, Gaṛhí instead of Gaṛí, and the like. It is a curious fact, however, that the ancient Yúsufzí chronicler, from whose work I have often quoted in these "Notes," in his account of the conquest of the dara'h, invariably writes its name Suwát or Suwád, dropping the "h," while, in

"a station," "a guard," etc., but erroneously so—when the Khas'hís entered the Do-Ábah by permission of the Dilazáks, was the home of Mír Hindá or Hindah, who, on the part of the Sultán of Suwát, was governor of 'Ash-Naghar, and those parts of the Sama'h or Taht-ul-Jibál. He was of the Dúd Ál,* and his family resided at Tárnah.

It was usual with the Sultáns of Suwát, in cases of emergency, or on any momentous affair, requiring consultation with their chiefs and great men, to leave Manglawar and proceed to Tárnah, as being more central, and there hold counsel with them. At the time in question it was known as the place of Atan, which word, in the Gibarí language, signifies a council or assembly, "The Place of Assembly."

In former times, the Bábúzís, as well as the Bá'ízís, were located at Tárnah.

The Kháns or Chiefs of Tárnah are the descendants of Hamzah Khán, the founder of the village of that name in the Sama'h, on the Guzr Rúd, about eight miles north from Útí Mardán. He lived in the time of Khush-hál Khán Khatak; and it was his daughter that Khush-hál refers to in his poem on Suwát, as having married there, and she was the mother of his son, Sadr Khán, a poet like his father and some of his brothers. Hamzah Khán was then the supreme chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandars, and held sway over Suwát and the Sama'h. It was he who fixed upon Tárnah as the permanent residence of the chiefs, as it was centrally situated, among his own clan, the Tsolízís of the Bá'ízí division, by which name the people of Tárnah are still called, but they are sometimes also styled the Khán Khel, or Chieftain's Clan.

The Khán Khel, however, may be subdivided: one consisting of the family to which the chief *de facto* belongs, the whole of the males of which are styled Kháns, and the other, the family to which the chieftainship rightfully belongs, or the chief *de jure*, but whose family may have been set aside, or passed over, which is merely the Khán Khel. It may be asked, for example, what clan a person belongs to, and the reply may be, to the Khán Khel. It would then have to be asked whether the person is a Khán or only one of the Khán Khel. If he be a member of the family of the chief *de facto* he is a Khán, but, if of the family of the chief *de jure*, he is not: he merely belongs to the Khán Khel.

The Tárnah chiefs *de facto* at the present day, who are the heads of the Bá'ízí division of the Yúsufzís, are of two families, the *bar kor*—the upper family or house—and the *kúz kor*, or lower family or house, in reference to Tárnah and its dependencies above the Mora'h Ghás'haey or Pass, and Pala'í and its dependencies below. These two families are descended from Jalál Khán, son of Hamzah Khán, above referred to, and are constantly at feud.

In proceeding from Tárnah towards Upper Suwát, the route lies towards the north from that place, but inclining to the east. You pass the villages of Jalálá, Haibat-Grám, and Dandakaey, and reach the mountain of Landakaey, close at the foot of which the river of Suwát flows. On this account, in the summer months, when the river is swollen by the melting of the snows towards its source in the direction of Gilgit, the road lying along its banks, at the foot of the Landakaey mountain, is impracticable from the force of the stream, which foams and boils along with great violence. A road has, in consequence, been made over the crest of Landakaey itself, but it is extremely narrow, and so frightfully steep that it makes one giddy to look down.†

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the words Thárnah, Mhora'h, and Malah-khand, he retains it, but, when he wishes to employ the Hindí word *thánah*, to signify "a station," "post," or "guard," and not for the name of the town, he writes it *táná'h*. There may be a reason for his doing this, as he says the name of the place was anciently Atanah, the Gibarí for "place of assembling, or assembly," and not a *thánah* or guard, and, doubtless, he is right.

In these pages I have generally followed the present Afghán mode of orthography, and as pronounced by that people. Abú-l-Fazl also writes the word Suwád, without the "h."

* Signifying posterity, kindred, family, tribe, house, etc. The same word occurs in Pal Ál.

† The Indian Atlas Map, Sheet 14, is exceedingly incorrect here. "The Mullah" has mistaken the Landakaey Pass for the Shámelí Pass, which he calls "Shamilai Pass," and in his map it appears as situated *three miles* west of Tárnah, his "Thana," whereas it is just that distance west of Manglawr in Upper Suwát, *nearly twenty-two miles in a straight line north-east from Tárnah.*

It is evident that "the Mullah's" account has got into confusion here, and his map too, in consequence. My man went up the valley by the left bank of the river, and over the Landakaey Pass, in company with an Afghán chief and a British subject, who was on his way to pay his respects to the late Ákhúnd. He came down the opposite side of the river. The Mullá hugged the stream the whole way, and kept the right bank as far as Kúz or Pá'ín Darwesh-Khel, when he crossed to the opposite bank; and to the end of the dara'h, or rather his journey, he kept close to the river, now on one side, now on the other.

If any doubt should exist as to the error here pointed out respecting the Shámelí Pass, it can be easily tested at Pes'háwar, for there must be numbers of Khatak traders who cross these passes yearly, or by deputing a person specially. The Mullá makes no mention of the Landakaey Pass, a few miles north-east of Tárna'h, which appears in the Indian Atlas Map of Major-General Walker as "*Lionduki*," for, as previously mentioned, the Mullá kept the opposite side. *See also* page 203.

In the cold season, when the volume of water decreases, the pathway at the foot of Landakaey is used. This last-named mountain has no connection with that of the Mora'h Ghar, but it is a spur from the great range of which the Mora'h Ghar forms a part, which has come down close upon the river, or rather the river washes its base.*

In this part of the river there are two branches, one much more considerable than the other. The lesser one becomes quite dry in the cold season, and in the hot season has about three feet depth of water. This branch is very narrow, with steep banks and rugged bed, along which the water rushes impetuously. The other branch contains a much greater volume of water, and lies farthest from the Landakaey mountain. On ascending it, up to the extremity of the spur, the road leading along the side of the precipice is very difficult, being naturally scarped like a wall for about fifty paces, and the road, if it can be so called, is built up into rough steps with slabs of stone, worn so very smooth that a person is liable to slip. After this dangerous part of the road has been passed, you have to ascend about fifteen paces, then go some twenty more in a horizontal direction, and, finally, about fifteen paces more down again. This difficult path is not quite a yard broad, and is, at least, two hundred yards above the river, which, in the hot season, foams beneath. There is another road to the east of the one just described, which leads over the crest of Landakaey itself, and by it animals are taken when the water is at its height, but I have no further information respecting it. Landakaey is about three miles north of Tárnah.

On the opposite side of the river of Suwát, the mountains forming the north-western boundary of the valley in this direction, and separating it from Panj-Korah, to which some European writers have incorrectly applied the name of "Laram Range," which is unknown to the people, approach within about three miles of this point. The river is said, at this part, to have entered that part of Suwát known as *wuchah* or "the dry," which will be referred to in its proper place.

After descending and clearing the Landakaey, immediately at the skirt of it, on the eastern side, you reach the small village of Koṭa'h, to the south of which, on the very summit of the mountain, there are the extensive ruins of an ancient city. Two of the buildings, which are of great size, have been described as appearing at a distance something like the large European barracks in India. The similarity disappears on coming close to them. They are still in excellent preservation, in fact, almost entire; so much so, that during very heavy rains, the villagers take shelter in them. The houses of this ruined city are not built contiguous to or adjoining each other, but are detached, with an open space of ground around them. They are square in shape, and are built of blocks of hewn stone, and are described to me as "very shapely in appearance," but not very lofty, being not more than six, and not under four yards in height. The walls are about half a yard in thickness, and in some places less, and each building contains an area of about six yards in length. The cement used is probably bitumen, for my informant stated that, "the cement used in joining the "stones together is of a black colour, but I could not tell whether it was lime "mortar, or some other substance. Each house has a door (way ?), as have the two "large buildings likewise. I could not discover anything in the shape of carvings, nor "could I find any idols anywhere about. These ruins are Buddhist, and similar, in "many respects, to the ruins at Bihí, which we visited together in December, 1849."

The two large buildings are built on the very brow of the mountain, and are said by the people to have been erected by Suwátís of former times as watch houses, but the probability is that they are the remains of Buddhist monasteries, or idol temples, often built in such places. There is no made road leading to these buildings, which lie very near to the open ground of the valley, at least, not that could be distinguished, but, probably, there was once a made road, which has now disappeared. This ruined city is situated close to the Landakaey mountain, and nearer to the village of Koṭa'h than to Barí-koṭ.† "The ancient ruins in Suwát," says my informant, "are situated "in such difficult and out-of-the-way places, that it becomes a matter of astonish-"ment to conceive how the inhabitants of them managed to exist, where they obtained "water, what they employed themselves upon, and how they managed to pass to and "fro, for some of the houses are situated every here and there, and some on the very

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* But it is not "a spur of the Laram range," which is said to "divide Swát from Panjkora." *See* MacGregor's "*Central Asia*," Vol. II., page 276. The spur I refer to is in a totally different direction, south of the river of Suwát, but Panj-Korah lies a considerable distance on the opposite or north side of the river, and the mountains bounding the Suwát Dara'h in that direction separate that valley from Panj-Korah.

† Khush-ḥál Khán, the Khaṭak chief and poet, who wrote a poem on Suwát in the year 1087 H. (1676 A.D.), says on this subject:—

> "There are large and lofty cupolas, and idol temples also.
> Large forts there are, and mansions of times gone by."

" peaks of the hills. Suwát, however, does not contain so many ruined cities as some " writers would lead us to believe."

Setting out from the village of Koṭa'h, and passing near the villages of Nowaey Kalaey, Abú-wah, Gurataey, and Barí-koṭ, you come to Shankar-dár. Close to this latter place there is a *Top*, a cupola or tower, called the Burj-i-Shankar-dár, or Tower of Shankar-dár. The word Shankar, in Sanskrit, is one of the names of Shíw or Shíwá. It stands on a square platform of stone and earth, seven yards in height, and just forty yards in length and breadth, which my informant measured. On this square platform, the cupola or tower, which is of stone, joined by the dark-coloured cement before mentioned, stands. My informant computed the height, from the platform which he had measured, to be about thirty yards, or ninety feet; and he also measured the base of the *Top*, which was twenty-five yards or seventy feet in circumference, and egg-shaped at the top. There is no way by which the summit may be reached, nor did it appear to be hollow within, but there are a number of small holes just large enough, to all appearance, to admit the hand, and which seem to have been intended to give light and air. From top to bottom the tower is vaulted without like the miḥráb of a mosque, but not so deeply indented or niched that a person might place his foot thereon, but about a finger's breadth only, still the vaulted shape can be distinctly traced to the summit. Each niche or recess is about a yard or more in length and breadth, and between each of these there are the holes before mentioned. As the height increases, the ṭáks or niches diminish in proportion. The Afgháns of the neighbouring villages have been removing stones for building purposes from the northern face of the tower, and have built several houses from the materials, hence it has sustained considerable injury in that direction. The people tell all sorts of tales about this tower; and all agree that the Ákhúnd Darwezah gave out, in his lifetime, that it contained seven idols, one large and six smaller ones.

After leaving the village of Shankar-dár, so called after the *Top* or cupola, you go on to Ghálí-gaey, and reach the village of Mán-yár, formerly known as Mání-har,* probably its ancient name, lying near the banks of the river of Suwát, where there are two other ancient cupolas or *Tops*, but small in size, facing each other. From Mán-yár you pass on to Gog-Dara'h, Panjí-Grám, and Waḍí-Grám, which latter place is about thirteen miles and a half from Tárnah; and here travellers generally halt on their way upwards, it being considered the first day's stage.

To the east of this village, on the central summit of a mountain, there are numerous ruins, consisting of dwellings, and a very large range of buildings, in appearance from a distance like a very lofty fortress, which can be distinctly seen a long way off. There had been carvings and images there, my informant was told, but that the children of the village had from time to time defaced and destroyed them. There is also an immense cave in the side of one of the mountains near by, which cannot be entered from below, and from above, even by the aid of ropes, it cannot be reached, or, at least, those who have hitherto attempted it have not succeeded. The people of Waḍí-Grám state that several persons, on one occasion, did make the attempt. They lowered down a rope, in order to reach the mouth of the cave if possible, but it was not long enough, and they gave up the attempt. The tale goes that the cave belonged to the Káfirís of old, who had a secret path or entrance to it, and, having deposited treasuries within it, concealed the path, and closed access altogether. The people also say that idols have been found in the neighbourhood, but they had, as a religious duty, destroyed them, and not a remnant of them now remains. Between Mán-yár and Waḍí-Grám there is a rudely carved idol in a cliff by the side of the road, cut out of the white stone of the cliff itself. It is in the figure of an old man in a sitting posture.† Every one that passes by throws a stone at it, so there is an immense heap of them near by.

From Waḍí-Grám you go on towards Míngowaṛa'h, and then on by the villages of Kambar and Káṭlí, where the road takes a south-easterly direction towards Saiydú or Saiydúgán,‡ now famous in these parts as having been the residence of the late venerated Ákhúnd of Suwát, of whom I gave an account about eighteen years ago. The village, which is pleasantly situated, and which is shaded by several fine plane and

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* *See* pages 207 and 241.

† A figure of Buddhah probably.

‡ Not "Syadú-Gam." There is a road from Míngowaṛa'h to Saiydú, at which place two roads branch off to Gulaey-Grám, at which point two roads again diverge, one of which leads to the Ḳaryah-i-Bádsháh in Buner by the Bijwáṛa'h Ghás'haey, passing the Hulam lake, down to Saifal-Bánḍa'h. The other goes from Saiydú to Islám-púr, then up the mountain side for the distance of a kuroh, and then down to the same place where the two roads unite. Another road leads from Islám-púr into the Dara'h of Manglawar, from which point you proceed south-east, cross the mountains, and come down into the Gadází Dara'h, *see* page 252.

other trees, is built in a darah or valley which, like many others, opens out at nearly right angles on the main valley, and through which streams flow and unite with the river of Suwát. A little farther up the valley, in the direction of south-east, towards Buner, lies the village of Islám-púr, in which dwell the descendants of the Mián, Núr, grandson of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah.

To return to the direct route into Upper Suwát. On leaving Míngowaṛa'h you proceed towards Manglawar, near the site of the ancient capital of the Jahángírián Sulṭáns, ascending the Shámelí *Kotal*,* which lies to the north-eastward of the village of Míngowaṛa'h, and nearer to the river. This village contains a number of Hindú inhabitants. After proceeding a distance of about three miles farther, you reach the village of Manglawar, which is situated at the entrance of a small valley of the same name, running to the north-east. At this point also, the river has approached very near to the spur from the mountains, over which lies the Shámelí *Kotal*, just referred to, so much so, that there is no passage into the central part of the Suwát valley in the hot months, when the river is at its height, except by the road now being described, but, in winter, there is a practicable road along the river's bank.

Near the present village of Manglawar, on the mountains to the east, are some ruins, but they cannot be distinctly traced without ascending the hills for the purpose. They are the ruins of the ancient city referred to at page 234.

The village is pleasantly situated, with streams from the mountains running past it, and a number of umbrageous plane trees like those at Tárnah.

From Manglawar you continue your journey to the large village of Chhár-Bágh, and from thence go on for a distance of about four miles and a half, in a direction between north and west, along the river's bank, to Kábul-Grám. From thence, about the same distance, much in the same direction as before, brings you to Khúzah Khel. Here a perceptible difference of temperature is felt. In the month of August the air is described as being very chilly. The Suwát valley begins to contract in width very considerably, and at this point is not over half a mile in width, the fields are few, and the extent of cultivation insignificant. Here also rice cultivation ceases, and the banks of the river begin to be very high and steep. The land on which Khúzah Khel stands, as well as other villages near, on the left bank of the river and facing northwards, is high. Some villages are situated on spurs from the hills; others on more level ground, or in small open glades at the very skirts of the hills; but the ground of this part of the Suwát valley is not level until you come close to the river's banks, for the land here resembles the back of a fish. The banks on either side, sometimes, but not often, are steep and scarped like a wall almost, and overhang to the height of eighteen or twenty feet from the water. The villages generally lie about half a mile distant from the banks, and about one hundred and fifty feet, or thereabouts, above the river's bed, the ground sloping gradually downwards.

Pí'á is the most northern place in Upper Suwát belonging to the Afgháns, and at that point Upper Suwát terminates.† In order to return from thence down the valley by the opposite side of the river of Suwát, you have to retrace your steps for some distance, as there is no raft there, and such a thing as a boat is unknown. You have to return for about three miles to Ban-waṛí, and there cross the river by means of a raft to the village of Landaey, which lies about two hundred paces from the right bank, the breadth of the stream at this ferry being about one hundred yards, and very deep. At this point too the banks are steep. It was remarked that, where the river ran deep, the banks were scarped and high, but, where the water was shallow, the banks were more sloping and gravelly like the sea-shore.

Leaving Landaey, you proceed downward for about eight miles, passing several small *bánḍa'hs*, or hamlets of from four to five houses, by the way, and reach Darwesh Khel-i-Bálá or Bar Darwesh Khel, or Higher or Upper Darwesh Khel. The road lies along the skirt of the mountains the whole way, and is very rugged and irregular. The cultivation is scanty. A rivulet runs through this village, which is shaded by a number of fine trees, beneath the shade of which are *masjids* and *hujra'hs* (cells or closets, they may be termed) for *tálibs* or students, many of whom come here to study. Altogether it is a very picturesque and pleasant spot.

From this large and well peopled place you go on to Darwesh Khel-i-Pá'ín or Kúz Darwesh Khel, or the Lower, some distance from the other. The scarves, called *shálaka'í* (*lit.* little shawls), both white, black, and flowered, are chiefly woven at

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* This is the pass which "the Mullah," by mistake, evidently, describes as about three miles west of Tárnah, and enters it accordingly in his map, whereas it is about that distance west of Manglawar, his "*Manglor*," and north-east of Míngowaṛa'h, his "*Mingraura*."

† *See* page 236.

these two villages, great numbers of which are exported to Pes'háwar and other places.

From thence you proceed to Banbá Khel (referred to at page 233), which faces the village of Khúzah Khel, already mentioned, distant about a mile and a half on the opposite bank. Most of the villages in Upper Suwát can be seen from each other, with the exception of a very few, such as Khizána'h and Gaṛaey, which lie to the west of the Súe-galí spur, and Saiydúgán, and Islám-púr, which are situated in the Dara'h bearing the latter name; for in the whole centre of Upper Suwát there is neither mound nor hill to obstruct the view. Its appearance is most picturesque: the river flowing in the centre, and branching out into several channels, with the green fields swelling gently upwards on either side until they melt, as it were, into the lower range of hills.

Passing on from Bar or Upper Banbá Khel you reach Banbá Khel-i-Pá'ín, or Kúz, or Lower Banbá Khel, and then go on, by Ṣaubat and Khareṛa'í, to Shakar-Dara'h, at which village travellers generally stay the night, unless they have plenty of time before them for clearing the Ním-galí Kotal or Pass before night sets in. This *kotal** leads over a great spur which juts out abruptly for about three quarters of a mile, towards one of the branches of the river of Suwát, from the mountains on the right hand as you proceed, which form the north-western boundary of Suwát,† and, after clearing it, you descend to the village of Ním-galí, which is named after the *kotal*,‡ and which lies under the southern side of this spur, and just opposite Chhár-Bágh, on the other side of the river. After this, you pass on to the villages of Báṇḍí-i-Bálá and Báṇḍí-i-Pá'ín, Bar and Kúz, or Upper and Lower Báṇḍí, the former of which, after Támah and Manglawar, is the largest place in the Suwát valley. From it you pass on to Kánjú-án,§ at which place the shrine of the Ákhúnd, Karím Dád, son of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, is situated. Proceeding onward you reach Damghár, already mentioned (at page 230), and then on to Díw-lí and Ákhúnd Kalaey, where is the tomb of the Ákhúnd, Ḳásim, author of the Fawá'íd-ush-Sharí'at. His descendants still dwell there.

Soon after passing the last-named place, you begin to enter the Súe-galí Kotal‖ or Pass, and proceed towards the Súe-galí mountain, another great spur from the same range before referred to as forming the boundary of Suwát on the north-west, which runs down towards one of the branches of the river, and then, for a short distance, turns rather abruptly to the south. The length of this Pass, leading over the Súe-galí mountain, is about twelve miles, for the first three of which the road is pretty good. The next three miles are very difficult, and the remaining six are not very trying to descend, but would be to ascend. About half a mile before reaching the crest of the Pass, and about two miles and a half from the commencement of the ascent, you come to a *zíárat* or shrine, with a rivulet running past it, and shaded by fine *zaitún* or wild olive trees, an immense forest of which—the largest of the kind in the whole of Suwát, and reaching to the summits of the mountains—here commences. On reaching the crest of the Pass, and looking downwards, you can see the village of Gaṛaey, which you afterwards pass, and then go on to Khizána'h, the men of which are the strongest in Suwát. At this village, my informant says, "we met a very pretty young woman, "who, I remarked to my companions, was the first good-looking one I had seen in the "Suwát valley."

From Khizána'h you go on to Zírah Khel, which lies just opposite to the Landakaey mountain, with the road up it overhanging the river, on the other side, and previously described, and then proceed to Úchh-i-Bálá and Úchh-i-Pá'ín,¶ generally known

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* *See* page 233.

† Our maps are very much out here.

‡ Not a word is said by the "Mullah" in his narrative about this Kotal, which lies only a few miles north-west from Chhár-bágh, and yet, in going upwards from Báṇḍí-i-Bálá or Bar Báṇḍí (his "Barabandai") to Khareṛa'í (his "Kararai"), he had it near by, on his left hand. He seems to have kept close to the river banks on his way.

§ From this place you can go to Chugyá-ṭan, in Bájawṛ, by proceeding to 'Alí-Grám, Chanda'h Khwaṛey, up the Nikbí Khel Dara'h, Kalá, Tútán Báṇḍa'h, and Manjha'h, over the Gáwṛín Ghás'haey, and down the Shikolí Dara'h. *See* page 231.

‖ Never called "Such Gali" by me. *See* MacGregor's "Gazetteer," Vol. III., page 139.
This pass also escapes the "Mullah" explorer, although in going from Rámoṛa'h to Gaṛaey and Díw-lí (his "Ramora," "Gari," and "Dagi"), which last two villages are by his account about a mile apart, but according to my explorer's account about nine miles, the Súe-galí Kotal lay near by, on his left hand. He appears to have hugged the river banks on most occasions, and his explorations must have been as rapid as a bird's, from his own narrative. The Súe-galí Kotal is mentioned three centuries and a half ago, in the history of the conquest of Suwát. *See* page 234.

¶ This word was spelt originally, I expect, in the same way as the famous and sacred Ūchchh, or Uchchah, in the Panj-áb, south of Multán.

panied them in their exodus from the province of Kábul, or followed them soon after, but who were not Khas'hís, nor were they Ghwarís.* The portion allotted to Khas'hís was termed *daftar*, and that assigned to Sayyids, Mullás, and the three confederate tribes, was called *tsíra'í*, by which terms these lands are still known ;† and in all cases of dispute the distribution made by Shaikh Malí was referred to, and continues to be referred to to this day. "*Daftar*" is a Persian word signifying, "a record," "register," "archives," here used as an adjective for "registered," "recorded ;" and "*tsíra'í*" is Pus'hto, signifying "divided," "separated," "parted," here meaning "apportioned," "assigned," "allotted."

Shaikh Malí first divided Suwát for convenience sake into two nominal parts, lying on either side of the river. To that portion lying between the right bank and the mountains bordering it on the north-west, and comprising the eight minor dara'hs already referred to, opening into it, he gave the name of *lánw-dah*, the plural form of the Pus'hto adjective *lúnd*, signifying "moist," "damp," etc., from its enjoying a greater portion of moisture than the other, for, where the river separates into several branches‡ is part of this moist tract, hence its name. To the other portion of Suwát, lying between the left bank and the mountains on the south-east, and containing the other seventeen minor dara'hs, he gave the name of *wuchah*, signifying "dry," "arid," etc.§ The bounds of the *lánw-dah* half of the valley were fixed by the Shaikh from B'rangolaey, the boundary village of Lower Suwát, nearly facing Tútakán, on the opposite bank of the river, as far up as Landaey, the lowest village to the north, just opposite Pí'á, a tract extending in length about sixty miles. The *wuchah* portion extended from the village of Tútakán, in Lower Suwat, to Pí'á, the boundary village of Upper Suwát, a distance of sixty-three miles.

From Allah-dand to Chhár-Bágh on the *wuchah* side of the valley, and from Chak-Dara'h to Bándí on the *lánw-dah*, which places face each other, the villages are small and very close together, whilst, lower down the valley, towards the south-west, and higher up towards the north-east, the villages are larger, and at a greater distance apart, often two or three miles.

The climate of Lower Suwát, in winter, resembles that of the Sama'h and the plain of Pes'háwar, but is probably somewhat milder. The summer, which is a little later than in the plains below, is hot and oppressive; and in consequence of Lower Suwát being shut in by high mountain ranges, and the extensive cultivation of rice, humid and malarious exhalations are produced there, which are the cause of much fever. In the other extremity of the Dara'h of Suwát, in the Kohistán, on the contrary, the summer is very healthy, but the winter is rather severe, and much snow falls. Upper Suwát, on the other hand, possesses a somewhat better climate, a medium between that of the two extremities, and is neither very hot in summer, nor very cold in winter.‖ The person whom I despatched to explore the dara'h, previously referred to, says on this subject:—
"As regards temperature and excellence of climate, picturesque beauty, fruits, "and game, Upper Suwát, from Manglawar to Chúr-ṛa'í, which I myself saw, and "can testify to, is by far the best. The Kohistán beyond this is, however, much the "same. The whole of the upper portion of the Suwát valley is intersected at right "angles by the most picturesque little vales of about half a mile or less in extent, "the very residence in which would be sufficient to make a man happy. Each has "its own clear stream running through it towards the main river, the banks of each "of which, on either side, are shaded with fine trees, many of which bear the finest "fruits, and beneath which, every here and there, there are fragments of rock lying "about where one may sit down and rest himself, while the hills on either side are "clothed, up to their very summits, with forests of pine, the tops of which yield a "most fragrant smell. Dust is never seen."

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* Who they were has been already stated at page 125. *See* also page 220.

† From my former paper on "Suwát," this account of the distribution of lands, and the names by which the assignments are known, have been extracted and embodied by Colonel C. M. MacGregor in his "Gazetteer," Vol. III., p. 146, but wrongly attributed to Lumsden. *See* note ‖, page 194.

‡ *See* page 204, and note *.

§ We hear nothing of these well known terms from "the Mullah."

‖ Khush-ḥál Khán in his poem says:—

> "Its climate, in summer, is far superior to that of Kábul:
> The climate of Kábul is bleak, but Suwát is genial and mild.
> Indeed, it resembles Kash-mír in air and in verdure,
> But, alas! Kash-mír is extended, and Suwát is confined.
> The valley, in length, is just thirty *kos* at the utmost;
> Its breadth is about one or two, sometimes more or less."

With regard to its breadth, except in particular parts, the poet is not quite accurate.

The valley, not including the Kohistán north of Pí'á, which has been described at page 235, according to Shaikh Malí's arrangement just mentioned, was again divided into two other distinctive parts, known as *lar* and *bar*, lower and upper, which two divisions are thus defined. From Maní-hár or Mán-yár southwards, to the village of Tútakán, towards the mouth of the river, the territory is termed *Lar*, or Lower, Suwát, and from Mán-yár northwards, to Pí'á is *Bar*, or Upper, Suwát.

In the distribution of the conquered territories, the Dara'h of Suwát fell to the Yúsufzís, namely, the Akázís, Malízís, and the Ilyászís.

The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, whose grandfather left his native country of Nangrahár, or Nek-Anhár, and accompanied the Yúsufzís in their migration eastwards, as their Peshwá or spiritual guide, and received his share in the distribution made by Shaikh Malí, refers to the distribution in the following words:—

"The Malik, Shaikh Malí, made a census of the whole *ulús* of Yúsuf and Mandar, male and female, great and small, with the object of dividing Suwát and its lands equally among the Yúsufzís. The Akozí and 'Ísází divisions were found to contain just 6,000 persons, and the Malízí and Ilyászí proved to be much the same in point of numbers, a total of just 12,000. The Yúsufzís and Mandars were of about the same strength, namely, about 12,000 each. The Nangrahárís, Lamghánís, and Kábulís, who had accompanied the Yúsufzís and Mandars from the west, were not included in the census, neither were the inhabitants of those parts whom the Afgháns found there. This distribution of lands made by the Malik, Shaikh Malí, is still in force, and has undergone no change. . . . . Shaikh Sa'ádí, son of Darghan, who dwelt at Pápín in Nangrahár, and left it to accompany the Yúsufzís, was accounted among the Mandízí section of the Daulatzí division of the Malízís in this distribution of lands, and he was assigned a share for 30 persons, the number of his family and dependents. Subsequently, the ruler of the country (Mírzá Kámrán probably, at the time he held the fief of Kábul and its dependencies, *see* page 226) had occasion to chastise the *ulús*, and despatched the Amír, Kodání, with a body of horse, to make a raid upon them. Some of these horsemen fell in with Shaikh Sa'ádí and his family, and, taking him for one of the Afghán *ulús*, put him to death, and carried away his son, Gadáe, captive. Soon after it was found out, through the Amír Kodání's inquiries about the Shaikh, that he had been unjustly put to death; and the horsemen who had done the deed were severely punished for it, but there was no remedy for what was past. However, the Amír forthwith set Gadáe at liberty, and, for the late Shaikh's sake, liberated all the other captives in his hands. Subsequently, from some cause or other, Gadáe left the Mandízí Malízís, and joined the Ismá'ílzí Khel of Chagharzí Malízís; and, by them, he was assigned a share of land for 10 persons. This Gadáe was my father, and that share of land we still enjoy."

Since the period in question vast changes have taken place. For a long time past the Dara'h of Suwát has become the almost exclusive portion of the Akozí Yúsufzís, which sub-tribe is again subdivided into several khels or sections, of whom the Khwádozís and Bá'ízís are the most numerous. The *wuchah* division is in the possession of the Rárnízís and Bá'ízís, and the *lánw-dah* is held by the Khwádozís. These two clans, the Khwádozís and Bá'ízís, are again subdivided into smaller sections. From Tútakán to Tárnah dwell the Rárnízís, who also hold a few villages under the low hills south of the mountain range of which the Malah-khand forms a portion, such as Tsaná-kot, or, as sometimes called, Sháh-kot, and Dargaey. The chief town of the Rárnízís is Allah-dand, which is the residence of the chief. From the town of Tárnah to the village of Maní-hár or Mán-yár, to the north, are the Tsolízís, who also hold the three large villages of Pala'í, Sher-khána'í, and Zor-manda'í, mentioned at the commencement of this account, to the south of the Mora'h mountains, at the entrance of the Mora'h Ghás'haey or Pass, together with the Báz-Dara'h valley, containing the villages of Báz-Dara'h-i-Bálá and Pá'ín, and the hamlet of Mora'h. Their chief town is Tárnah, the residence of their chief.

From Maní-hár or Mán-yár northwards as far as Chhár-Bágh, are the Bábúzis; and from thence still farther northwards, are the Matúrízís, who hold some lands among the hills, and a few small villages. From thence to Khonah the whole of the Khází Khel, a numerous clan, are located, and from Khonah as far north as Pí'á, the most northerly village of the Yúsufzí Afgháns in Upper Suwát, are the Jánakís, or Jának Khel.*

Crossing over into the *lánw-dah,* we find the different clans or sections of the Khwádozí, and two other divisions of the Akozí Yúsufzís, located as follows, from

* There are no such people known in these parts "*Zinkí* Khels," "*Hinkí* Khels," or "*Azí* Khels."

The river intersects it throughout, not in a single channel throughout the whole of its course, as it is made to flow in our maps,* but in several, some of which separate again to unite in a single stream. It also makes occasional windings of greater or lesser extent.† The great mistake is, that, in these maps, the dara'h is made to run almost in a straight line from north-east to south-west; and from those maps one would imagine that a person standing, for example, at the highest part of it, could see straight down the valley from one end to the other. Such is far from being the case. The river receives a number of smaller streams from the lateral minor dara'hs on either hand. From Chúr-ṛa'í, above Pí'á in the Kohistán, to Ban-waṛí, the stream is about a hundred yards broad, very swift, and violent. From about five miles below Ban-waṛí it becomes somewhat broader, but it is just as rapid and violent as before, and continues to be so until it reaches opposite the Darwesh Khel villages, about three quarters of a mile lower down than which, where the dara'h also opens out considerably, it becomes much broader, and separates into several branches. It continues to flow in this manner in several channels until it reaches as far down as Allah-ḍanḍ, in Lower Suwát, when the branches again unite, and the river becomes narrower, and, of course, deeper, and more rapid. It continues to flow in one stream until, near the village of Khwadarzí, in the Utmán Khel territory, it unites with the rivers issuing from the Báshḳár, Dír, and Birawal Dara'hs, which three united streams are known as the Molízí River, and also River of Panj-Korah.

No gold is found in the river of Suwát or its smaller tributaries, unless it be at, or near, their sources; and, in the whole of the lower, or more southern, part of the valley constituting Lower Suwát, there are few or no trees in the vicinity of the river's banks, not a hundred altogether probably. Here and there, one or two may be seen in the fields near the river, under which the peasants rest themselves, and take their food, in the hottest part of the day. It is in the mountains, forming the boundaries of

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called by that name was then occupied by Afgháns. In every copy of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí there are ruled columns for particulars respecting the names of the maḥalls, towns, people, number of men available for militia purposes or capable of bearing arms, and the amount of assessment, but I have never yet met with a copy in which these columns were filled up: all are blank at this particular part. The late Mr. W. H. Blochmann was equally unsuccessful in finding a copy complete in this respect, for his printed text is so far imperfect. The fact is, however, that the Mughal rulers of India never obtained a permanent footing in these parts, notwithstanding the slaughter of the people and the devastation of their villages and lands by their troops, and were never in a position for obtaining the particulars for the said columns to be filled up, and no copy of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí will be found perfect in this respect.

What information Abú-l-Fazl obtained is as follows:—

"In length it is forty kuroh, and from five to fifteen in breadth. It has Buner on the east, on the north "Kaṭor and Káshghar (invariably thus in the Á'ín, but meant for Ḳáshḳár, as in his other work, the Akbar "Náma'h), west Bájawṛ, and south Bagrám (the Pes'háwar province). It contains a number of dara'hs, and "near the dara'h of Damghár, which adjoins Káshghar, is the town of Manglawar, which is the [former ?] seat of "government. There are two roads leading into it from Hindústán; one by the defile called the Malá-khanḍ "Faj or Pass, and the other the Sher-khána'h (Faj). Suwád is neither very hot nor very cold. Snow falls in "the *dasht* (the open parts of the valley), but it does not remain for more than three or four days: it continues "all the cold season in the hilly parts. The most rain falls in spring, but the valley feels slightly the rainy "season of Hindústán. The flowers and shrubs both of Hind and Túrán flourish, and the narcissus and violet "grow spontaneously, covering plain after plain. The fruits also are numerous, of various kinds, and of spon-"taneous growth; the peaches and pears are very good. Many fine species of the falcon tribe are also obtain-"able in Suwád, which also contains mines of iron."

Here he appears to have fallen into some confusion, for the only mines of iron we hear of are in Bájawṛ, but there *may* have been iron mines worked in Suwád in former times. For his short notice of Bájawṛ *see* page 118.

He says further, with respect to the "Sar-kár of Suwád," that "the whole of this Sar-kár, both mountain "tracts and plains, is the dwelling place of the Yúsufzís. In the time of the Mírzá, Ulugh Beg, Kábulí, they "reached this territory from the Kábul province; and wrested it out of the hands of the Sulṭáns, who account "themselves as descended from a daughter of Sikandar-i-Zú-l-Ḳarnain (Alexander, the Macedonian). They "say that the Sulṭán (Sikandar) left a portion of his treasures with one of his connections in this country, "and that, up to this time, some of that race still dwell in the Kohistán (hence called Kohistánís. *See* "pages 151 and 162) *with the genealogical tree of their descent from Sikandar in their hands.*" *See* also page 117.

Khush-ḥál Khán, in his poem on Suwát, mentions its boundaries in the following words:—

"On the north it is bounded by the Bilauristán mountains;
To the east lies Kash-mír; to the west Kábul and Badakhshán,
Towards Hindústán it has black mountains, and frowning passes,
In the ascent of which, armies will get entangled, and confusion ensue."

* Major Wilson's is, however, an exception. "The Mullah," in his map, makes it run in a single channel, which is contrary to fact, but he may have *seen* but one.

† Respecting its river Khush-ḥál Khán says:—

"Its river flows in a direction from east to west:
As to its straightness or crookedness, say naught to the scribe."

the valley of Suwát, that trees are so numerous, and in the small side dara'hs or valleys running at right angles to the main valley.

The mountains on either side, as seen from the broadest part of the valley, are of different degrees of elevation. The first, or lower ranges, are of no great height, and of gentle ascent; the second are rather more abrupt, and on these there are, comparatively, few trees, but much grass; and the third, or higher ranges, rise up almost like a wall in appearance. The range to the north is densely covered with pine forests, which are seen overtopping all.

For the reasons above stated, firewood is scarce in Lower Suwát and the more open parts of the valley farther up, and the dry dung of animals is used instead, but there are woods and thickets in plenty in the smaller valleys at the sides of, and opening into, the main one. With these exceptions, there are no shrubs or wild trees, such as we call *jangal* in India, in any part of Lower Suwát.

The pine is chiefly used for fuel, and pine-slip torches are generally used, as in some other parts of Afghánistán, in place of lamps or candles, but shopkeepers and students, who have to read at night, burn oil. The person whom I sent into Suwát in 1858 was rather surprised at seeing a primitive description of lantern in use there. He says "I "was surprised to see a description of lantern in Suwát, something on the plan of "English ones, although, of course, not copied from them. It consists of a wooden frame "covered with buffalo bladder, or the skin of the *parda'h* or membraneous covering of "the stomach of animals, stretched over this frame whilst damp, with a place for oil "in the centre. By the light of these, one can see to read tolerably well, and, during "my journey in Suwát, I had often to read books by the light of one of them."

The lower ranges of hills, on both sides of the valley, although destitute of trees, are covered with grass; and, "viewing them from the central parts," says the person just referred to, "one would fancy they were covered with velvet, they appear so "beautiful." The next or highest ranges on either side, are covered with forests, which may be seen from the lower parts of the valley, every here and there overtopping the lower hills.

These forests chiefly consist of the *jalghoza'h* or pine, and the *zaitún* or wild olive. The *chinár* or plane flourishes also, and in the low-lying parts of the valley as well as in the hills. The trees are generally of large growth, and bear marks of great antiquity. There are indeed planes on the banks of the river of Suwát and its tributaries, about the mosques, in the fields, and near the villages; in fact, in all directions, except in the lower or western parts of the valley, where they are few. The husbandman's home, from morning until night, when working in the fields, is the plane tree, under which, in the cool shade, he rests himself, and where his family bring him his food. The other trees noticed in Suwát are the willow, the *bakáyarn* (*melia sempervirens*), and the *palma christi*. Flowers are said to be few, but the Khaṭak chief and poet, Khush-hál Khán, who wrote some two centuries before, gives a different account. He says, in his poem on Suwát, "It is a garden of fruits, and a parterre of flowers."

Throughout the whole of the upper part of the valley, or Kohistán, from Sar-Bánḍa'h down to the boundary of Upper Suwát, there are immense numbers of trees, both along the river's banks, and in the mountains on either side to their very summits. Large pine trees only cost from threepence to two shillings each, and this is for felling. A trader of Pes'háwar, some years ago, attempted to open up a timber trade in this part. At considerable expenditure of time and money, he had caused about two thousand great pines to be felled in the hills, and they were thrown into the river in order to be floated down to Pes'háwar. When the trader and his people, with their rafts, entered the Afghán boundary in Upper Suwát, the Yúsufzís seized upon them, and would not allow the rafts to proceed. The trader, supposing the late Ákhúnd—the so-called leader of armies and maker of Bádsháhs—to possess much influence, went and complained to him. The Yúsufzís of Lower Suwát, through fear of their chiefs, with whom the Ákhúnd had expostulated about the conduct of their people, gave up all the trees they had not used themselves, and they were not a few, but the people of Upper Suwát, that is to say from Chhár-bágh to Chúr-ṛa'í, on both sides of the river, would not allow the timber to be removed; and the trees, in hundreds, were left to rot on the river's banks.

When the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs had completely subdued the Suwát valley, the celebrated Shaikh Malí, under the instructions of Malik Aḥmad, made a regular survey of it, and also of Buner. The whole of the Do-Ábah, 'Ash-Naghar, and the lands contained in them and in the Sama'h, were portioned out among the descendants of Yúsuf and Mandaṛ, according to the number of persons in each family, but leaving a portion for distribution among the three confederate tribes which accom-

among the Yúsufzís as Úchhúnah and Úchhún—that being the plural form of Úchh, or the two Úchhs. These two villages lie close to each other, and are situated just inside a long narrow dara'h or valley, containing water, and through which there is a route through the small district or territory of Tálásh, by the Kát-gala'h Ghás'haey or Pass into Panj-Korah. There is another route lower down, in Lower Suwát, but this one is generally preferred. This Pass has been previously referred to, at page 234, in connection with Bábar Bádsháh's dash into Suwát, and his marrying Malik Sháh Manṣúr's daughter. Tálásh, I would observe, is not a part of Suwát, and never was so considered.

When the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs had gained a footing in Lower Suwát, at Tárnah, and the places adjacent, they soon began to make raids into Tálásh* by the Káṭ-gala'h Pass. On one occasion, a party of Afgháns had harried the villages of Tálásh, and had driven off some of the cattle belonging to the Dihgán Káfirís, or infidels of that territory. The chief place in Tálásh at that time was the fortified town so called, which gave name to the territory, and which was situated on the brow of a hill, and surrounded with pomegranate gardens. The chiefs and headmen among these Dihgán Káfirís dwelt within the walls, while the peasantry lived outside in the open country. The ruins of this town may still be seen. These people were renowned for their bravery, and they sallied forth in pursuit. While some followed the Afgháns and the cattle, others, by by-paths, endeavoured to gain the pass before the marauders, and cut off their retreat, but by the time they reached it, the Afgháns had gained its entrance. Desultory skirmishing occurred, and the Afgháns, with some difficulty, reached Lower Suwát again.

On this occasion some of the Afgháns rode up the hills in pursuit of some Dihgáns they perceived there, and one among them, a Sadozí Mandaṛ, named Mazíd (the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, calls him Bar-mazíd), a full brother to the renowned Khán Kajú, perceived a Dihgán on the hills on the north side of the defile, and made after him. The Dihgán jumped down into a gorge, and began to climb the cliff to get away. He had just gained the top of the cliff when Mazíd urged on his 'Iráḳí horse—it was a dark brown steed—in pursuit of him. The animal leaped across the gorge, and just managed to plant its fore feet on the top, near the edge of the cliff, with its hind legs lower: the horse could not manage to reach the top with his hind ones, but he planted his hoofs firmly where he was. At the very instant of reaching the opposite side, without knowing, in the excitement of the moment, the dangerous position of his horse, Mazíd ran the Tálásh Dihgán through with his spear, its head coming out on the other side. At this crisis, another Mandaṛ, 'Ismá'íl by name, came to Mazíd's assistance, and cut down the Dihgán with his sword, releasing Mazíd from all further trouble with him. The latter, only now perceiving the dangerous position of his horse, leaped off his back, seized the bridle, and drew him up to the level space, and rejoined his companions.

"The place," says the historian, "in the Káṭ-gala'h Ghás'haey, where Mazíd's "horse made this leap was measured, and found to be nine Akbarí *gaz*, just twenty-"five feet." On each side of the ravine two little hillocks of stones marked the spot, when the Yúsufzí historian wrote, and probably exist up to the present time; and the spot is known as Goṛ-Trap, or The Horse's Leap,† to this day.

To resume. From Zírah Khel you have to go on several miles to Chak-Dara'h, near which village is the ferry across the river of Suwát. It was here that Zain Khán, the Kokal-Tásh, built a fort, as mentioned at page 259, and it was also from this place that he set out, along with Bír-Baṛ and others, when the Mughal army was destroyed

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"The Mullah" explored the "*Uchnu* Dara," as he calls it, a mistake for Úchúnah or Úchhún, the Pus'hto plural form, as above stated, but he only explored one of the two villages, and but one appears in his map. What sort of village it is he does not inform us, but he tells us what was perfectly well known before, that "there are no *courts* throughout the Swát district," and that the people "are Patháns of the Yusafzai *sect*" (*sept*, possibly), and actually "speak the Pashtu (Pus'hto, probably) language." He gives us another wonderful piece of information, to the effect that "Ráhmat Ulla Khán, an *inhabitant* of Dir, in Malezai, is the "*Khán* or chief of all the villages in the Uchnu Dara." The "inhabitant" in question is no other than the son and successor of the late Ghazan Khán, chief of all the Molízís, and the *most* powerful north of the Indus, indeed, I may say, more powerful than the whole put together.

* A range or two of hills separates Tálásh from the dara'h in which the two villages of Úchh are situated, and from which places its south-eastern boundary is but a few miles distant. Tálásh is no part of Suwát, and never was included in it. It forms part of the territory of the Panj-Korah Chief.—*See* my "Account of Ḳáshḳár, "and the Independent State of Panj-Korah, including Tálásh," in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," page 26.

† Trap is a Pus'hto word, and from it is formed the verbs "trap wahal," "trapedal," and "trapawul." It is curious to note the use of a vitiated Sanskrit word,—goṛ, from ghoṛ,—with a Pus'hto word, a complete proof, some philosophers will say, that the Afgháns are "a purely Aryan race."

in the Karakar and Malandarí Kotals, the details of which have been given farther on. Chak-Dara'h is a large and populous village, in which a number of Yúsufzí traders dwell. You cross over from it to Allah-ḍanḍ, about a mile and a half from the river side, thus leaving the *lánw-dah* or moist part of Suwát, and again enter the *wuchah* or dry part. These terms will be explained farther on.

Allah-ḍanḍ is a village, or rather a town, of considerable size, but it is chiefly noted as being the place of residence of the chief of the Rárnízi branch of the Bá'ízí division of the sub-tribe of the Akozí Yúsufzís. The present chief is Sher-dil Khán, son of 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán.* The most notable and powerful chiefs of Suwát (notwithstanding the fables related about the poor old Ákhúnd being "the leader of "armies and king-maker"), indeed, the heads of the two families who have exercised for years, and who still exercise, the chief power in the whole Dara'h of Suwát, are those of Tárnah, and the chief just named. Ṣuhbat Khán, son of Ḥukúmat Khán, brother of Sher-dil Khán's father, has also a portion of the Rárnízí territory, but he is—or rather was, for I do not think he is still living—four or five years older than his nephew, who is the chief of this branch of the Yúsufzí tribe.

From Allah-ḍanḍ you reach the Sama'h by the Malá-khanḍ or Malah-khanḍ Ghás'haey or Pass, described at pages 239 and 259, and go on to 'Ash-Naghar or Pes'háwar. On reaching the foot of the pass, on the southern side, you proceed to Dargaey, distant three miles, and Sháh-Koṭ, two miles farther, and re-enter the British territory.

I must now attempt to describe the geographical features of the Suwát valley.

On descending from the Mora'h Ghás'haey or Pass, on the way into Suwát, and issuing from the narrow valley or glen in which Nal-Bánḍa'h lies on your way to Tárnah, the dara'h appears to lie almost east and west. It then makes a bend in a north-easterly direction as far as the Shámelí Ghás'haey, and from thence to Pí'á, the last village held by the Afgháns in that quarter, the direction is almost due north. Beyond Pí'á again, as far up as the source of the river of Suwát, at the *jal-gáh,* it diverges slightly towards the north-west. It will, therefore, be seen that the Dara'h of Suwát is divided, as it were, into three natural divisions; and, where the three bends or turns, above mentioned, commence, the dara'h gradually narrows through the mountains on either side converging towards each other, and then it opens out again by their receding.

"It is a dara'h of great extent, being about forty kuroh in length, and from the crests of the mountains separating it from Panj-Korah on one side, and Buner on the other, it is, in some places, about twenty-five kuroh in breadth, that is to say, taking the breadth from the head of one of the longest lateral dara'hs, on one side, to the head of another lateral dara'h on the other. The main dara'h terminates on the north in the mountain tracts held by the Spín Káfirís (referred to at page 228).

"Lower and Upper Suwád, that is to say, that portion of the Dara'h of Suwád inhabited by the two clans or divisions of the Akozí sept of the Yúsufzí Afgháns, contain no less than twenty-five minor, but, nevertheless, considerable dara'hs, which open into it laterally on either side of the main river; and out of each of these a smaller river, of greater or lesser volume, issues, which has its own still lesser tributaries. These minor or cross dara'hs average about twelve kuroh in length, and, of these, seventeen lie on the south side of the main dara'h, and eight on the north. In the former the Bá'ízí Afgháns dwell, and the latter the Khwádozí Afgháns, who will be again mentioned farther on.

"The principal towns and villages belonging to the Afgháns are Tárnah, Allah-ḍanḍ, Bánḍa'h, and Damghár."†

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* 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán, hoping to gain strength thereby, submitted to the Sikhs, and went to Láhor to attend the darbár of Raṇ-jít Singh. He made a great mistake, however, and his people were so indignant that they deposed him in favour of his son, whose name is not given, but he was, apparently, an elder brother of Sher-dil Khán. He was soon ousted by Khair-Ullah Khán, his cousin, but his father's name has not transpired. 'Ináyat-Ullah again acquired authority, and transmitted the chieftainship to his son, Sher-dil Khán, the present chief. In my former paper on Suwát I mentioned, according to my authority, that Sher-díl was lineally descended from Khán Kajú, but this is not possible, save on the mother's side, because Khán Kajú was a Ṣadozí, 'Uṣmánzí, Mandaṛ, and Sher-dil Khán is a Rárnízí, Akozí, Yúsufzí.

Sher-díl Khán, having been in possession in 1858, can scarcely be the person referred to by Colonel C. M. MacGregor ("Gazetteer," Vol. III., p. 43) in the following words:—"The headman of Swát Ránízai is one "Sherdil Khán, an adventurer, who, about two years ago, turned out the former Khán, Sádat Khán," as the person above referred to is, I believe, still in the land of the living.

† In the accounts of the various provinces and districts forming the Ṣuba'h of Kábul, contained in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí of Abú-l-Fazl, Buner, Suwád, and Bájawṛ, are contained in what he calls the Sar-kár of Suwád, while Panj-Korah is not alluded to. The reason of this is that but a very small portion of the tract subsequently

other trees, is built in a darah or valley which, like many others, opens out at nearly right angles on the main valley, and through which streams flow and unite with the river of Suwát. A little farther up the valley, in the direction of south-east, towards Buner, lies the village of Islám-púr, in which dwell the descendants of the Mián, Núr, grandson of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah.

To return to the direct route into Upper Suwát. On leaving Míngowara'h you proceed towards Manglawar, near the site of the ancient capital of the Jahángírián Sultáns, ascending the Shámelí *Kotal*,* which lies to the north-eastward of the village of Míngowara'h, and nearer to the river. This village contains a number of Hindú inhabitants. After proceeding a distance of about three miles farther, you reach the village of Manglawar, which is situated at the entrance of a small valley of the same name, running to the north-east. At this point also, the river has approached very near to the spur from the mountains, over which lies the Shámelí *Kotal*, just referred to, so much so, that there is no passage into the central part of the Suwát valley in the hot months, when the river is at its height, except by the road now being described, but, in winter, there is a practicable road along the river's bank.

Near the present village of Manglawar, on the mountains to the east, are some ruins, but they cannot be distinctly traced without ascending the hills for the purpose. They are the ruins of the ancient city referred to at page 234.

The village is pleasantly situated, with streams from the mountains running past it, and a number of umbrageous plane trees like those at Tárnah.

From Manglawar you continue your journey to the large village of Chhár-Bágh, and from thence go on for a distance of about four miles and a half, in a direction between north and west, along the river's bank, to Kábul-Grám. From thence, about the same distance, much in the same direction as before, brings you to Khúzah Khel. Here a perceptible difference of temperature is felt. In the month of August the air is described as being very chilly. The Suwát valley begins to contract in width very considerably, and at this point is not over half a mile in width, the fields are few, and the extent of cultivation insignificant. Here also rice cultivation ceases, and the banks of the river begin to be very high and steep. The land on which Khúzah Khel stands, as well as other villages near, on the left bank of the river and facing northwards, is high. Some villages are situated on spurs from the hills; others on more level ground, or in small open glades at the very skirts of the hills; but the ground of this part of the Suwát valley is not level until you come close to the river's banks, for the land here resembles the back of a fish. The banks on either side, sometimes, but not often, are steep and scarped like a wall almost, and overhang to the height of eighteen or twenty feet from the water. The villages generally lie about half a mile distant from the banks, and about one hundred and fifty feet, or thereabouts, above the river's bed, the ground sloping gradually downwards.

Pí'á is the most northern place in Upper Suwát belonging to the Afghána, and at that point Upper Suwát terminates.† In order to return from thence down the valley by the opposite side of the river of Suwát, you have to retrace your steps for some distance, as there is no raft there, and such a thing as a boat is unknown. You have to return for about three miles to Ban-warí, and there cross the river by means of a raft to the village of Landaey, which lies about two hundred paces from the right bank, the breadth of the stream at this ferry being about one hundred yards, and very deep. At this point too the banks are steep. It was remarked that, where the river ran deep, the banks were scarped and high, but, where the water was shallow, the banks were more sloping and gravelly like the sea-shore.

Leaving Landaey, you proceed downward for about eight miles, passing several small *bánda'hs*, or hamlets of from four to five houses, by the way, and reach Darwesh Khel-i-Bálá or Bar Darwesh Khel, or Higher or Upper Darwesh Khel. The road lies along the skirt of the mountains the whole way, and is very rugged and irregular. The cultivation is scanty. A rivulet runs through this village, which is shaded by a number of fine trees, beneath the shade of which are *masjids* and *hujra'hs* (cells or closets, they may be termed) for *tálibs* or students, many of whom come here to study. Altogether it is a very picturesque and pleasant spot.

From this large and well peopled place you go on to Darwesh Khel-i-Pá'ín or Kúz Darwesh Khel, or the Lower, some distance from the other. The scarves, called *shálaka'í* (*lit.* little shawls), both white, black, and flowered, are chiefly woven at

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* This is the pass which "the Mullah," by mistake, evidently, describes as about three miles west of Tárnah, and enters it accordingly in his map, whereas it is about that distance west of Manglawar, his "*Manglor*," and north-east of Míngowara'h, his "*Mingraura*."

† *See* page 236.

these two villages, great numbers of which are exported to Pes'háwar and other places.

From thence you proceed to Banbá Khel (referred to at page 233), which faces the village of Khúzah Khel, already mentioned, distant about a mile and a half on the opposite bank. Most of the villages in Upper Suwát can be seen from each other, with the exception of a very few, such as Khizána'h and Gaṛaey, which lie to the west of the Súe-galí spur, and Saiydúgán, and Islám-púr, which are situated in the Dara'h bearing the latter name; for in the whole centre of Upper Suwát there is neither mound nor hill to obstruct the view. Its appearance is most picturesque: the river flowing in the centre, and branching out into several channels, with the green fields swelling gently upwards on either side until they melt, as it were, into the lower range of hills.

Passing on from Bar or Upper Banbá Khel you reach Banbá Khel-i-Pá'ín, or Kúz, or Lower Banbá Khel, and then go on, by Ṣaubat and Khareṛa'í, to Shakar-Dara'h, at which village travellers generally stay the night, unless they have plenty of time before them for clearing the Ním-galí Kotal or Pass before night sets in. This *kotal** leads over a great spur which juts out abruptly for about three quarters of a mile, towards one of the branches of the river of Suwát, from the mountains on the right hand as you proceed, which form the north-western boundary of Suwát,† and, after clearing it, you descend to the village of Ním-galí, which is named after the *kotal*,‡ and which lies under the southern side of this spur, and just opposite Chhár-Bágh, on the other side of the river. After this, you pass on to the villages of Bánḍí-i-Bálá and Bánḍí-i-Pá'ín, Bar and Kúz, or Upper and Lower Bánḍí, the former of which, after Táṛnah and Manglawar, is the largest place in the Suwát valley. From it you pass on to Kánjú-án,§ at which place the shrine of the Ákhúnd, Karím Dád, son of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, is situated. Proceeding onward you reach Damghár, already mentioned (at page 230), and then on to Díw-lí and Ákhúnd Kalaey, where is the tomb of the Ákhúnd, Ḳásim, author of the Fawá'íd-ush-Sharí'at. His descendants still dwell there.

Soon after passing the last-named place, you begin to enter the Súe-galí Kotal‖ or Pass, and proceed towards the Súe-galí mountain, another great spur from the same range before referred to as forming the boundary of Suwát on the north-west, which runs down towards one of the branches of the river, and then, for a short distance, turns rather abruptly to the south. The length of this Pass, leading over the Súe-galí mountain, is about twelve miles, for the first three of which the road is pretty good. The next three miles are very difficult, and the remaining six are not very trying to descend, but would be to ascend. About half a mile before reaching the crest of the Pass, and about two miles and a half from the commencement of the ascent, you come to a *zíárat* or shrine, with a rivulet running past it, and shaded by fine *zaitún* or wild olive trees, an immense forest of which—the largest of the kind in the whole of Suwát, and reaching to the summits of the mountains—here commences. On reaching the crest of the Pass, and looking downwards, you can see the village of Gaṛaey, which you afterwards pass, and then go on to Khizána'h, the men of which are the strongest in Suwát. At this village, my informant says, "we met a very pretty young woman, "who, I remarked to my companions, was the first good-looking one I had seen in the "Suwát valley."

From Khizána'h you go on to Zírah Khel, which lies just opposite to the Landakaey mountain, with the road up it overhanging the river, on the other side, and previously described, and then proceed to Úchh-i-Bálá and Úchh-i-Pá'ín,¶ generally known

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* *See* page 233.

† Our maps are very much out here.

‡ Not a word is said by the "Mullah" in his narrative about this Kotal, which lies only a few miles north-west from Chhár-bágh, and yet, in going upwards from Bánḍí-i-Bálá or Bar Bánḍí (his "Barabandai") to Khareṛa'í (his "Kararai"), he had it near by, on his left hand. He seems to have kept close to the river banks on his way.

§ From this place you can go to Chugyá-ṭan, in Bájawṛ, by proceeding to 'Alí-Grám, Chanda'h Khwaṛey, up the Nikbí Khel Dara'h, Kalá, Tútán Bánḍa'h, and Manjha'h, over the Gáwṛín Ghás'haey, and down the Shikolí Dara'h. *See* page 231.

‖ Never called "Such Gali" by me. *See* MacGregor's "Gazetteer," Vol. III., page 139.

This pass also escapes the "Mullah" explorer, although in going from Rámoṛa'h to Gaṛaey and Díw-lí (his "Ramora," "Gari," and "Dagi"), which last two villages are by his account about a mile apart, but according to my explorer's account about nine miles, the Súe-galí Kotal lay near by, on his left hand. He appears to have hugged the river banks on most occasions, and his explorations must have been as rapid as a bird's, from his own narrative. The Súe-galí Kotal is mentioned three centuries and a half ago, in the history of the conquest of Suwát. *See* page 234.

¶ This word was spelt originally, I expect, in the same way as the famous and sacred Úchchh, or Uchchah, in the Panj-áb, south of Multán.

panied them in their exodus from the province of Kábul, or followed them soon after, but who were not Khas'hís, nor were they Ghwarís.* The portion allotted to Khas'hís was termed *daftar*, and that assigned to Sayyids, Mullás, and the three confederate tribes, was called *tsíra'í*, by which terms these lands are still known ;† and in all cases of dispute the distribution made by Shaikh Malí was referred to, and continues to be referred to to this day. "*Daftar*" is a Persian word signifying, "a record," "register," "archives," here used as an adjective for "registered," "recorded;" and "*tsíra'í*" is Pus'hto, signifying "divided," "separated," "parted," here meaning "apportioned," "assigned," "allotted."

Shaikh Malí first divided Suwát for convenience sake into two nominal parts, lying on either side of the river. To that portion lying between the right bank and the mountains bordering it on the north-west, and comprising the eight minor dara'hs already referred to, opening into it, he gave the name of *lánw-dah*, the plural form of the Pus'hto adjective *lúnd*, signifying "moist," "damp," etc., from its enjoying a greater portion of moisture than the other, for, where the river separates into several branches‡ is part of this moist tract, hence its name. To the other portion of Suwát, lying between the left bank and the mountains on the south-east, and containing the other seventeen minor dara'hs, he gave the name of *wuchah*, signifying "dry," "arid," etc.§ The bounds of the *lánw-dah* half of the valley were fixed by the Shaikh from B'rangolaey, the boundary village of Lower Suwát, nearly facing Tútakán, on the opposite bank of the river, as far up as Landaey, the lowest village to the north, just opposite Pí'á, a tract extending in length about sixty miles. The *wuchah* portion extended from the village of Tútakán, in Lower Suwat, to Pí'á, the boundary village of Upper Suwát, a distance of sixty-three miles.

From Allah-dand to Chhár-Bágh on the *wuchah* side of the valley, and from Chak-Dara'h to Bándí on the *lánw-dah*, which places face each other, the villages are small and very close together, whilst, lower down the valley, towards the south-west, and higher up towards the north-east, the villages are larger, and at a greater distance apart, often two or three miles.

The climate of Lower Suwát, in winter, resembles that of the Sama'h and the plain of Pes'háwar, but is probably somewhat milder. The summer, which is a little later than in the plains below, is hot and oppressive; and in consequence of Lower Suwát being shut in by high mountain ranges, and the extensive cultivation of rice, humid and malarious exhalations are produced there, which are the cause of much fever. In the other extremity of the Dara'h of Suwát, in the Kohistán, on the contrary, the summer is very healthy, but the winter is rather severe, and much snow falls. Upper Suwát, on the other hand, possesses a somewhat better climate, a medium between that of the two extremities, and is neither very hot in summer, nor very cold in winter.‖ The person whom I despatched to explore the dara'h, previously referred to, says on this subject:— "As regards temperature and excellence of climate, picturesque beauty, fruits, "and game, Upper Suwát, from Manglawar to Chúr-ra'í, which I myself saw, and "can testify to, is by far the best. The Kohistán beyond this is, however, much the "same. The whole of the upper portion of the Suwát valley is intersected at right "angles by the most picturesque little vales of about half a mile or less in extent, "the very residence in which would be sufficient to make a man happy. Each has "its own clear stream running through it towards the main river, the banks of each "of which, on either side, are shaded with fine trees, many of which bear the finest "fruits, and beneath which, every here and there, there are fragments of rock lying "about where one may sit down and rest himself, while the hills on either side are "clothed, up to their very summits, with forests of pine, the tops of which yield a "most fragrant smell. Dust is never seen."

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* Who they were has been already stated at page 125. *See* also page 220.

† From my former paper on "Suwát," this account of the distribution of lands, and the names by which the assignments are known, have been extracted and embodied by Colonel C. M. MacGregor in his "Gazetteer," Vol. III., p. 146, but wrongly attributed to Lumsden. *See* note ‖, page 194.

‡ *See* page 204, and note *.

§ We hear nothing of these well known terms from "the Mullah."

‖ Khush-hál Khán in his poem says:—

"Its climate, in summer, is far superior to that of Kábul:
The climate of Kábul is bleak, but Suwát is genial and mild.
Indeed, it resembles Kash-mír in air and in verdure,
But, alas! Kash-mír is extended, and Suwát is confined.
The valley, in length, is just thirty *kos* at the utmost;
Its breadth is about one or two, sometimes more or less."

With regard to its breadth, except in particular parts, the poet is not quite accurate.

The valley, not including the Kohistán north of Pí'á, which has been described at page 235, according to Shaikh Malí's arrangement just mentioned, was again divided into two other distinctive parts, known as *lar* and *bar*, lower and upper, which two divisions are thus defined. From Maní-hár or Mán-yár southwards, to the village of Tútakán, towards the mouth of the river, the territory is termed *Lar*, or Lower, Suwát, and from Mán-yár northwards, to Pí'á is *Bar*, or Upper, Suwát.

In the distribution of the conquered territories, the Dara'h of Suwát fell to the Yúsufzís, namely, the Akázís, Malízís, and the Ilyászís.

The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, whose grandfather left his native country of Nangrahár, or Nek-Anhár, and accompanied the Yúsufzís in their migration eastwards, as their Peshwá or spiritual guide, and received his share in the distribution made by Shaikh Malí, refers to the distribution in the following words:—

"The Malik, Shaikh Malí, made a census of the whole *ulús* of Yúsuf and Mandar, male and female, great and small, with the object of dividing Suwát and its lands equally among the Yúsufzís. The Akozí and 'Ísází divisions were found to contain just 6,000 persons, and the Malízí and Ilyászí proved to be much the same in point of numbers, a total of just 12,000. The Yúsufzís and Mandars were of about the same strength, namely, about 12,000 each. The Nangrahárís, Lamghánís, and Kábulís, who had accompanied the Yúsufzís and Mandars from the west, were not included in the census, neither were the inhabitants of those parts whom the Afgháns found there. This distribution of lands made by the Malik, Shaikh Malí, is still in force, and has undergone no change. . . . . Shaikh Sa'ádí, son of Darghan, who dwelt at Pápín in Nangrahár, and left it to accompany the Yúsufzís, was accounted among the Mandízí section of the Daulatzí division of the Malízís in this distribution of lands, and he was assigned a share for 30 persons, the number of his family and dependents. Subsequently, the ruler of the country (Mírzá Kámrán probably, at the time he held the fief of Kábul and its dependencies, *see* page 226) had occasion to chastise the *ulús*, and despatched the Amír, Kodání, with a body of horse, to make a raid upon them. Some of these horsemen fell in with Shaikh Sa'ádí and his family, and, taking him for one of the Afghán *ulús*, put him to death, and carried away his son, Gadáe, captive. Soon after it was found out, through the Amír Kodání's inquiries about the Shaikh, that he had been unjustly put to death; and the horsemen who had done the deed were severely punished for it, but there was no remedy for what was past. However, the Amír forthwith set Gadáe at liberty, and, for the late Shaikh's sake, liberated all the other captives in his hands. Subsequently, from some cause or other, Gadáe left the Mandízí Malízís, and joined the Ismá'ílzí Khel of Chagharzí Malízís; and, by them, he was assigned a share of land for 10 persons. This Gadáe was my father, and that share of land we still enjoy."

Since the period in question vast changes have taken place. For a long time past the Dara'h of Suwát has become the almost exclusive portion of the Akozí Yúsufzís, which sub-tribe is again subdivided into several khels or sections, of whom the Khwádozís and Bá'ízís are the most numerous. The *wuchah* division is in the possession of the Rárnízís and Bá'ízís, and the *lánw-dah* is held by the Khwádozís. These two clans, the Khwádozís and Bá'ízís, are again subdivided into smaller sections. From Tútakán to Tárnah dwell the Rárnízís, who also hold a few villages under the low hills south of the mountain range of which the Malah-khand forms a portion, such as Tsaná-kot, or, as sometimes called, Sháh-kot, and Dargaey. The chief town of the Rárnízís is Allah-dand, which is the residence of the chief. From the town of Tárnah to the village of Maní-hár or Mán-yár, to the north, are the Tsolízís, who also hold the three large villages of Pala'í, Sher-khána'í, and Zor-manda'í, mentioned at the commencement of this account, to the south of the Mora'h mountains, at the entrance of the Mora'h Ghás'haey or Pass, together with the Báz-Dara'h valley, containing the villages of Báz-Dara'h-i-Bálá and Pá'ín, and the hamlet of Mora'h. Their chief town is Tárnah, the residence of their chief.

From Maní-hár or Mán-yár northwards as far as Chhár-Bágh, are the Bábúzis; and from thence still farther northwards, are the Matúrízís, who hold some lands among the hills, and a few small villages. From thence to Khonah the whole of the Khází Khel, a numerous clan, are located, and from Khonah as far north as Pí'á, the most northerly village of the Yúsufzí Afgháns in Upper Suwát, are the Jánakís, or Jának Khel.*

Crossing over into the *lánw-dah*, we find the different clans or sections of the Khwádozí, and two other divisions of the Akozí Yúsufzís, located as follows, from

* There are no such people known in these parts "*Zinkí* Khels," "*Hinkí* Khels," or "*Azí* Khels."

south to north :—From B'ṛangolaey to Rámoṛah are the S'hádakzí or K'hádakzí and Abází Akozís, who dwell together. From Rámoṛah to Úchh or Úchhúnah, or Úchhún, the two villages of Úchh, as far as Súe-galí are the Shamúzís. From Súe-galí to Ním-galí are the Nikbí Khel,* to which the late Ákhúnd of Suwát—who has lately been put into "the Gujar *caste*" by one writer, and turned into a "Syad" by others whose knowledge of these matters is somewhat hazy—belonged. From Ním-galí to Landaey the Sábit and Chúní (now known as Sabchúní) are located, who hold a few small villages, and the remainder, to the south, are the Shámízís.

The number of families or dwellings of the Akozí division of the Yúsufzí tribe, including those out of Suwát, without taking all the *faḳirs* into account, and some other non-Afgháns, of whom there are considerable numbers, were supplied to me as follows. My informant said the number of families was chiefly furnished by Mír 'Álam Khán, of Tárnah, the chief of the Tsolízis, to the Khán who accompanied my informant into Suwát. The latter says :—"The Khán Ṣáḥib asked the questions to "which the Mír replied. The chief said the Rárnízís were 6,000 matchlocks. I asked "what he meant thereby. He replied, the number of families who could each send "one adult male into the field. This, I think, is not much beyond the mark ('a "'standard-bearer of the Akhuns,'† notwithstanding), for it must be remembered that "the valley is more densely populated, in proportion to its size, than any other part I "have seen in India or the Panj-áb. Indeed, some of the districts to the north of "Pes'háwar are populated to an extent the English have little conception of."

Rárnizí Akozí Division.

	Families.
Rárnízí‡ - - - - - - -	6,000

Bá'ízí Akozí Division.

Bábúzí - - - - - -	7,000
Khází Khel (some call them Ḥájí Khel) - -	12,000
Matúṛízí - - - - - -	4,000
Tsolízí - - - - - -	10,000
Jának Khel - - - -	6,000

* The village of Chanḍa'h Khwaṛey, mentioned at page 232, is in their territory.

† A *ḳur'án-bearer* of the Ákhúnd's, much more probably. "A standard-bearer" of the old recluse, must have been a great curiosity, quite a *rara avis.*

‡ It is a very great error to suppose that the Rárnízí are a subdivision of the Bá'izí, for they are quite distinct. In my former account of Suwát I put them down among the Bá'ízí, which was wrong, but the explanation given in the footnote was correct. I have therefore thought it right to mention it here, and show clearly who they are.

Ako, fifth son of Yúsuf, had two wives, according to the best Afghán authorities on the subject. Rární (Sanskrit राज्ञी), a Hindú name, the feminine of Ráná (another clear proof, say some of the "masters of the subject," that the Afgháns are a "purely Aryan race"), a not uncommon name given to Musalmán women on the borders of the Panj-áb, and probably, from the name, she was either very good looking, or a strong-minded woman, to be known as "the queen." The other wife was named Gauhara'h (but not *Gauha.* It is merely the feminine of *gauhar*, "a gem," "a jewel," etc.).

Rární bore to Ako two sons, Ḥalím and Utmán. They were, however, persons of little account. They made no figure in the world, and the name of the first indicates that he was very mild and tractable; and their descendants, in consequence, became known by their grandmother's name. This is a custom which has been prevalent from the first among the Afghán tribes, for the descendants to be known by the name of an elder ancestor when the immediate progenitor was of no account, as in the case of the Gagyánís, referred to at page 216. Ako's descendants are called by the general name of Akozí.

Gauhara'h bore four sons to Ako :—Khwájo, which has been altered to Khwádo, whence the Khwájozí or Khwádozí ; Bázíd, the shortened form of Báyazíd, whence the Bá'ízí; Abá, whence the Abází ; and S'hadak or Khadak, whence the K'hadakzí or S'hadakzí, above mentioned. The Khwádozí contain seven subdivisions, five from as many sons, and two descended from two adopted sons. The four former are Allah-Dín, whence the Allah-dínzí, shortened into Adínzí ; Molaey, whence the Molízí of Panj-Korah ; Shamú, whence the Shamúzí ; Shámí, whence the Shámízí, sometimes called Shamízí ; and Nikbí, now Nikbí Khel. The adopted sons were Shaikh Ṣábit, and Chúnaey, whence come the Ṣábitzí and Chúní. They are descended from Dá'úd, son of Barech, and are, consequently, Barechís, some of that tribe having taken up their residence among the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, including some of their holy men. The Chopánzí are Barechís; and there is another section of them known as Mulhízí, but it must not be confounded with, or mistaken for, the great sub-tribe of Yúsufzí Malízí, which has been done by one or two recent writers. The Daulat Khel and Mullá Khel, Badalzí Barechís, also came among the Yúsufzís, but subsequently went into Hind, and settled therein.

The Bázídzí, shortened into Bá'ízí, contain five subdivisions, descended from as many sons, namely, Amá, whence the Amá Khel ; Khází, or Ḥájí (an error, I believe), whence the Khází Khel (also called Ḥájí Khel); Músá, whence the Músá Khel ; Bábú, whence the Bábúzí ; and Matúṛaey, whence the Matúṛízí.

Colonel C. M. MacGregor says in his "Gazetteer" (Vol. I., p. 142), that the "Báizai Swátís" have three villages in "Báizai" (he refers to the eastern part of the Lúndaey Khwaṛ valley), and that they "are the *remnants* of the *real* Yúsáfzáis" (*sic*). What has become of the other "real Yúsáfzais," and how they disappeared, we are not informed. I may observe that the Bá'izís of "Báizai," so called, like their brethren located in Suwát, as well as other Akozís, Ilyászís, 'Ísázís, and Malízís, with all their numerous ramifications, are "real" Yúsufzís.

Akozí Division.

	Families
S'hadakzí or K'hadakzí - - - -	6,000
Abází - - - - -	

Khwádozí Akozí Division.

Allah-dínzí, now Adínzí - - -	8,000
Shamúzí - - - -	7,000
Shámízí, also called Shamízí - - -	6,000
Nikbí Khel - - - - -	12,000
Sábit and Chúní, now shortened colloquially, and known as Sabchúní* - - -	4,000
Total - -	88,000

The three first mentioned among the Bá'ízí are, it will be noticed, descendants of his three sons, Bábú, Kházaey (or Hájí ?) and Matúraey; the other two must be descendants of his sons, Amá and Músá, who, being of no great account, their names have been eclipsed. The two Akozí tribes are sometimes classed with the Bá'ízí, being few in number, but they are Akozí. The Sabchúní are no other than the descendants of the two adopted Barech sons of Khwádo.

Hindús, Paránchahs, original Suwátís, and some others, are not included in the above numbers. The word *fakirs* here refers to trades-people, such as smiths, shoemakers, carpenters, barbers, washermen, dyers, and shopkeepers, whether Hindús or Musalmáns, goldsmiths, weavers, Gújars or graziers, servants or slaves employed in household duties, mullás, Sayyids, and a very few husbandmen, for the Afgháns, whether of Suwát or other parts of Afghánistán, like the Spartans of old, monopolize the two occupations of arms and agriculture.

Out of the bounds of Lower Suwát, and west of the river, are the Doshah Khel Molizís of Tálásh, and, on the east, the Utmán Khel Karlárnís; and to the north, beyond the bounds of Upper Suwát, are the Ákhúnd Khel, as the descendants of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, are called, who are Tájzíks, not Afgháns. The Doshah Khel are located beyond, but adjoining, the Akozí K'hadakzís on the north. They formerly dwelt altogether in the hills, but have descended from time to time, and, by paying money to some, practising deception with others, and, according to Afghán custom, taking by force in other cases, succeeded in acquiring a few villages and some lands on the Suwát border. The lands thus acquired they have not built villages upon, but have set them apart for cultivation only. Three of their best villages are Tálá, Bágh, and Pingal.

All to the west of the villages of Tútakán and Matakaní, also written Matakarní, is out of Suwát, and is included in, and called, the country of the Utmán Khel. The village of Hisár, likewise, is not considered in Suwát.

Beyond the bounds of the Bá'ízís of the Jának Khel, in Upper Suwát, to the east and south-east, lies Buner, which belongs to other branches of the Yúsufzís. On the opposite side of the river of Suwát, towards the west and beyond the mountains, lies the valley of the Ú-sherí River,† belonging to the Molízís of Panj-Korah. Beyond the mountains bounding the Kohistán, or upper portion of the Dara'h of Suwát, the Káshkár State lies, and also As-tur and Gilgit.

It was a natural consequence attending the distribution of the lands of the conquered territory among the Yúsufzís and Mandars, and in Suwát more particularly, that some would have good land whilst others would have inferior; and the sagacious Shaikh Malí, foreseeing that disputes would arise in consequence, instituted the peculiar custom of an interchange of lands after a certain number of years, and to which the name *khasarnaey* and *wesh* was given, from the mode of drawing lots among this simple race of people, by means of small straws of different lengths, and such like simple means.‡

* There is no "section" of the Akozi Yúsufzís called *Khwázozai*, this much at least is known of them; and there is no "subdivision of them called 'Sibújni' or 'Sibujnai,' but Sabchúní, as above. They are Barech, not Yúsufzí, but adopted.

† *See* page 230, and note †.

‡ These words will be found described in my Afghán Dictionary. Khush-hál Khán, himself an Afghán, who did not admire the Yúsufzís nor their ways, says on this subject :—

"Although the whole country is suitable for gardens,
The Yúsufzis have made it like unto a desert wild.
In every house of it there are cascades and fountains.
There are fine towns, fine dwellings, and fine bázárs too.
Such a country, with such a climate, and such streams,
It hath no homes, no gardens, nothing fragrant nor fresh.
They gamble away the country yearly, drawing lots:
Without an invading army they ravage themselves."

To this custom the whole of the people agreed; and from that time, varying from ten to twenty, and even thirty years, the lands are re-distributed among the different Khels, or sections, or families, together with the dwellings thereupon, by drawing lots for the different portions. This custom is, with a few minor exceptions, in full force at the present time.

Some sixty or seventy years ago it was usual to draw lots for each *tapa'h*, district, or division, but, at present, this custom has been done away with, and the people of each *tapa'h* now draw lots among themselves in the following manner :—First, the people of each village draw lots for their lands and village, which, when determined, the people of each street or quarter of a village draw lots for their portion, and, lastly, the families of each street or division draw lots for their portions. For example: we will suppose the village of Tárnah—any name will suffice for the example—which A has been holding with his clan or section, falls to the share of B, who has been holding Allah-ḍanḍ. On the re-distribution Tárnah falls to B, and A gets Allah-ḍanḍ. They, A and B, then draw lots among their own clans for the minor shares, and it so happens that the house which A had previously occupied falls to the lot of B, and B's house to A. On becoming aware of this they examine the two houses, and, if they happen to be about the same size and value, they exchange on equal terms, but if one house be better than the other, one must pay something to the other for the difference in value. If this is not agreed to between A and B they remove their effects from each house, take away the doors, remove the grass thatch and rafters from the roof, and leave only the bare walls standing, otherwise a feud would ensue, for such is the excessive pride and obstinacy of the Afghán race.

When Khán Kachú or Kajú, Mandaṛ, became supreme chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, on the decease of the renowned Malik Aḥmad, he decreed that the chief of Suwát should not be required, on any occasion, on a re-distribution of the lands, to vacate the town or village in which he dwelt. At this time he himself dwelt, it is said, at Allah-ḍanḍ,* and so that town was exempted accordingly, but, notwithstanding this rule, the lands were, and still are, included in the *wesh* or re-distribution as well as other lands. This regulation was again confirmed by Hamzah Khán when he succeeded to the chieftainship.

The houses of Suwát, generally, consist of four walls built of mud mortar mixed with sand. On the top of these a few rafters are laid, and dry grass spread over them, and over this a layer of plaster is laid of the same materials as the walls. The houses rarely last more than a few years, but this is of little consequence when they have to be vacated once about every three or four years. The mosques, and the houses of the Hindús dwelling in those parts, are built of stone in a substantial manner, but those of the Afgháns are all alike. The residence of Mír 'Álam Khán of Tárnah, and that of the chief of Allah-ḍanḍ, were mean places built of mud bricks, without even whitewash to cover the walls.

Some peculiar customs are prevalent among the Afgháns in Suwát, which appear to be very ancient.

In all suits and disputes contrary to the *Shara'* or orthodox law of Muḥammad, which is observed by all tribes of Afgháns, as well as other Musalmáns, in Suwát, the plaintiff, instead of the defendant, is put on his oath, as in English courts of justice.

If a person has had anything stolen from him, he calls upon the person or persons whom he may suspect to give him a *sa'd*† (in 'Arabic signifying "felicity, pro-

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This was his opinion of the re-distribution of lands among them, and he was pretty right, I think.

The cascades, fountains, fine houses, and bázárs, must refer to the dwellings and buildings the Yúsufzís found there, for they erected nothing of that kind, indeed the poet says in another place :—

"Suwát is intended to give sovereigns gladness and joy,
But now, in the time of the Yúsufzís, 'tis a desolate hostel."

In another place he says :—

"Every place throughout Suwát is befitting a prince,
But without either chief or ruler, 'tis a mere bullock's pen.
Kings have, in it, found both pleasure and delight,
But the present people are not gifted with such like feelings."

When the poet composed these lines, the Yúsufzís had been in possession of Suwát about a century and a half. *See* page 234.

* Such is stated by my authority, but I doubt that Khán Kajú ever took up his residence at Allah-ḍanḍ. His residence was in the Sama'h, chiefly, at least.

† Colonel C. M. MacGregor in the extracts from my former paper on Suwát, contained in the article on "Swát" in his "Gazetteer," has made, or some one for him, rather an amusing error with reference to this custom. He has, "if the suspected party can produce a *syad*," instead of *s'ad*, the word used by me. I need

pitiousness, etc."), that is to say, as they understand the word, to produce a respectable man who knows the suspected person, and who will undertake to swear that the suspected has not stolen the said property. If the suspected person can produce a *sa'd* who will swear to this effect he is considered innocent, but, if a *sa'd*, so produced, will not take the required oath, he is held guilty, and has to make good the stolen property.* These two customs have been handed down from the time of Shaikh Malí.

Another very curious custom is, and a very good one in such a primitive state of society, that when two Maliks or Kháns chance to fall out, or to have any dispute, the people expel both parties from the place. The two disputants are then termed *sharúni*, or "the driven out, or expelled," from the Pus'hto verb *sharal*, "to drive away," etc.; and, in this state, they are compelled to seek shelter in other villages, and are obliged to live on the charity of those who will take them in, for they lose all civil rights on such occasions, and have no claim to wife, or children, dwelling, cattle, or anything whatever. Some continue in this helpless state until they can come to an accommodation, or effect a reconciliation, which often does not take place for years. In Upper Suwát they are even more severe than this, for there they expel the families also, and confiscate the property of the disputants altogether. One would imagine that such stringent rules as these would tend to keep the peace, if anything would, yet these people seem, notwithstanding, to be always at feud.

Whenever two Maliks or head-men of a village quarrel, the strongest, or the victorious one, if they come to blows, drives the other out of the village. After some time the fugitive manages, by bribery and other means, to gain over to his side some of the friends and supporters of his successful rival, and all the discontented flock to him. After a time the fugitive manages to find his opportunity, when his own party is strong enough and his rival is weak, to enter the village and drive him out. This is enacted over and over again; now one is a fugitive, now another; and this it is that causes such contentions in these parts.

When fighting amongst each other, the Afgháns of this locality never molest or interfere with the women or children, or the guests or strangers within their gates, nor do they injure or interfere with the *fakírs* or helots of each other; and this might serve as an example to nations laying claim to a high state of civilization.

The Afgháns of Suwát are sometimes said to observe the same custom as practised by the Afrídí tribe of Afgháns, namely, that of selling, or rather bartering, their wives, sometimes for money, and sometimes for cattle or other property they may desire to possess or require. But, being aware of the complete system of petticoat government under which the Afgháns of Suwát are content to dwell, I cannot place much faith in their having the courage to do so. The women in this valley enjoy more liberty and rule the men to a far greater degree than is known among other Afgháns, who are so very particular in this respect. I will mention one instance as an example. The Kháns of Tá̱rnah, who are the highest in rank and power in the valley, permit the females of their families, in parties of fifteen or twenty at a time, consisting of young girls, young married, middle-aged, and old women, to come down to Mardán in the Sama'h, some thirty or forty miles distant from home, on pleasure or visiting excursions, without a single male relative accompanying them. They stay at the house of the head-man of the place, and return home after the third or fourth day. Afgháns, as a rule, never allow their females to go out of their sight, and will not allow them to be absent for three or four days at a time without a single male relation to take care of them. It, therefore, appears almost impossible that men, who are so much subject to and so obedient to their wives, would venture to sell them, or even dare to make the attempt.

Like others of their countrymen, the Afgháns of Suwát are very hospitable. When strangers enter a village, and it happens to be the place of residence of a Khán or Chief, he entertains the whole party, but, if there should be no great man resident in

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scarcely mention that a Syad, as the word Sayyid, that is to say, a descendant of Muḥammad's, is written in the work above referred to, is not meant here, but *sa'd*.

I once bought two 'Arab horses from a Commodore of the Indian Navy, an Irishman, and among the admonitions he gave me respecting the care of them, he said, quite innocently, "Be sure never to give them a "masál." Another person present, also an Irishman, and a good Oriental scholar, who knew what was intended, but did not wish to spoil a good joke, winked his eye at me, and I replied that I certainly would take great care not to administer *masáls* to them. In Bombay, in the vulgar tongue, a *masál* (a corruption of an 'Arabic word) is "a body servant," equivalent to "a bearer" in Bengal, but what the Commodore meant was a maṣálaḥ, *a stomachic ball* made of spices, etc. No one laughed more heartily on finding out his mistake than the Commodore himself. This is something like mistaking "a *sa'd*" for "a *syad*."

* *See* the custom of compurgation among the Anglo-Saxons.

The feathered game consists of water-fowl in abundance, partridges, both the grey and black species, *chikor*, and quail. There is no waste land to shelter game in Lower Suwát, but in Upper Suwát, and the Kohistán farther north, the case is different.

The chief reptiles and insects are snakes, scorpions, sand-flies, *brora'hs*, *mangurs* or bugs, mosquitos, and fleas in swarms. The *brora'h* is a species of wood-louse, something in the shape of a bug, but larger. They generally infest mosques and houses in which there are old mats lying about. After they have bitten a person, the place bitten becomes red and inflamed.*

The principal articles imported into Suwát are salt, which the Khaṭaks bring there for sale from the Salt Range, and a few articles of British manufacture, consisting of cotton goods generally, such as calicoes, twills, and muslins, together with a little coarse blue cotton cloth, the manufacture of Pes'háwar; copper and brass cooking utensils, but only in very small quantities, for the people are so constantly at feud with one another that they have often to abandon house and property at a moment's warning, and therefore, to prevent the loss of such expensive articles, they generally content themselves with earthern vessels.

The exports are considerable. They consist of rice, *roghan*, or clarified butter, and *úrd* (*phaseolus mungo*) in considerable quantities,† into all the districts round about; fruit, honey, wax, scarves woven from the fur or wool called *pashm*, varying in price from one to six rúpís each, the manufacture of Upper Suwát, often the work of Kash-mírís who have settled permanently in the country. These articles, however, are not to be compared with those brought from Ḳáshḳár. The *shálaka'í* of Ḳáshḳár is that worn by the Hindús of Ḳandahár as their peculiar distinguishing mark, but, at Pes'háwar, Musalmáns and Hindús wear them without distinction. Bullock and buffalo hides are also exported, but chiefly to Bájawṛ, buffaloes being few in that territory, although numerous in Suwát, but they have not, or used not to have, sufficient to enable them to send any for sale to Pes'háwar. There is no trade in wool, for what is produced is required for home consumption.

Such was the Dara'h of Suwát a short time since, during the lifetime of the late Ákhúnd.

V. *The Dara'h of Buner.*

"This dara'h extends from east to west about twenty-five kuroh in length, and is about the same in breadth from north to south.‡ The river of this dara'h which

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* Khush-ḥál Khán says, in his poem on Suwát:—

"If there be *panjars*, fleas, and mosquitoes in Suwát,
Who shall give an account of the *brora'hs* and bugs?
I got fever twice from the effects of these brora'hs:
I was covered with pimples from the rash caused by their bites.
In every house there are as many dogs as human beings,
And in their court-yards fowls in hundreds strut about.
Every place inside is blocked up with jars for grain:
In grossness of living Suwátís are worse than Hindús.
The Bá'izís subsist in a manner worthy of them;
And the Khwádozís are chandlers and nought besides.
* * * * *
Although other game in Suwát is plentiful enough,
There is still more of *chikor* in every direction.
There are wild-fowl from one end of the river to the other,
And the rascals' matchlocks are always in uproar on them.
There are mountain goats, wild sheep, and tiny-footed deer,
But the matchlock men, alas! drive them all away."

Khush-ḥál Khán did not like the Yúsufzís because they were wanting in patriotism in not joining the confederate tribes against the Mughals, as mentioned in his "Ode to Spring," the translation of which spirited poem is contained in my "Selections from the Poetry of the Afgháns;" and in the poem on Suwát he says:—

"The Yúsufzís in numbers are beyond all compute,
But they are all asses and oxen nevertheless."

† Khush-ḥál Khan says:—

"They consume the grain produced, and they export it also.
It has no road through it, no other trade, no other profit.
In truth, 'tis a granary wholly detached from the world.
At times the cheapness there is so excessive, 'tis said,
That for two farthings twenty guests can be entertained!"

‡ Respecting this dara'h Abú-l-Faẓl says, "Buner is in length sixteen kuroh [illegible] b[illegible]elve (he
"refers to the standard kuroh of Akbar Bádsháh's reign), but he cannot have in[illegible]nsti-
"tuted, in his description. It has Pakla'í (more correctly Pakhal) on the east, and [illegible]ár)

receives smaller streams rising in the mountains on the north and south, flows towards the east, in the direction of Shikolí,* and some distance below Kábul-Grám unites with the Abáe-Sín.

"The inhabitants of these two darah's—Suwád and Buner—are sometimes styled by the appellation of Buner-wáls and Suwátís, after the idiom of the Panj-ábís, in the same way that the people of Kábul are called Kábulís, and of Pes'háwar, Pes'háwarís, without reference to their race or tribe."

The Mandaṛ Tribe of Afghâns.

"The Mandaṛs are a very large and powerful tribe of the Afghán nation, computed to number about one hundred thousand families in all. They are descended from the same common ancestor as the Yúsufzí tribe."†

Mandaṛ or Mandaṛn, also called Maṟno, son of 'Umar, had four sons, Munauwar, called Maṟno by the Afgháns; Khiẓr, called by them Khidr; Rajaṛ, also called Radzaṛ; and Mámú. These became the progenitors of as many tribes. The second and fourth contain no subdivisions, and are known as Khidarzí and Mámúzí. The subdivisions and sections of Rajaṛ or Radzaṛ are but few, while those of Maṟno or Munauwar are numerous.

"The Mandaṛs are not now subject to the authority of a single chief, as in former times, nor are they taxed by the Afghán sovereign, Tímúr Sháh. In time of war a few of the Muḥammadan 'Ulamá or clergy are despatched, by the Bádsháh's command, to rouse their patriotism, and by this means a small force can always be raised among them as a contingent to the Bádsháh's forces.

"The tract of country held by the Mandaṛs is known as the Sama'h, which word, in the Afghán language, signifies 'a plain,' 'an open, and more or less level, tract of country,'‡ as distinct from a mountain tract, which is styled 'Ghara'h.' The Sama'h comprises the whole territory lying between the district of 'Ash-Naghar and the Abáe-Sín, from west to east, and the mountains bounding Suwád and Buner and the river of Kábul, here called the Landaey Sín, from north to south. It is in consequence about fifty kuroh in length and nearly thirty in breadth.§

"It contains several dara'hs, and is in many places very rugged, with numerous ascents and descents. In ancient times it was peopled by a race known in these parts by the name of Gújars, who are now merely the servants and vassals of the Mandaṛs; and, in this whole tract of country previously held by them, there is not a single Gújar who owns a bíga'h of land."

Jalál-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, Akbar Bádsháh, caused several fortresses to be constructed in that part of the Sama'h nearest the Abáe-Sín, in order to overawe the Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ Afgháns, namely, Langar-Koṭ, Ghálaey or Ághalaey-Ḍer, Koṭ Kapúra'h or Gaṛhí Kapúra'h, Úhandh, and some others of minor importance, and stationed a large force in those strongholds. The four forts just mentioned are all

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"on the north, Aṭak Banáras on the south, and Suwád on the west. There are two roads into it from Hindústán, "the Sher-khánah defile and the Malandarí Kotal. Although both are difficult to cross, the first is the most "so." *See* page 257 for an account of the disaster Akbar Bádsháh's forces sustained in the latter pass.

* *See* page 249. This is quite contrary to our maps.

† They are not "a great division of the Yúsafzai *clan*:" they form a distinct tribe.

‡ No one in the least degree acquainted with the Push'to or Afghán language would write this word "*Sámá*," which, certainly, is neither the Pus'hto for plain, nor anything else in the language. The word is سمه—Sama'h—*without any long vowel in it.* Although Sama'h means "plain," as well as "an open tract of "country," this tract is, by no means, "*a perfect flat*," as some would lead us to believe, and as actual survey has proved.

§ Because this tract of county is almost exclusively peopled by the Mandaṛs and some other non-Yúsufzí tribes, English writers style it "Yoosoofzai," Yúsafzai, and Yúsúfzai, but it might, more appropriately, have been styled "Mandaristan" to agree with such newly coined words as "Vaziristan," "Kakaristan," or even "Yághistán," as one would be equally as intelligible to the people as the others.

"Yághistán" appears to be a very extensive tract, according to Colonel C. M. MacGregor. It seems that any tract of county independent of the British Government is "*Yágistán, the country of the insubordinate, and* "*so* (*i. é.*, the name) *is peculiarly applicable to the tribes on our border, for all of them, from the Úshtaránas* "(Ushtaránís, possibly?) *on the south to the Chagharzais* (Chagharzís?) *on the north.*"

"Country of the insubordinate" is scarcely a happy term, to say the least of it, to apply to all parts not subject to British rule, and whose people, never having been British subjects, have never been in the position to rebel. If all independent people, and such as love their independence quite as dearly as Englishmen love theirs, are "*yághí*," there are a vast number of insubordinate rebels in Asia and other parts of the world. The mere fact of a people "*never having obeyed any one*" does not constitute them rebels.

I may also mention that when natives of these parts refer to a tract of country, or a race or tribe of people, as *bághí*—an 'Arabic word which Hindústánís have *corrupted* into *yághí*—they mean that it is not under the sway of any sovereign prince, but independent, not that the people are insubordinate or rebellious.

within short distances of each other (*see* pages 247 and 256); and, at the present time,* Ághalaey-Ḍer or Ghálaey-Ḍer is in ruins and desolate, but the other three are in the possession of the Mandaṛs.

The three principal darah's of this tract are Langar-Koṭ, Chamla'h, and Manera'í.

I. *The Dara'h of Langar-Koṭ.*

"This dara'h extends from Torú to Mír Sháhí, a distance of about thirty kuroh from west to east, and is about eight kuroh in breadth. The chief place and seat of authority is Langar-Koṭ, which is a strong fortification; and within it is a lofty *manár*, or tower, which can be seen from a great distance, and two old pieces of cannon of large size.†

"East of the fort is a small river of never failing water, which issues from the mountain range to the north, from the minor Dara'hs of Mír-Sháhí and the Sher Dara'h, flows through the small Darah of Súdam or Sudam, and, having flowed south of the fort for a distance of about three kuroh, enters—or rather helps to form—the *kol-áb*, or lake, known as the Jo-eyṛ‡ of Langar-Koṭ, a well known collection of water, some six or seven kuroh in circumference. The Rajaṛ or Radzaṛ clan of the Mandaṛs cultivate rice and sugar-cane round its shores."§

II. *The Dara'h of Chamla'h.*

"This dara'h is about seventeen kuroh in length, from south-west to north-east, and from three to four kuroh in breadth. Its chief place is Koga'h. The stream rising in the hills at its south-east extremity, and its minor tributaries, flow to the north-east, into the tracts occupied by some of the 'Ísazí Yúsufzí tribe (of Buner), unite with the Daulatzí river and its tributaries, and the united streams, under the name of Baranḍú, fall into the Abáe-Sín.

III. *The Dara'h of Manera'í.*

"Manera'í is also a dara'h of considerable size, extending for over twenty kuroh in length from south-west to north-east, and from three to five kuroh in breadth. The streams draining into it flow towards the south, and reach the Abáe-Sín below Úhanḍh. Najíb Khán, mentioned farther on,‖ and other Mandaṛs, who became famous in Hindústán, were natives of this dara'h. The largest village in it is also called Manera'í."¶

The Gagyání Tribe of Afgháns.

The Gagyání tribe** is descended from Muk, the third son of Khas'haey, and, as the immediate descendants of his two sons, Hotak and Dzírak, were not numerous, nor their direct progenitors at all famous, they were called Mukah Khel, after their grandfather. Muk had a daughter, however, named Gága'í or Gaga'í, whom he gave in marriage to a trusty servitor, his shepherd some say, Dzírak by name (but here one of his master's sons has evidently been mistaken for him), and by him she became the mother of three sons, but some say two. As the father was of inferior degree, her descendants are known, after their mother, by the name of Gagyání. In consequence of this inferior position of their father and progenitor, the other Khas'hís looked down upon them somewhat, but, as to their descent from Khas'hí, there is no more doubt than of the descent of Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, or any other tribe.

According to another tradition, Mukaey, son of Khas'haey,†† sallied out with his brothers to plunder a caravan which had halted for the night near their place of dwelling, but, fearing an attack, the caravan had decamped, leaving behind, in the

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* That is, when the author wrote.

† *See* pages 247 and 248.

‡ This word is also written Júhaṛ. *See* pages 120 and 175.

§ *See* pages 247, 249, and 257.

‖ *See* note §, page 254.

¶ Now known as Manera'í-i-Pá'ín, or Lower Manera'í. It contains over 2,000 inhabitants.

** But not "Gagiáni."

†† Khas'haey or Khak'haey, the name of the progenitor, also signifies, in Pus'hto, a male of the sept. A female would be styled a Khas'ha'í or Khak'ha'í, while two or more persons would be styled collectively, Khas'hí or Khak'hí, as well as the whole race. The same rule applies to the names of all Afghán tribes terminating in ی—aey—in the singular, and also with regard to "zaey," as before mentioned.

hurry, a male infant. This the brothers found; and, as Mukaey's wife, up to this time, had borne him no children, he adopted the boy. After this his wife bore him two sons, whose descendants are known as the Mukah Khel. When his adopted son grew up, he married Gága'í or Gaga'í, daughter of Túr, the Tarín, and by her had two sons, Hotak and Dzírak, whose descendants were called after the mother's name, the father's descent being uncertain. The first-named son had five, sons and the latter two, and from them the different clans or sections of the Gagyánís are descended.*

"At the time these surveys were made, the Gagyání tribe amounted to about eight thousand families, and they had to furnish a contingent to the Durrání army. Their territory is the Do-Ábah of Shab Kadr, which, although small in extent, is exceedingly fruitful, and yields a large revenue. They have cut canals both from the river of Kábul and the Jinda'h river, and brought the waters to their lands."

The Muhammadzí Tribe of Afghans.

"This is a large Afghán tribe said to number about twenty thousand families. They are descended from Muhammad, son of Zamand, son of Kharshabún, son of Sarabarn. Kand, brother of Zamand, was the father of Khas'haey and Ghwaraey, the progenitors of the Khas'hís and their rival sept, the Ghwarís or Ghwaríah Khel. The Muhammadzís quarrelled with their brethren, and joined the Khas'hís while they were dwelling within the boundaries of the province of Kábul. Their subsequent movements will be mentioned presently in the account of the Khalíls and Dá'údzís.

The Chiefs or Sardárs of this tribe, surrounded with much state and dignity, were leaders of the troops, and favourites of Ahmad Sháh, Durrání. They used to enjoy the revenue of their own districts in fief, and likewise used to receive large salaries from the Bádsháh. At this present time (when the author wrote), Ghulám Mahay-ud-Dín Khán, son of Faiz-Talab Khán, son of Samad Khán, in the same manner in which his father and grandfather did before him, exercises authority over his own district, and is one of the great nobles of the Court of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání. The Muhammadzí tribe dwell in villages, on the east bank of the Jinda'h river. They have to furnish a contingent of troops to the Bádsháh's army. It is said that the original name of the district in which they dwell was 'Ash-Naghar, but that, subsequently, through containing the eight towns of Noh-S'hahra'h, Utmánzí, Chhár-Sada'h, Hisár, Práng, 'Umarzí,† Sher-pá or Sher-páo, and Tangaey, and from constant use, the name became changed to Hasht-Nagar—the Eight Towns‡—and by this name it is now generally known.

"It is a fruitful and productive district, and from Noh-S'hahra'h to Tangaey is more than thirty kuroh in length, and from the banks of the Jinda'h river, from west to east, about six or seven kuroh in breadth. The Muhammadzís have cut canals from the river, and conveyed its waters into their lands for irrigation purposes. On *lalmí* lands a tenth is assessed, and on *rúdí* as much as one third, the highest assessment yet noticed in these parts; and the district, altogether, yields three *lakhs* of rúpís. The chief towns are Práng and Hisár."§

The Jzadún Tribe of Afgháns.

The descent of the Jzadún Afgháns, called Gadúns by the tribes about Pes'háwar, who change the original letter *jz* into *g*, is well known to those acquainted with the genealogy of the Pus'htánah or Afghán nation, and who do not seek to produce them out of Hindús. They are not "Yúsafzáes like those around them," truly, and certainly they are not "a branch of the Kákar tribe."

They are descended from Jzadún, son of Parnaey, and brother of Kákar, the two latter being sons of Dánaey, son of Ghúrghusht, son of Kais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd, entitled

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* I notice in some of the statistics of the Do-Ábah district, furnished in the "Settlement Returns," that, in classing the tribes inhabiting it, there are "Pathans," "Moghals," "Dalazaks," "Mohmands," "Gagianis," etc. This is a strange inconsistency, for it would lead the unwary to imagine that what are here termed "Mohmands," "Gagianis," and "Dalazaks," are not "Pathans," while others assure us that they are, and, moreover, that they are not Afgháns. Perhaps they are "Aparytæ" or "Sattagydæ," according to the newest theory; what they may be six months hence who shall say? "Saggids," perhaps.

† Utmánzí, Chhár-Sada'h, Práng, and 'Umarzí, are the names of as many subdivisions of the Muhammadzí tribe.

‡ One word Tájzík and the other Sanskrit.

§ Chhár-Sada'h, at the present time, is, next to Práng, the most populous, the former containing over 6,500, and the latter nearly 8,250 inhabitants. The name of Hisár appears now to be almost unknown. Práng and Chhár-Sada'h lie close together, and might be accounted one town.

"the Paṭán." As has been already stated (at page 9) the descendants of Parnaey, who were very numerous, are said to have been ousted from their lands about Sánga'h Mandáhí, in Síwístán, became dispersed, and moved northwards at a comparatively early date. It is also clear that they became greatly scattered, and that but few continued to dwell in their early seats, a vast number having migrated into India, where many are still to be found, even in the southern parts of the peninsula. But we need not go quite so far south to find a number of them. Besides the Jzadún Parnís west of the Indus, there are no less than six or seven thousand Parní families at this present time still located in what we call the "Hazárah District," peopling some eighteen or twenty villages. Their chief town was Najíb-Ullah Gaṛh, but great changes have taken place in these parts, now included in the Hazárah District, since the annexation of the Panj-áb, in 1849. The Sáfí Afgháns are descended from another of Parnaey's sons, who bore the former name, and Sáfaey was therefore a brother of the progenitors of the Jzadúns.

The latter appear to have been located near the southern slopes of the Spín Ghar range, west of Irí-áb, about the time the Khas'hís, after having been obliged to vacate their old seats through the hostility of the Ghwarís, moved northwards towards Kábul; and, while the Khas'hís were dwelling within the limits of the Kábul province, on the northern side of the range of Spín Ghar, the Muḥammadzís joined the Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ tribes of that sept, and continued with them as an associated and allied tribe during their subsequent vicissitudes.

When Malik Aḥmad and other chiefs of the Khas'hí tribes made a distribution of the conquered territories, after the defeat of the Dilazáks near Káṭlang (*see* page 224), and they had been driven out of the Sama'h, as will be presently mentioned, they assigned to the Jzadúns their present lands, in the eastern part of the Sama'h, near the Abáe-Sín, and there they still dwell. During the course of some four centuries since the period in question, considerable changes have taken place in these parts, but not so many as might have been expected with reference to the Afghán tribes of this locality, but the Jzadúns have, since that period, pushed across the Abáe-Sín, and hold lands on the east, in the Kohistán of Dharam-ṭaur, and are said to number near upon ten thousand families. They will be subsequently referred to in the account of that district or territory.

The Jzadúns are divided into three sub-tribes, which again contain minor sections which need not be enumerated here.*

The Utmán Khel Tribe of Afgháns.

"The Utmán Khel Afgháns, who are said to number from seventeen to eighteen thousand families, are Karlárnís,† that is to say, they are descended from Karlárnaey, "son of Honaey, son of Sharkabún, son of Saṛabarn. Some consider Honaey to be of "Sayyid descent, and son of the famous Muḥammadan saint, the Sayyid, Muḥammad "-i-Gesú-Daráz, or 'of the long locks,' whose tomb and shrine is at Gulbargah in the "Dakhan, and that the mother of Honaey was Karlárnaey's sister."‡ Be this as it may, the descendants of Karlárnaey are acknowledged to be Afgháns by all who pretend to know ought respecting the genealogy of the nation, and by the Afgháns themselves, who are acquainted with the subject. Several Sayyids took up their abode among the Afgháns in early times, became their spiritual guides, and were adopted by Afghán men of note among their people. They took Afghán wives,§ and their descendants are likewise accounted Afgháns.

"Karlárnaey was adopted by his maternal uncle, who was childless, 'Amr-Dín, *alias* Aor-maṛ or Wur-maṛ, as he is also called, son of Sharkabún, son of Saṛabarn.

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* Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.S.I., in his "Gazetteer," Vol. I., page 603, says that "the Jadúns, who "occupy the Orash plain" (a part of the present Hazárah district he refers to) "*are not Afgháns*," but in this I must beg to differ entirely from him. In another place, at page 16 of Vol. II., he says, "They are Patháns, "but are not Yúsafzais, like those around them" (in which I quite agree). "By some they are supposed to "be a branch of the Kákar tribe. . . . . They are settled along the banks of the Dorh, in the Hazára "district as far as the Urash (*sic*) plain."

† The origin of the Utmán Khel tribe is very well known to those acquainted with Afghán genealogies, whether they dwell in Aṛhang Baṛhang or in the district of the Lúndaey Khwaṛ; and they also know that they are neither a branch of the Afrídís, nor a branch of the Khaṭaks. *See* next page.

‡ Muḥammad-i-Gesú-Daráz married two other Afghán wives, one a Kákaṛ, from whom sprang the Mashwárnís; the other a Shíráni, from whom the Úshtaránís are descended. The Sayyid was a native of Úsh, near Baghdád.

§ I shall give an account of them in my history.

Karlárnaey married Aor-maṛ's daughter, and had two sons, Kodaey and Kakaey. The former had seven sons, Dilazák and Utmán (originally 'Usmán) by one mother, and Wurak, Mánaey, Lukmán, *alias* Khaṭak, Mangalaey, and Khogaey. All these seven sons were the progenitors of as many tribes, namely, Dilazák, Utmán-Khel, Wurakzí, Khaṭak, Mangalí, from whom are descended the sub-tribes of Mughbal,* Jzandrán or Jzadrárn,† and Bahádurzí (mentioned previously at page 83), Khogíání, and Afrídí, from Faríd, son of Mánaey, whose son's name has eclipsed his father's.‡

When the Khas'hís, in their wanderings, were on their way towards the province of Kábul, and near its boundaries, they were joined by the Utmán-Khel, who were also on the move northwards from the banks of the Gúmal river. They attached themselves to the Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ tribes, and continued with them ever after to this day.

After the overthrow of the Dilazáks, at which time they lost all their possessions north of the river of Kábul or Landaey Sín, the conquered territories were distributed among their people, and the allied tribes, by the Chief of the Mandaṛs and Yúsufzís, the celebrated Malik Aḥmad,§ himself of the Mandaṛ tribe, and other Chiefs, under the superintendence of Shaikh Malí, who was the Khán Mullá, or Chief Priest of the Khas'hí sept, and minister, so to say, of Malik Aḥmad; and the tracts previously acquired were also re-distributed. At this time, the whole territory extending from Náwa'h-ga'í to the Abác-Sín, and great part of Suwád on the north, to the banks of the river of Kábul on the south, was in their possession. In this re-distribution, the Utmán-Khel, a tribe which had been previously located in the Lúndaey Khwaṛ valley, and where a few still remain even to this day, obtained the lands about Ṭúṭí and Aṛhang Baṛhang, and the difficult mountain tracts lying on either side of the river of Suwád below its junction with the river of Panj-Korah and its tributaries, and before it leaves the hills and enters the Do-Ábah.‖ There they still dwell, but since that period they have acquired additional territory farther west, about the Dara'h of Mihr,¶ which, on this re-distribution, was assigned to the Gagyánís, in addition to the Do-Ábah and 'Anbar, or Anbhár as it is also called, with the dependent villages. Pṛáng-gaṛ, at the foot of the hills, about five kuroh to the north-east of the village of Abází, is their chief village. They consist of five sub-tribes, which are again divided into several clans or sections.

The section of the tribe which remained in the upper part of the Lúndaey Khwaṛ** Dára'h or valley, is divided into three clans, which are again subdivided into smaller sections or khels. Their villages are Kúha'í, Ghází Bálá, Sangáwo, Barmawul, and others. The Utmán Khel tribe is wholly independent, and pays allegiance to no one.

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* These are the "Mongols" of the newspapers and telegrams, and the "Makbals" and "Mangals" of some recent writers. *See* page 78.

† It is perfectly well known what language they speak. Being Afgháns they speak Pus'hto, or at least they did when I last conversed with some of them.

‡ Khush-ḥál Khán says that the Dilazáks and Wurakzís are descended from two sons of Kodaey, and that the others are descended from Kakaey, the other son of Karlárnaey. It is, however, distinctly said by others that Dilazák and Utmán were *the sons of one mother*. He also styles the Utmán Khel, Karlárnís, and, being a Karlárnaey himself, was not ignorant on the point.

§ He was the brother's son of Malik Sulímán Sháh, who was a lineal descendant of Radzaṛ, son of Mandaṛ, and not nephew of "*one Sultan Shah.*" The descendants of Malik Aḥmad are known as the Malik-zís.

‖ Afzal Khán, Khaṭak, says, "It is stated that, in Pír-i-Ros'hán's day, the Utmán Khel tribe was in Tí-"ráh, and that, on enmity arising between them and the Afrídís, they left Tí-ráh and went and took up their "quarters in Aṛhang Baṛhang of Bájawṛ." This may refer to a small portion of them, but the bulk of the tribe was, without doubt, along with the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, as previously shown; and they greatly distinguished themselves in the battle between the Khas'hís and the Dilazáks, near the Guzar Rúd, mentioned at page 224.

¶ *See* page 124.

** This district is properly called the Lúnd Khwaṛ or Lúndaey Khwaṛ. *See* note †, page 244, para. 11.

In Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Gazetteer," Vol. II., page 285, I notice that the writers he quotes apply, apparently, the names of "Lún-khor" to the water-course, but the valley itself and its chief village, which derive their name from the water-course, he calls "Lunkhor," while at page 305 of Vol. III., he says it is called "Lúnkwar." Khwaṛ has a meaning in Pus'hto, but neither "*khor*" nor "*kwar.*"

The Lúnd Khwaṛ district is now included in our territory; hence that portion of the tribe has become subject to the British Government. Sangáwo was the first village attacked by Colonel J. Bradshaw's force in December, 1849. The composition of this force is not quite correctly given by Colonel MacGregor. It was composed of one troop, not two, of Bengal Horse Artillery, Quin's regiment of Bengal Irregular Cavalry, 200 of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, 300 of Her Majesty's 61st Foot, the 3rd Regiment Bombay Native Infantry (my old corps), some Bombay Sappers, and Coke's regiment of Panj-áb Irregulars, newly raised. Some of the Guide Corps, about 200, were also present.

The Dilazák Tribe of Afgháns.

The Dilazáks,* as to whose descent there is no more doubt than respecting any other Afghán tribe, are Karlárnís, the progenitor of their tribe being one of the sons of Karlárnaey, the names of whom I have just previously mentioned. They are divided into two great divisions. descended from Dilazák's two sons, Ya'kúb and Loraey. The descendants of the former are again subdivided into eight clans or sections, and the latter into four, and these again contain smaller subdivisions, which need not be enumerated here.

There are but a few hundreds now in the Pes'háwar district, dwelling among the Dá'údzís, and these are often erroneously supposed to form a portion of that tribe,† and there are a number of dwellings inhabited by them in the village of Khar-kaey, a little to the west of Dar-gaey, on the road into Suwáṭ by the Mala'h-khanḍ Ghás'haey or Pass. I have already referred to their having taken up their residence in the two Hazára'hs east of the Abáe-Sín or Indus, and subsequent dispersion, at page 39.

The affairs of the Dilazáks, and the other tribes at present inhabiting the Pes'háwar district, are so intermixed with those of the Khas'hís that it is difficult to separate them. Therefore, to make the matter clearer, I will first give a brief account of the three Ghwaríah Khel tribes, namely, the Khalíls, Mahmands, and Dá'údzís, and then a short summary of the principal events in the history of the whole of them.

The Khalíl Tribe.

This tribe, with the Mahmand, Dá'údzí, Chamkaní, and Zeṛání tribes, forms the Ghwarí sept, or Ghwaríah Khel,‡, not Gharí, as some persons imagine, and are located between the city of Pes'háwar and the Khaibar defile. They have the Dá'údzís on the north, and a portion of the Mahmand tribe on the south.

"The Khalíls number just ten thousand families, and are divided into two divisions, the descendants of Khalíl's two sons, Báṛá, or Báṛo as he is sometimes called, and Shaikh 'Umr, each of which divisions contain three clans or subdivisions which are again subdivided into smaller ramifications."

The Pes'háwar Section of the Mahmand§ Tribe.

"Although a section only of the tribe, they are numerous, and number about eleven thousand families, and are divided into several smaller sections. Their lands lie south of the Khalíls, and extend as far west as the Báṛa'h river, and south as far as the lands of the Basí Khel section of Aká Khel clan of the Afrídí Afgháns.

"It is not clearly known when they separated from the others, and no one pretends to know, but it was long subsequent to the period, the events of which I am about to relate."¶

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* The name of this tribe is written and pronounced by themselves and other Afgháns "Dilazák," not "Dalazák." There are no tribes in Afghánistán called "Karání." This word is merely that which a person who could not pronounce a Pus'hto word properly would pronounce Karlární.

† In a Report on the Statistics of "Dáudzái" by Captain Hastings, Settlement Officer, under the head of "Sections" of the Dá'údzí tribe, are three Dilazák villages, named respectively Dilazák, Ṣáḥibí, and Gaṛí Múmin, not Mohmin. That they should be accounted "Dáudzáis" is not surprising when we find in the same "Report," inhabitants returned as "Patháns" as though Dá'udzís were not Paṭáns or Afgháns.

Jahán-gír Bádsháh—who calls the Dilazáks, Afgháns, like his great-grandfather, Bábar Bádsháh, and his father's minister, Abú-l-Faẓl, before him, as well as other undoubted authorities—caused the Dilazáks to be removed from the two Hazárahs, together with the Kahṭars, a non-Afghán tribe. He set out for the Panj-áb in 1015 H., and in the first month of the following year, Muḥarram, 1016 H., (1607–8, A.D.), when about to proceed to Kábul, he made Ẓafar Khán, son of the late Zain Khán, the Kokal-Tásh, governor of Aṭak and its district, and gave him directions to have the Dilazáks and Kahṭars, on account of their depredations, removed near to Láhor, and to have their removal effected before his return from Kábul. This command was carried out; and some 100,000 families are said to have been removed on this occasion.

Mr. J. Dowson, the editor of Elliot's "Historians of India," assures us, in a note to page 312 of Vol. VI., "that there are now no Dilazáks here. There are some Hazára, who call themselves Turks." He will find however, there are many, and that they hold no less than twenty-one *mauza'* in this part alone, and that their chief place, Ṣáliḥ Saráe, is a considerable town, and he will also find that they do not "call themselves Turks." The Turks also hold the same number of villages with the lands dependent on them.

‡ *See* pages 23, 25, and 225.

§ There is no و in the word: consequently, "Mohmand" is not correct, but there is a ه in the word, and therefore "Momand" is not correct either.

¶ I think I can throw some light on this. The mother of three of the nine progenitors of the nine divisions of the Mahmand tribe, the sons of Mahmand, son of Ibrahim, *alias* Ghwaraey, is said to have been the daughter of the celebrated Shaikh, Mulhí Katál, of the Sarwární tribe of Afgháns, few of which dwell in Afghánistán, great numbers of the tribe having migrated to Hindústán in former times. These three sons were named

"A blood feud was the probable cause; and it is in consequence of such a feud that enmity exists between the Báí-'zí and Tragzí sections previously mentioned in the general notice of the tribe at page 121."

THE DÁ'ÚDZÍ TRIBE.

"This tribe is not very numerous, consisting of about nine thousand families. The Dá'údzís are subdivided into four sub-tribes descended from as many sons of Dá'úd, namely, Mámú, Yúsuf, Amnaey, and Mandakaey. These again are subdivided into smaller sections, but the descendants of Yúsuf, not being very numerous or powerful, are not styled by a separate name, and are merely known as Dá'údzís; indeed some persons, not aware of the circumstances, consider the tribe to consist of three sub-tribes only.

"They dwell chiefly in the tract lying between the two branches of the river of Kábul. On that river emerging from the mountains of Khaibar, and entering the plain of Bagrám or Pes'háwar, it bends a little to the northward, and separates into two branches. The northern branch, which contains the smallest volume of water, bends for a short distance in a northerly direction, and then flows west for some miles, and, subsequently, tends more towards the south, in the direction of Prang, and joins the Jinda'h, as the united rivers of Báshkár, Panj-Korah, Bájawr, and Suwád are called on entering the Do-Ábah. The southern or main branch of the river of Kábul, which contains the greatest volume of water, flows, without making so great a bend, in the direction of east, inclining south; and north of the village of Shaikh Ismá'íl, at the Do-bandey ferry opposite Nasata'h, unites with the Jinda'h, and the two receive the name of Landaey Sín—Little or Lesser Sind—which name it retains until it unites with the Abáe-Sín above Aṭak.

"The level tract lying between these two branches of the river of Kábul extends in length from east to west for a distance of about twelve kuroh, with a breadth of between four and five. This is very fruitful and productive, and is the dwelling place of the Dá'údzís, along with whom a few Dilazáks still dwell."

When the Dá'údzís first emerged from the western mountains, before the arrival in those parts of the Khalíls, they dwelt in the Sama'h, on lands assigned them by Khán Kájú, to whom they applied, as will be presently related.

It has been already stated at page 125 that the enmity of the Ghwaríah Khel caused the Khas'hís to abandon their old seats about Ghára'h and Nushkí,* but, subsequently, in consequence of the inroads of the Úzbaks, and the breaking up of the Tímúríah dynasty of Khurásán, the Ghwaríah Khel had to move likewise from around Mukur and Kará-Bágh, and proceed northwards in search of "scenes and pastures new."

To clearly understand their subsequent movements it must be mentioned that, at the time the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs were expelled from the province of Kábul, after the massacre of their Chief and notables, the Dilazák Afgháns were exceedingly numerous and powerful. They were the first Afghán tribe that entered the district of Bagrám, or the Pes'háwar valley. The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, states distinctly that they first came into Nangrahár, or Nek-Anhár, from the west or south-west, and subsequently passed on to the eastward. This was previous to the time of Amír Tímúr, the Gurgán. Having entered the Pes'háwar valley, they entered into alliance with the Shalmánís, who had also been obliged to leave their former seats in Karmán and Shalúzán at some previous period,† and who were then subjects of the Sulṭán of Suwád, after which they reduced some of the tribes inhabiting it under subjection, treated them well, and made them their allies; others they reduced to vassalage; some they drove

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Mihyár, Músá, and Kúkú; and two sections of the Mahmands of the plain, the Mihyárzís and Músázís, are, evidently, the descendants of the two first, and the rest of these Mahmands of the sons or grandsons of Kúkú. *See* page 121.

At the period when Khán Kajú overthrew the Ghwaríah Khel, some of the Pes'háwar Mahmands, if not all, were of the Adozí section of the tribe.

* The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, gives a somewhat different account, and says that a feud arose between the Khas'hís and the Tarín tribe, and that the Khas'hís, in consequence, left their old seats near the Taríns on the Arghasán river, and applied to the Gharís or Ghwaríah Khel for lands. They assigned them some waste lands which they did not cultivate themselves, but subsequently deprived the Khas'hís of them by force of arms, and ejected them from thence. The Khas'hí historian's account is as above, and, in the Ákhúnd's "Tazkirát-ul-Abrár," there is not a word about such a place as "Kárún Tangí" or "Karonaiki," nor is there in the "Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa'" of Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, both of which are mere misreadings of Ghára'h and Nushkí. In my proposed "History of the Afgháns" I shall be able to enter into greater detail on these matters.

† The Shalmánís have a few small villages in the hills around the Koh-i-Tahtarah, and their occupation chiefly is to navigate rafts between Jalál-ábád and the Pes'háwar valley. *See* note §, page 176.

out; and some they exterminated. Some of the tribes immediately east of the Indus, inhabiting the upper and mountainous parts of the Sind-Ságar Do-Ábah, are undoubtedly referred to here; and there was really no other direction in which they could then fly and be safe from molestation. Moreover, the state of that Do-Ábah was favourable to their taking refuge therein, as well as its natural strength. The constant raids made upon the frontiers of the Dihlí kingdom, which, previous to the irruption of the Mughals under the Chingiz Khán, and the defeat of the gallant Sulṭán, Jalál-ud-Dín, Khwárazm Sháh, had extended as far west as the Jihlam in that direction, while the Khwárazmí Sulṭán's territory extended to its east bank, had produced their natural results. The Sind-Ságar Do-Ábah, especially its upper parts, had been the scene of constant warfare, as well as the Do-Ábahs between it and Láhor, and ruin, depopulation, and desolation were the upshot. At last, the frontier of the Dihlí kingdom, towards the close of the reign of Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh, namely, in the year 657 H. (1259 A.D.), extended no farther west than the Bíáh when it flowed into its old bed, and before the "Lost River of the Indian Desert"* deserted its ancient channel. The upper part of the Sind-Ságar Do-Ábah continued for a considerable period in the possession of the Mughals of the family of the Chingiz Khán, and subsequently came under the sway of the Mughal Princes of the house of Tímúr. It was partially brought under the sway of the rulers of Hindústán in the time of the Afghán Sulṭáns of the tribe of Lúdí, and their successors of the clan of Súr; but it was not until Akbar Bádsháh had filled the throne of Hindústán for some years that the Sind-Ságar Do-Ábah was completely restored to his empire.

The state of this part was, therefore, favourable for those tribes settling therein, for, as I have said before, they could not go anywhere else, unless they bent their steps north, for tribe after tribe of the Afgháns were pressing forward, from the west and south-west, towards the Indus.

But there is another proof—were any wanting—that the Dilazáks came into Pes'h-áwar from the westward, and that they possessed territory much farther west than the Khaibar and Nek-Anhár, for in Bábar's "Tuzúk" it is mentioned that the Dilazáks were possessed of Wálá-Sá'ú, or Álah-Sá'í;† and in the assessment recorded in Akbar's reign, they still held territory in that Dara'h, which is now in the possession of the Sáfí Afgháns, paid 6,00,000 *dáms* in cash into the treasury of Kábul, and were rated as having to furnish 50 cavalry and 5,000 foot soldiers for militia purposes.

When the fugitive Khas'hís appealed to the Dilazáks for aid, they also held the eastern parts of Bájawṛ, as I have already related at page 123; and their territory extended from the Jinda'h river to the Kálá-Parṉí and the mountains of Suwát. With the exception of the 'Ash-Naghar district, which belonged to their allies, the Shalmánís, it included all the tract of country from Bájawṛ to the Indus, north of the river of Kábul, and all south of it as far as the hills now held by the Afrídí tribe, from Ḍhákah to Aṭak.

The Do-Ábah was assigned to the fugitives, but a portion of their tribes and allies had remained behind when they first obtained it. They soon began to follow the others on becoming aware that they had got a place to dwell in. Not finding the Do-Ábah sufficient for all, the Khas'hís began to appropriate part of Bájawṛ, with the consent of the majority of the Dilazák chiefs, as previously related.‡ Soon after, they possessed themselves of the greater part of it, as far west as Náwa'h-ga'í and Hindú-Ráj, and began to cast longing eyes upon 'Ash-Naghar. They soon expelled the Shalmánís from thence, and shortly after began to make inroads into Suwát.

The Muḥammadzí tribe, which had joined the Yúsufzís, but were neither Khas'hís nor Gharís, were like other tribes at that time, without a settled country. While the Khas'hís dwelt in the Kábul territory they dwelt on the same lands as the Gagyánís.

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* *See* my translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 815. An account of the "Lost River" I hope shortly to see in print.

† *See* page 104.

‡ The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, in his history, says that "the fugitive Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs invited the Dilazák "chiefs to meet them at Safed Sang (a place east of Tahtarah, and within the borders of the Pas'háur "district), and hold a conference. When they came, the former solicited lands from the Dilazáks out of their "territory, but, in the meantime, on very slight provocation, a fight ensued between them, and a number of "Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs fell. On this, they turned back again, and took up their quarters in the hills about "Tahtara'h and Shalmán (*i. e.*, the small tract of table land between Tahtarah and Ḍhákah), but, subsequently, "they made up matters with the Dilazáks, and gained a footing within the Pas'háur boundary; and the "Dilazáks treated them with great generosity and consideration. Some of the greybeards of the Yúsufzís, "however, state, that the fugitives came into the Pas'háur district by the Khaibar route, and were desirous of "obtaining possession of the lands dependent on the Bar-bar Jú-e or rivulet, but this the Shalmánís, who were "on terms of friendship and alliance with the Dilazáks, who *were the first of all the Afghán tribes* that arrived "in those parts (that is to say, east of the Khaibar defile) resisted."

After the expulsion from Kábul, previous to which a battle had been fought between the Gagyánís, who brought the Mughals along with them upon the Yúsufzís and Mandars, and the Gagyánís and their allies had been overthrown at the Ghwara'h Margha'h,* the Yúsufzís and Mandars moved towards Nek-Anhár, or Nangrahár. After a time a quarrel arose between the Mahmands,† who were located near, and these two tribes, and a great battle took place between them at Hisárak (*see* page 96), in which the Khas'hís were victorious, but they, nevertheless, thought fit to leave that part. They left their portion of Nek-Anhár, therefore, in the parts nearest the present Jalál-ábád, to the Muhammadzís, while the Gagyánís, with the exception of that portion of them which had caused all the mischief at Kábul, and were afraid to come, took up their quarters about Báṣaul. The Tarkalárnís had previously taken up their quarters in Lamghán.

The Gagyánís, finding they could not get on where they were, after an ineffectual attempt to gain a footing in Bájawr, and the Tarkalárnís, who had their eyes upon it for themselves, having turned them back, besought Malik Ahmad, and other chiefs and notables of the Yúsufzís and Mandars, as their Khas'hí kinsmen, to help them in their own prosperity and that of their tribes, and assign them lands in which to dwell. Thinking to strengthen the other Khas'hís thereby, Malik Ahmad, with the consent of the tribes, assigned the Do-Ábah to the Gagyánís; and they very soon, family by family, came by the Karappa'h‡ route, and installed themselves in the Do-Ábah district.

The Gagyánís had not been long there before they began to act in accordance with their usual contumacious ways towards the Yúsufzís and Mandars, as well as towards the Dilazáks, with whom they soon picked a quarrel.

In the first month of 925 H (January, 1519 A.D.), when Bábar Bádsháh moved against Bájawr (*see* page 128), and overthrew the Gibarí Sultán, the Gagyánís were then settled in the Do-Ábah,§ but the Tarkalárnís were still dwelling in Lamghán, the Afrídís had only recently settled on the Bára'h river, and the Muhammadzís, and part of the Utmán Khel tribe, were still dwelling in Nek-Anhár or Nangrahár. The Gagyánís, at this time, brought the Bádsháh into the 'Ash-Naghar district, ostensibly to make a raid on the Dilazáks, but it was suspected against the Yúsufzís and Mandars. They had lately, however, agreed to give him the daughter of the Malik, Sháh Manṣúr, the cousin of Malik Ahmed, in marriage, and had propitiated him.||

The raid on the Dilazáks of the Sama'h was of little effect, and soon came to an abrupt end, for one of the greatest of the Gagyání chiefs having been killed in a brawl between two divisions of the Gagyání tribe, while encamped with them, Bábar, suspecting treachery, hastily broke up his camp, and left them to help themselves. The conduct of the Gagyánís was altogether so bad, that the other Khas'hís were rather inclined to side with the Dilazáks against them, and Malik Ahmad and other chiefs forbade their people to interfere between the Dilazáks and them. Some did interfere, how-

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I mention these two traditions here merely to show that the statements of the Ákhúnd are substantially correct, although he has made some confusion in the order of events. The first account is a somewhat distorted one of the affairs which happened in Bájawr with the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks, narrated at page 123.

Captain F. C. Plowden, in a note to his translation of a small portion of the "Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa'," which is contained in my "Gulshan-i-Roh," says: "Bellew, in his work on Yúsufzai (*sic*), apparently reads this as "a misprint in the original manuscript for Bar-Bára, or Upper Bára. It was possibly a water-cut on the "upper course of the river Bára, which rises in the Afrídi country, and flows south of the Khaibar Pass "into the river of Kábal (Kábul ?). It enters British territory at Shekhan."

All this is erroneous. In the first place, there is no misprint, for both in the manuscripts of the "Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa'," and in the "Tazkirát-ul-Abrár" of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, the word is بربر Bar-bar; and in the second place, the Bar-bar Jú-e or rivulet is described, in the Yúsufzí History I have been quoting, as running on the opposite side of the Mícharna'í gorge, that is, opposite that place. The vast changes in the channels of the river of Kábul, even within the last eighty or ninety years, as shown in the routes given in the text above, do not appear to have been taken into consideration.

There is also a Bar-bar gorge, and above it, at a place where the Ziárat, or Shrine of 'Alí, was situated in those days, and, in all probability, still there, a skirmish took place between the Khas'hís and the Dilazáks, who crossed over the river of Kábul and drove off the patrol of the Yúsufzís sent to guard the Mícharna'í ferry leading to the Bar-bar gorge. It was near the entrance to this very gorge, which appears to have been known at that period as "Da Gibrío Ghás'haey," the Gibarís' Pass, that Lieutenant A. Bulnois, R. E., was murdered by the Mahmands in January, 1852.

* *See* note *, page 66, Section Second.

† Not the Muhammadzís, or Mahmandzís, as they are also called. The similarity of the names has caused a mistake in the "Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa'." A part of the Mahmands only are referred to, for the whole tribe were not dwelling in the Kábul territory at this time: the remainder still occupied their old seats in the Kandahár territory.

‡ The most correct and oldest mode of writing this name is Kharappa'h, but the Afghāns, as before remarked, drop all aspirates. The same name occurs in Buner. *See* page 249.

§ Bábar Bádsháh, when on his way towards Hindústán, as early as 912 H. (1506–7 A.D.), says, "at this "period the Gagyání Afgháns were in the Pas'háur district," that is, in the Do-Ábah.

|| Bábar Bádsháh's own "Tuzúk" confirms this. *See* also Leyden's and Erskine's Translation.

ever, and their excuse was, that they could not see their own kinsmen assailed without helping them.* The upshot was that the Dilazáks gave the Gagyánís a complete overthrow.†

After this affair, the Dilazáks became exceedingly arrogant, or at least Malik Aḥmad and other chiefs, who now wanted more of their territory, professed to think so; and they determined to go to war with them, under the pretence of undue severity towards the Gagyánís, and their inroads into their own lands adjoining the Dilazáks in the Sama'h, and harrying their cattle.

To carry out his plans successfully, Malik Aḥmad and his advisers determined to bring the whole of the Khas'hí tribes together, and to bring their allied tribes into the field also. All the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs of Suwád, Bájawṛ, 'Ash Naghar, and the Sama'h, assembled, together with their allies, the Utmán Khel, Jzadún, and Muḥammadzí tribes, the last named being promised the district of 'Ash-Naghar for their help, together with portions of Afghán and other tribes, such as K's'hárs, Rahwárnís,‡ Kásís, Rárnís, Shalmánís, Suwádís, and others, the vassals and servants of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs.

A great battle took place between the confederates and the Dilazáks, on the banks of the Guzar Rúd, between the Bagyáṛa'í§ and Káṭlang, where the former were posted, and Sháh-báz Gahṛa'h, from which place the latter advanced to attack them. The Dilazáks were overthrown with great loss, and the remainder fled towards the Abáe-Sín or Indus, being unable to cross the river of Kábul. By this defeat, they lost all their territory north of that river, but they still possessed the territory to the south of it, on the Pes'háwar side; nevertheless, the power of the Dilazáks was irretrievably broken, and soon after began altogether to pass away.

This victory on the part of the confederates, on the other hand, placed the Khas'hís (with the exception of the Tarkalárnís) and their allies in possession of all the country extending from Náwa'h-ga'í, on the west, to the Abáe-Sín, on the east, and as far south as the left or northern bank of the river of Kábul. North, their territory extended into Suwád, in which they had already made some conquests.

The celebrated Khán Kachú or Kajú, who subsequently became supreme chief after Malik Aḥmad's death, and whose father was chief of the Mandaṛs, at the time of this battle was in his early manhood, was also present with his tribe, and with a body of them pursued the retreating Dilazáks as far as the Abáe-Sín. He had sought in marriage the daughter of the chief of the Dilazáks, but the latter declined to accede to the alliance. The chief and his family were on the river's bank, endeavouring to get across, when the Mandaṛs came upon them. Seeing Khán Kajú, he implored him to keep back his men, that the females might be sent across, otherwise they would all throw themselves into it and perish rather than be made captives. His

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* We are informed, on the authority of "a gentleman of Afghán descent," that the Gagyánís are "not "allowed by other Patháns to be of the genuine race." Had he been of the "genuine race," he would probably have known better.

† The Dilazák Afgháns advanced from Pes'háwar to Gul Bela'h in the Do-Ābah to attack the Gagyánís for bringing Bábar Bádsháh against the 'Umr Khels, crossed the Pes'háwar river (*sic* in MS.), and moved to Níma'h Wuṛey, where a battle took place, and the Gagyánís were overthrown. Since this period, considerable changes have taken place in the course of the river of Kábul in this direction, and the Ná-gumán and other channels have been formed.

The statement that the Gagyánís "ousted the Dalazáks from the lands they now occupy," is quite erroneous, as shown in these extracts. The Dilazáks were forced to leave the Pes'háwar territory by the Ghwarís. The Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs assigned their present lands to the Gagyánís years before that event. The Dilazáks were not ousted from the Pes'háwar territory until after Bábar's time, and he says the Gagyánís were settled in the Do-Ābah as early as 910 H. *See* note §, page 223, and page 226.

Bábar says, in his "Tuzúk," that, in 925 H. (1519 A.D.), while in the part in question, the Dilazák Maliks represented to him that there were several clans in the 'Ash-Naghar territory who possessed great quantities of grain. After consulting on the matter, it was arranged that the Afgháns of that part and neighbourhood should be plundered, and the forts at 'Ash-Naghar and Pes'háwar should be put in repair and the grain stored there, and that the Mír, Sháh Ḥusain, with a body of troops, should be left behind for their defence. The expedition was not undertaken after all.

‡ The "origin" of the Rahwárnís is by no means "obscure," although that of the "Rahwánzís" may be. They "claim to be" Afgháns or Paṭáns because they are so. They are descended from Rahwárnaey, one of the thirteen sons of Míanah, son of Sharkabún, son of Saṛaban, son of Paṭán. The Kásís or Kánsís are descended from Kásaey or Kánsaey, a son of Kharshabún, son of Saṛaban. *See* MacGregor, Part I., Vol I., page 143.

§ The Guzar Rúd, which is now rather the dry bed of a river or mountain torrent than a river, comes from the north, and flows east of Torú. Its bed contains several springs, but, like most of these torrent-beds, it is otherwise nearly dry in the summer months, except after falls of rain in the mountains to the north. The Bagyáṛa'í here referred to runs about five kuroh to the westward of Káṭlang, which is situated on either bank of the Lúnd or Lúndaey Khwaṛ. *See* note †, page 244.

These affairs between the Dilazáks and Khas'hís are probably what some persons imagine to be the "numerous conflicts between the descendants of Mandan (as they write Mandaṛ and Mandarn) and the real Yúsáfzáis." I wonder what a *real* Yúsáfzái is? The "numerous conflicts" between Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs are as unknown to Afghán as to other historians.

appeal to the youth was not without effect; and, taking pity on the Dilazák chief, he cried out to his clansmen: "Give over, kinsmen! Let them alone! Do not harm "them, for, after all, *they are Afgháns like ourselves*." *. The chief was thus enabled to get across safely with his family. I need scarcely add, that, not long after, the Dilazák damsel became the bride of Khán Kajú.

After this success Malik Aḥmad and other chiefs took counsel together, for the purpose of making a re-distribution of the territory then held by the Khas'hís, and to include the Sama'h just acquired, and, at Káṭlang, this was done by Shaikh Malí. 'Ash-Naghar was assigned to the Muḥammadzís, who returned into Nek-Anhár in order to bring back their families and belongings. The Gagyánís requested that more territory might be allotted to them, since the Musází division of their tribe had been forgiven by the Yúsufzís, and had now joined them; so, in addition to the Do-Ábah, half of Bájawṛ, from Dánish-Kol to Láshoṛa'h, 'Anbar, Náwa'h-ga'í, and Chhár-Mang,† out of which the Khalíls had been previously driven,‡ was added to their portion. The Utmán Khel, Jzadúns, and others, had also to be provided for, and so they were, as already narrated in the account of the two tribes referred to.§ The Tarkaláṟnís did not furnish any contingent on this occasion, and, consequently, received no share in this distribution. They were still in Lamghán; and a considerable time subsequent, when Khán Kajú overthew the Ghwaríah Khel in the famous battle at Shaikh Tapúr,‖ in which a Tarkaláṟní contingent was present, they came and settled in Bájawṛ.

It was during the chieftainship of Khán Kajú that the Dá'údzís, having, from some cause or other, separated from the rest of the Ghwarís, came into the territory of the Khas'hís, and solicited from him an assignment of lands for their support. The *jirga'h*, or council of the tribes, listened to their request, and assigned them several villages with their lands about the Kálah-Páṟní¶ and Bagyára'í. There they continued to dwell until the Khalíls and Mahmands, then very powerful,** especially the former, who had taken possession of the lands in Nek-Anhár or Nek-Nihár, vacated by the Muḥammadzís, with the aid of Mírzá Kámrán, the rebellious brother of Humáyún Bádsháh, and chief cause of all that monarch's troubles, expelled the Dilazáks from Pes'háwar, and the whole of their possessions west of the Abáe-Sín.

The Khalíls first applied to the latter for lands, but they, having paid so dearly for having provided their landless fellow-countrymen with lands, refused to accede to their request. At this period Mírzá Kámrán held the fief of Kábul and its dependencies. On the death of his father, Bábar Bádsháh, in 937 H (1531 A.D.), Humáyún, his eldest son and successor, confirmed his brother, Mírzá Kámrán, in his fief, but he was never "king of Cabul," as some have presumed to style him; he was only the feudatory, and Humáyún was the sovereign. Kámrán's ambition was boundless, and his unfaithfulness to his brother proverbial, and the object of his life was to work him ill, and supplant him.

The Dilazáks, whom Bábar Bádsháh in his "Tuzúk" always styles "Dilazák Afgháns," had always been good and faithful subjects,†† as the work above mentioned

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* *See* note *, page 35, Section Second. We may safely conclude that, if the Dilazáks had been either "Budhists," "Scythians," "Rájputs," or "Sikhs," Khán Kajú would not have styled them Afgháns. As a proof of the hazy and uncertain ideas entertained respecting the Dilazáks and "Patháns" generally, we have merely to turn to a Settlement Report on the Agroṛ district of Hazárah in the Panj-áb, by Captain Wace, who gives the following list of "Pathán" tribes or clans in it.

"*Pathans*—	"Akazai.	"Utmánzai.	"Lodí.
	Hasanzai.	Gormazai.	Kamálzai.
	Chagharzai.	Yusufzai.	Toghai.
	Mada Khél.	Mamúkhél (*sic*).	Khatak.
	Búnerwál.	Akhúnd Khél (*sic*).	Azíz Khél.
	Bángakh (*sic*).	Khodo Khél.	Dúrání.
	Shalmání.	*Dilazák.*	Miscellaneous, etc. etc."

Here it will be noticed that he puts now the Shalmánís as Afgháns or Paṭáns, which they are not, but he is correct with respect to the Dilazáks.

† *See* page 124.

‡ *See* page 127.

§ *See* pages 218 and 219.

‖ This word is very often written Patúr. The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, writes it Pathúr.

¶ *See* page 244.

** Bábar Bádsháh says, in his "Tuzúk," that "the most powerful of the Hazárahs are the Mas'údís, and the most powerful among the Afgháns, the Mahmands and Khalíls."

†† In a "Report on the Yusufzais," dated as far back as 1864, by Assistant Surgeon (now Surgeon-Major) H. W. Bellew, it is stated, under the head of "History," that *Babur* (Bábar Bádsháh?) entered the "Bajawar" territory, and "*drove the Dilazaks to their capital, a stone fortress on the hills*," and that, "*after a short* "*conflict, the Dilazaks, being terrified at the effects of the till then unknown musketry used by Babur's troops*," the fortress was taken. "Babur" is afterwards said to have "*then marched up the Babakara glen*" (a large glen: the Bábá-Ḳará Dara'h is fifteen kuroh long and four or five kuroh wide), "*where the Dilazaks had collected*

fully bears out, and they were also good subjects of his son and successor. This fact was sufficient to awaken Mírzá Kámrán's hostility towards them. To him then the Khalíls and Mahmands appealed, and he agreed to aid them with his forces. This event, it is evident, must have taken place soon after Humáyún's accession, and at a time when he was too much occupied in other far more momentous matters in Hindústán to be able to aid the Dilazáks by restraining Kámrán. Had it not been for Kámrán's support, it is very probable that the Dilazáks would have successfully resisted the encroachments of the Ghwaríah Khel; as it was, it was only after much severe fighting that the Dilazáks were finally overcome.

Unfortunately, Afghán, like other Oriental writers, often leave out dates altogether, but I am able to fix the approximate date of this event with some degree af certainty. Soon after his accession, Humáyún, who, almost up to the last, was unconvinced of Kámrán's faithlessness, was induced to add the Panj-Áb to his brother's fief. As representative of the suzerain, the Dilazáks, as well as the Ghwaríah Khel, must have been, as tributaries, more or less under his sway. The time chosen seems to have been when Humáyún had enough to do to hold his own, and when the whole empire, even including Kámrán's fief, was disordered, and the bonds of authority utterly relaxed.

It was at such a time as this that the Khalíls plotted with Kámrán to despoil the Dilazáks of their lands; and he naturally desired, in order to carry out his schemes, that Bagrám and its fortress, the present Pes'háwar, should be held by his adherents, and not by loyal subjects of Humáyún. It seems strange, however, that the Dilazáks did not appeal to the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs for help, for they had received aid from the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks, when they, in former years, expelled the Khalíls from Bájawṛ,* and the Khas'hís were sufficiently hostile to the Ghwarís. The probability is that this onslaught on the Dilazáks was sudden, or that the Ghwarís, combined with Kámrán and his Mughals, were too powerful for the Khas'hís at that time. In after years, as I shall presently narrate, the Khas'hís chose a more propitious time for attacking them, and paying off old scores. Under these considerations, I think, the period of the Dilazák expulsion must have been 940 or 941 H. (1533 or 1534 A.D.). In 949 H., Humáyún had to leave his kingdom, and seek aid from the Ṣafawí ruler of Í-rán, and, in the ninth month of 652 H., recovered possession of Kábul from Kámrán; and it was many years before this that the Dilazáks lost their possessions west of the Abáe-Sín. From this time Kámrán had enough to do to take care of himself, and had to fly to his Ghwaríah Khel friends for shelter on more than one occasion. In 957 H. (1550 A.D.), he was completely overthrown in the action near Shutar-Grám,† and fled to them for shelter; and in 958 H., with their aid, he made a night attack upon Humáyún's camp, in which his brother, Mírzá Hindál was killed.‡ In the following year Kámrán was blinded.

The Khalíls and Dá'údzís, and some of the Mahmands, for the majority of the tribe remained behind in the eastern parts of Nek-Anhár, subsequently passed the river of Kábul, and took up their quarters in the parts they at present occupy, on its northern and southern banks. The Khalíls were the most powerful at this period, and very rich. They held all the tract of country from Ḍháka'h to Aṭak, together with the Khaibar and Kaṛappa'h Passes. The Pes'háwar district was very fruitful, and as the royal road lay through it, and all the caravans of traders between India and Kábul stayed for some time at the city of Bagrám, in going to and fro, they levied taxes on them, which produced a considerable revenue, and as they could also guarantee their safety through those passes, which were held by themselves, furnished them with escorts, and made

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" *in force*," and that, "*after the battle*," in which, according to Mr. Bellew, "*the Dilazaks were overthrown*" by "Babur," he "*erected a pillar of their skulls.*"

The writer has fallen into great error here. He appears to have obtained his information from the extract from Afẓal Khán's "Táríkh i-Muraṣṣa'" contained in my volume of Afghán Selections—"The Gulshan-i-Roh"—and not from "Akhûn Darwaiza," because there is no mention of the capture of the fortress of Bájawṛ by Bábar Bádsháh in the Ákhúnd Darwezah's book. Afẓal Khán quotes the Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí, which he renders literally from Persian into Push'to; and the Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí quotes, and gives a faithful transcript from, Bábar Bádsháh's Tuzúk.—*See* also the Translation by Leyden and Erskine.

Mr. Bellew appears to have quite misunderstood the passage in the Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa', for there it is plainly stated that the Dilazák Sardárs were in Bábar's camp, and that the Bádsháh *despatched them* to the Sardár of the Bájawawṛís, the Gibarí Sulṭán, to endeavour to induce him and his people to submit, but without avail. The account I have given at page 128 contains a brief statement of the facts. Consequently, "Babur" never entered into hostilities with the Dilazáks in Bájawṛ; Bájawṛ was never their capital, and never taken from them, but from the Gibarís; neither did "Babur" erect a pillar of the skulls of his faithful and trusted subjects, the Dilazáks, but he did of the heads of some contumacious Gibarís.

* *See* page 125.

† *See* page 59.

‡ Narrated at page 55 of Section Second, which see.

them pay well for them. Their arrogance was excessive, as well as their hostility towards the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs. They plundered a Yúsufzí caravan on its way by the Kaṛappa'h route, and slew two youths, the sons of the Malik of the Abází clan, and carried their raids, across the river of Kábul, into the Sama'h, as far as the skirts of the hills. Notwithstanding all this provocation, the Ghwaríah Khel was so powerful, that Khán Kajú was at first prevented from attacking them as he wished to do, because he was not certain whether the Gagyánís and Muḥammadzís would join him in so doing, and knew that a partial success over them was useless, therefore he had to bide his time until they should come into contact with these two tribes. He had not long to wait. A Malik of the Gagyánís, who was looked upon as a saint almost by his tribe, and greatly venerated by others, when on his way to Pes'háwar from the Do-Ábah, went into a Khalíl *masjid* by the way, and was brutally murdered by them while in the act of saying his prayers. This was enough.

Khán Kajú mustered a large army composed of the whole of the Khas'hís and their allies. The Tarkalárnís even furnished a quota of two hundred cavalry, notwithstanding that they were still dwelling in Lamghán. In the great battle which ensued, on the south bank of the southern branch of the river of Kábul near Shaikh Tapúr,* which is said to be the name of the shrine of some holy man, near the Ḍab or Marsh (*see* page 177), the details of which are far too numerous to be narrated here, the Ghwaríah Khel were completely overthrown, with great slaughter—the brunt of the battle having been borne by the Khalíls—and the latter were pursued, and their lands and villages were plundered, as far as Jamrúd and Shekhán on the Báṛa'h river; and a tent was pitched for Khán Kajú on a mound in the Gor Katley, or Kaṭrey,† as it is also written, in the city of Pes'háwar. This defeat was so crushing, that they never recovered it, and the power of the Ghwaríah Khel departed from that date, and soon became insignificant. The same night Khán Kajú returned to his camp at the edge of the Ḍab, and subsequently crossed the Landaey river, and returned home.

The year in which this important battle was fought is not given by the Afghán chronicler, who was living at the time, and who had his information from persons present in the fight. All that is said is that it took place on the 13th of the sixth month, Jamádí-us-Sání, but he afterwards mentions an important event which enables me to fix the time, within a few months at least, from contemporary writers. "When "Humáyún Bádsháh reached Bagrám or Pes'háwar, after Kámrán had been deprived "of his sight, in 959 H. (1552 A.D.),‡ the fortress was found in a dismantled state. He

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* The Khas'hís were encamped on the opposite side (the north bank of the Landaey Sín, or river of Kábul facing the *mouza'* of Shaikh Tapúr, or Patúr, which lay adjoining the Ḍab or marshy ground near the village of Ḍab Bunyádí. The Ghwaríah Khel were encamped on the Khazam, on the farther side (from the Khas'hís, namely the south side) of the Ḍab. At that time the Ḍab and Shaikh Tapúr lay on the south side of the river, but now the Ḍab lies about a mile on the north side of the Ná-gumán branch of that river, which then did not exist, nor did it ninety years ago: it has been caused through subsequent changes, *See* note ¶, page 242.

Khán Kajú gave the Ghwaríah Khel the option of crossing over the river to him, to enable them to do which he offered to retire his army some distance, or that they should retire a short distance from the river and enable him to pass over his army to meet them. They chose the latter alternative.

There is a mound of some elevation near to the village of Ḍab, and that is said to be the site of Shaikh Tapúr, evidently so called after the grave and shrine of some holy man among the Musalmáns. It is considered by residents in that neighbourhood that Khazam was probably the name of a stream or water course, which subsequently became, or was swallowed up by, the Ná-gumán branch of the river of Kábul, and its former name was lost. Khán Kajú returned to the same point after the battle was over, and his tent was still pitched on the same mound as before.

Captain T. C. Plowden, in the book I have before referred to, says that "Bellew says that 'Shekh-patúr is "'the ruined old fort that overlooks the village of old Naoshera. The scene of the battle was in 1864 occupied "'by the Dák Bungalow hard by the Grand Trunk Road.'"

In this I beg to differ from him. There are no details whatever given in the Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa' respecting the battle, nor in any other work that I am acquainted with, except the rare Yúsufzí history I have been quoting, which I do not think Mr. Bellew can have seen, and, as Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Kháliṣa'h was a well known and important place when its author wrote it, had the scene of the battle been near it, he would certainly have mentioned it. The Ḍab, however, is not near "old Naoshera," and the historian says distinctly that the two armies took up positions on the edge of the Ḍab. *See* page 177, and note ¶, page 242.

Moorcroft, who was at Pes'háwar some fifty years ago, says, in his "Travels," (Vol. II., page 338), that "within five *kos* of the city there is a place called *Sahiba Patar*, where Afgháns going on a pilgrimage to "Mecca usually embark." This may possibly refer to the site in question, for the reason why the Afgháns usually embarked there was, evidently, because it was a place, or near a place, of pilgrimage and sanctity, the tomb of some holy man, which the name, Shaikh Patúr, plainly refers to. There is a place given in our maps as *Sahibi*, seven miles E.N.E. of the city, one mile west of which there is a tomb. It is on the Búdní stream, which did not exist when these surveys were made, and immediately north of it is marshy ground, giving name to a village, styled Nawa'h Jaba'h, or New Marsh. Gul Bela'h is four miles north-west of this "Sahibi," and its position is certainly within a couple of miles or so of the scene of the battle. *See* note *, page 243.

† Kaṭra'h or Kaṭla'h, *r* and *l* being interchangeable, signifies in Hindí, a market, the market belonging to or within a fort.

‡ The Budá'úní says it happened in 960 H., and that the date is contained in the word نشتر—*nas'htar*, a lancet, but those present at the time, and among them Báyazíd, the Byát, say it was in 959 H. Some writers say it

"directed that it should be put into thorough repair, and his troops aided in the work. "Sikandar, the Kazák, some say Úzbak,* was left there as governor of the place with a "strong garrison. Humáyún reached Kábul from thence in the eighth month (August, "1552) of that year. Subsequent to that, Sikandar was invested therein by the "Afgháns, but they retired without being able to effect anything." The Afghán chronologist states that, "three or four years after the victory at Shaikh Tapúr," Khán Kajú marched a force to Bagrám and invested Sikandar, the Kazák, therein, but, being wholly unprovided with artillery or other firearms, he had to break up the investment and retire. This happened "soon after," and the investment evidently took place in the cold season at the end of that year (which ended on the 16th of December, 1552, A D.) and the beginning of the next, 960 H., consequently, the battle of Shaikh Tapúr took place in the sixth month of 956 or 957 H. (1549 or 1550, A.D.), a period when Humáyún and Kámrán were engaged in hostilities beyond the Hindú Koh range, and too much occupied to be able to attend to anything else; and in the summer of the last mentioned year Kámrán was overthrown at Shutar-Grám, as before related. That Humáyún should have found the fortress of Bagrám in ruins in 959 H. is therefore accounted for: it was after the overthrow of the Ghwaríah Khel that it went to decay.†

If there was ever one, who, from the extent of his territory, the number of his troops, and extent of his power, without taking his talents into account, was entitled to be styled a king up to this period, it was Khán Kajú "of the hundred thousand spearmen." On one occasion 150,000 men assembled under his banner, consisting of men of most of the Afghán tribes now inhabiting eastern Afghánistán, besides other tribes of the parts which owned his sway. It was recognized from Nek-Anhár to the Már-Gala'h Pass, and from the Láhorí Kotal and Upper Suwát to Gahep; and Adam, the chief of the Gakhars, acknowledged his sway in one direction, while the Káfirís‡ acknowledged it in the other, and from Pakhla'í and Dharam-taur§ to Kálá-Bágh. The times were favourable to him, for it was not until many years after his accession to the chieftainship that Akbar Bádsháh was able to pay attention to the state of affairs in this quarter,‖ and by that time Khán Kajú had disappeared from the scene, and the confederated tribes and territories, which his talent had welded into one, again fell under the independent rule of their respective chiefs, or under the sovereignty of Akbar Bádsháh.

Forty-sixth Route. From Chugyá-tan to Mastúch.

"By this route, after leaving Chugyá-tan, you cross the wooden bridge over the river of Báshkár, east of that place, and passing the village of Bey-Namází,¶ on the right hand, you go on for a distance of five kuroh in the direction of north-east to Sirátaey. You then proceed three kuroh farther in the same direction and reach Sádrín; and continuing onwards from thence for six kuroh in the direction of north, inclining north-east, you arrive at Natthúr (in one copy Shahúr, or Tathúr, but both are doubtful), and at this point the Afghán territories end. On the way to this place you have a lofty mountain range near by on either side, and the river of Báshkár runs close by on the left hand. The air is exceedingly sharp and cold.

"Setting out from Natthúr (or Shahúr, or Tathúr), you proceed for six kuroh in the direction of north to Báshkár, which they also call Pátrák, a large village, giving name to the dara'h, belonging to the race of people known as Kohistánís, which race, before their conversion to Islám, used to be styled Spín Káfirís or White-clad

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happened in 961 H., but this is quite out of the question, for it is very evident that Humáyún reached Kábul in the eighth month of the year 959 H., and that in the following winter he set out for Kandahár, and was in those parts in the beginning of, and for several months in, that year. The following winter, the end of 960 H., and beginning of 961 H., which commenced on the 6th December, 1553, he passed in Kábul.

* Kazák, however, is not the name of any tribe or race: it is a by-name.

† Even after their overthrow at Shaikh Tapúr, if the date I have given is correct, as I believe it to be, the Ghwarís appear to have still had power for mischief, for I find that "in the year 962 H., a body of 400 horse "of the Afghán tribes of Khalíl and Mahmand made a raid into the Panj-Áb, and plundered the Mazagán and "Farmulís of Láhor, at the very time that Humáyún Bádsháh was advancing towards Sirhind to encounter "the Áfghán usurper of his kingdom."

‡ The Káfirís here referred to are those mentioned at pages 161, 171, 190, 194, 234, and in some other places.

§ This word is written by Panjábís Dham-thaur, Dam-thaur, and as above. Afgháns reject the 'h,' and call it Dam-taur and Dram-taur.

‖ Not until the latter part of the year 993 H., about the end of 1585 A.D., in which year Akbar Bádsháh's brother, Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, who held the fief of Kábul and its dependencies, including the Pes'háwar district, and whose officials administered its affairs, died at Kábul. *See* page 257.

¶ *See* page 179.

Unbelievers. The river of Báshḳár lies on the east side of the village, and over it is a wooden bridge.

"From Báshḳár or Pátrák you proceed for a distance of five kuroh in the direction of north-east to Bahár, and from thence three kuroh farther, but in the direction of north, to Kal-Koṭ. After going on for another three kuroh in the same direction you arrive at Tal; and here the Báshḳár territory terminates.* On the way thither you pass by numerous villages both on the right hand and on the left. From the clefts or glens among the mountains on either side, numerous small streams issue, which, subsequently uniting lower down, enter the main river, which flows towards Chugyá-ṭan.

"Leaving Tal, you have to proceed for a distance of thirty kuroh, the first half of the distance in the direction of north, and the latter half inclining more to the north-east, and ascending upwards towards the crest of the great mountain range, to reach Sar-i-Lás-Púr, the name of a *Kotal* or Pass always covered with snow.† Having reached the crest of the range, you go on for another ten kuroh north to Lás-Púr, which is a small village contained within the territory of Ḳáshḳár.

"Two kuroh north from the village of Lás-Púr is Bílam, also written Bilam; and ten kuroh farther on, in the direction of north-west, is Har-chain-Púro, which they also call Har-chain. Proceeding another two kuroh farther on, you come to Buruk, and after wending your way for another four, still keeping north-west, you reach Raman. From thence you go on five kuroh more, in the same direction as before, to Gushat, sometimes pronounced Gusht, and continuing your route for another four kuroh in the direction of west, you at last reach Mastúch.

"This is a large town, and the place of residence of Sháh Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh. From the mountains at Sar-i-Lás-Púr a small river issues, which runs towards the north-west, and west of the town of Mastúch unites with the river of Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál. In going to Mastúch from thence you follow the course of the stream, and mountains towering to the heavens rise close by on either hand. The long narrow cleft or dara'h is likewise known as Lás-Púr—the Lás-púr Dara'h,‡ and its inhabitants are the people previously referred to as Kohistánís, all of whom are of the Shía'h sect of Muḥammadans."

Forty-seventh Route. From Chugyá-ṭan to Gupuz, which is one of the great villages of the territory of Dángrak.

"The road from Chugyá-ṭan to Tal, on the way to Mastúch, has been described in the previous route.

"From Tal you proceed forty kuroh north-east to Barisat, which is a small village inhabited by the Kohistání people. On the way thither you pass through an exceedingly mountainous tract, for the most part covered with perpetual snow, and very thinly inhabited.

"Having descended from thence for a distance of eight kuroh in the direction of north-east you reach Tero,§ and go on for five kuroh to the north from thence to Ghizir. Continuing onwards for another six kuroh you reach Chashí,|| and then, by proceeding twelve kuroh more in the direction of north, arrive at Dahí-Mal. From thence the route leads on for seven kuroh north, inclining north-east, to Khalṭey; and after going five kuroh still farther north you reach the point where the Khalṭey river unites with the river of Warshigum. Continuing onwards for another two kuroh in the direction of north-west you reach Gupuz,¶ which is a large village situated on the river of Warshigum.

"From the mountain tract of Barisat or Barsat, a small river comes down, which, at the place before named, unites with the river of Warshigum. You wend your way along by this same river, and the dara'h through which you pass, and the river flows, is known as the Khalṭey Dara'h. Its inhabitants are Kohistánís, and they pay allegiance to the Bádsháhs of Ḳáshḳár."**

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* At Tal the route leading to Gupuz branches off. It was in this part that the Táríkí stronghold of Ganshál, mentioned at page 170, was situated. *See* note ††, page 237, paras. 15, 16, and 17.

† Possibly meant that snow is at all times to be found in it, but the meaning of the original is as above.

‡ *See* my "Account of Ḳáshḳár and Panj-korah," previously referred to, page 12.

§ This is Hayward's Teraey.

|| Not Chastí. There is another route to this place from the upper part of the Kohistán of Suwát.

¶ These places are what Hayward wrote, "Daimul," "Khultí," and "Gupis," and the Mulla, "Dahimal," "Khalta," and "Gupis."

** According to our maps generally, in entering the parts through which this particular route lies, you would have to cross a great mountain chain, with some of its peaks 19,450 feet high, which appears to bound

Forty-eighth Route. From Chugyá-ṭan to Báṇḍa'h in Suwád, or Suwát, by way of Jabar.

"From Chugyá-ṭan to Kunḍí-Gál or Gár the road has been already described (page 178). From the latter place two roads diverge, the left-hand one of which is as follows:—

"East of Kunḍí-Gál there is a small mountain (range) which is difficult to cross. Having crossed it, you proceed from thence one kuroh to the north-east, inclining east, and reach Kúz (Lower) Ká ṭan, which lies on the left hand. You follow the course of the river of Jabar. From Kúz Ká-ṭan, distant half a kuroh in the same direction, is Bar (Upper) Ká-ṭan, also lying on the left-hand side of the road; and, after proceeding another kuroh east, you reach Jabar,* which is a large village, with the river called after it, flowing near by on the right hand.

"From this place two roads branch off. By the left-hand one you proceed six kuroh in the direction of east, inclining south-east from Jabar, to Ú-sherí,† the name by which several villages are known, and the small dara'h in which they are situated, after the name of a clan of the Yúsufzí Afghâns. The road thither is on the ascent. From thence you proceed, much in the same direction as before, for a distance of fourteen kuroh, to Fáẓil Báṇḍa'h, one of the large villages of Suwád; and on the way thither you have to cross a lofty defile known as the Yár-ḳand Ghás'haey, or Pass, and its crest marks the boundary between Suwád and Panj-Korah.

"Leaving Fáẓil Báṇḍa'h, and proceeding for a distance of fourteen kuroh farther in the direction of south-east, you reach Bámá-Khela'h,‡ which is a village of large size, situated in the highest or northernmost part of Upper Suwád. From thence setting out, and proceeding three kuroh in the direction of south-west, you reach Shakar Dara'h, another considerable village, called after the dara'h in which it lies. A river flows from the direction of Fáẓil Báṇḍa'h, which, near the village of Shakar Dara'h, unites with the river of Suwád, and in coming to the latter place you follow the course of that river.

"From Shakar Dara'h you proceed two kuroh south and reach Ním-Galí, with the river of Suwád flowing near by on the left hand, through or over what is called the Ním-Galí Pass, which is a spur from the mountains on the right hand, jutting out towards the river, which it closely approaches. Proceeding another two kuroh south from the village of Ním-Galí§ you come to Bar Báṇḍa'h, or Upper Báṇḍa'h, which is a village of considerable size on the banks of the river of Suwád; and, continuing onwards for another kuroh in the direction of south-west, arrive at Kúz Báṇḍa'h, or Lower Báṇḍa'h, which is also a village of some size.|| After going two kuroh more, in the same direction, you reach Damghár.¶ This also is a large village, close to which, on the left hand, is one branch of the river of Suwád.

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the Dara'h of Suwát on the north, and to run in nearly a straight line from the Indus to Chitrál. From what is mentioned in this route, which runs in the direction of north-east towards the river of Warshigum, not "Woorshigoom," it would seem that, in this direction at least, you ascended by degrees, and reached a vast elevated tract of mountainous country, rather than to a great chain of mountains which you would have to ascend on one side and descend on the other, according to all our present maps with the exception of Hayward's.

* *See* my "Ḳáshḳár and Panj-Korah" paper, page 18.

† Not "Úchrí," for which Colonel MacGregor quotes me as one of his authorities. I write the name as the people spell it, Ú-sherí. *See* my notice of Panj-Korah, in the paper above referred to.

According to the map accompanying "the Mullah's" explorations, there is no room for this well known dara'h, for he brings "the Panjkora" river within nineteen miles of the river of Suwát, with a great range of mountains between, leaving no space for another large valley with a river running through it.

‡ This is also written Banbá and Banba'h Khela'h. *See* my "Account of Suwát," pages 30 and 31.

§ There is a pass as well as a village named Ním-Galí. In my "Account of Upper and Lower Suwát," which was printed in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" while I was in England, through a printer's error, the name has been printed with "*ú*" and "*n*"—"*ún*," instead of with "*í*" and "*m*"—"*ím*," as in the copy. It is, however, correct in the map. What I said respecting it was:—"Passing this place (Banbá Khela'h) we "came to Banbá Khel-i-Pá'ín, or the Lower; and from thence went on to Ṣaubat and Khareṛa'í, the people of "which were at feud, and were fighting amongst each other. On reaching Shakar Dara'h in the evening, we "were told that they had, that day, lost some twenty in killed and wounded on both sides. After staying for "the night at Shakar Dara'h, on the morning of the 31st of August we set out from thence, and, proceeding "through the pass of Ním-galí, over the spur (consisting of earth mixed with rocks and stones, and containing "something of a yellow colour) which juts out abruptly from the mountains on our right hand, for about three "quarters of a mile, towards one of the branches of the river, we again descended to the village of Ním-galí, "which lies under the southern side of this spur, near the river, and just opposite to Chhár-Bágh on the other "side, which can be distinctly seen." Page 31. *See* also page 233 of this Section of Notes.

|| Bar Báṇḍa'h, or Báṇḍa'h-i-Bálá, after Tárnah and Manglawar, is the largest place in Suwád at the present day.

¶ The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, says, that when the officers of Akbar Bádsháh were engaged in building a fort at Damghár, at which period his troops were plundering and devastating Suwát in all directions, he accompanied

"The right-hand route from Jabar is as follows. Leaving that place, and proceeding twelve kuroh to the south-east, inclining south, you reach the large village of Kúhán, belonging to the Yúsufzí Afgháns. On the way thither you have to cross the mountains by a lofty defile known as the Karbádí Ghás'haey. From Kúhán you proceed seven kuroh south, inclining south-east, to Nihák,* which is the name of a large village and dara'h, and on the way there is the lofty defile above mentioned. The water of the Nihák Dara'h runs to the westward and unites with the river of Panj-Korah. On the east it has a lofty mountain range, which can be crossed, and (Upper) Suwád reached."

Forty-ninth Route. From Chugyá-ṭan to Damghár of Suwád.

"The details of the road from Chugyá-ṭan to Toṛ-mang have been given already (page 178.)†

"From the last-named place you proceed one kuroh and a half in the direction of south-east to Riẓá-Grám, a very small village, situated on the right-hand side of the road, on a spur of the mountains. You then go on for another kuroh east and reach Uchtaey or Úchataey, a large village on the left-hand side, perched on an elevation of the mountains, as its name, in Pus'hto, indicates. A stream containing about enough water to turn a water-mill comes from the direction of this village and unites with the river of the Gáwṛín Dara'h.

"From Úchataey you proceed another kuroh east, inclining south-east, to Shikolí,‡ another large village, on an elevation of the mountains, on the left-hand side of the road. A river also comes from that direction, and unites with the river of the Gáwṛín Dara'h. After proceeding onwards from Shikolí one kuroh east, inclining north-east, you reach Gáwṛín,§ another village of considerable size at the foot of the mountains. From the east and south of it a river issues, which, having passed to the south of Toṛ-mang, unites with the river of Panj-Korah. The dara'h through which it flows, for such it is, is called the Gáwṛín Dara'h; and in proceeding on your way you follow the course of that river, and every footstep you take is on the ascent.

"Leaving Gáwṛín, you proceed up the mountain range for a distance of three kuroh in the direction of east, and, having reached the crest, descend for a distance of three kuroh and a half, in the same direction as before, and reach Ḳalá'-ga'í—signifying 'the Fortlets'—which is the name of a small village, on a spur of the mountains. The pass above referred to leading over this range is known as the Gáwṛín Ghás'haey, and its crest marks the boundary between the Panj-Korah territory and Suwád.¶ On the

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a number of Molízí Yúsufzís who retired into one of the dara'hs on the extreme frontier of Suwád. This, probably, was the first movement of the Molízís towards what has since become known as Panj-Korah, which now they almost exclusively hold.

In his "exploration" of the dara'h in which the Nikbí Khel Khwádozís are located, "the Mullah" must actually have passed this place. He turned off to the east, and crossed the river near, but in exploring a valley one might naturally expect to hear of the chief places in it. The Súe-galí Pass, too, lay to his left in going from Chhár-Bágh to Khareṛa'í (his Kararai.) Damghár is one of the most noted places in the valley, but not a word do we hear about it.

* Nihák, Niá ka'h, or Ni-ák, as it is variously written, is the name of a Dara'h about nine miles in length, at the present time also known as Láhor, and the village and small fort at its entrance is called Láhor, and Malik Láhor likewise. In about the middle of the valley is a small town or large village called Ḍanbra'h, and higher up, towards its head, is Shiga'í. The last Sulṭán of Suwát, Sulṭán Awes, son of Sulṭán Pahkal, having been overthrown by the Khas'hí Afgháns in several engagements, abandoned his capital and the Dara'h of Suwát, and took up his residence in the Nihák Darah, at that time styled Nihák or Ní-ák of the Káfiristán. There he built a strong fortress among the hills, and there he continued to dwell till his death. He had married, among other wives, a sister of Malik Aḥmad, the chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, but she was dead long previous to this. He left two sons, Fírúz Sháh and Ḳazán Sháh, but not by her. The latter was killed by the Yúsufzís, and his head brought to Khán Kajú, at the very time he was about to attack the Ghwariah Khel at Shaikh Tapúr. The other son of Sulṭán Awes, Fírúz Sháh, ruled over the parts to the north for many years. He was succeeded by his son, Sulṭán Máh, and he, by his son, Sulṭán Zain 'Alí; and in the same manner, for many generations, the descendants of Sulṭán Awes continued to rule over those parts. I think it will be found that the Bádsháhs of Ḳáshḳár, referred to in these surveys, are, in some way, descended from this same family. *See* pages 162 and 178, and note ‡ following page.

† Or rather from Toṛ-mang to Chugyá-ṭan.

‡ It is quite different from Shikolí between Suwát and the Abáe-Sín, a little to the north-east of Ghází Kháni in Buner, mentioned at pages 215 and 249.

§ *See* also page 178. This name, as before stated, is written Gáḍrín in two copies, which is, in all probability, an error for Gáwṛín, as the two words in MS. are liable to be mistaken.

¶ The names of this and other passes in this direction do not appear in our most recent maps, neither do we here find any mention of such passes as "Laram," Buṭarat," or "Jabai," etc. This is the "Munjai Ghaki" of the "Map of the Countries between Kashmir and Panjkorah," contained in the "Geographical Magazine,"

left-hand side, from a cleft in the mountains, a stream issues forth, which runs away to the eastward.

"From Kalá'-ga'í you descend to the side of the river just mentioned, and, having proceeded for a distance of one kuroh and a half in the direction of east, inclining south-east, reach Manjha'h, a small village situated between two small rivers, that is to say, one river flows from the direction of Kalá'-ga'í, and the other comes from the left hand, from a glen in the mountains. Towards the south they unite, and the united streams then contain a sufficient volume of water to turn about ten or twelve water-mills.

"Leaving Manjha'h and proceeding one kuroh to the east, you reach Tútán Bánda'h, lying distant on the right-hand side, on a spur from the mountains. You then go on for another kuroh and a half in the direction of east, along the before-mentioned river, and arrive at the little village of Kálá, which lies on the left hand, near by the road. Proceeding from thence for a short distance farther towards the south, you reach the Dara'h of the Nikbí Khel, so called after that clan of the Khwádozí section of the sub-tribe of Akozí Yúsufzís, which lies on your left hand.* It is about six kuroh in length, and out of it a stream issues, which unites with the stream the course of which has been followed. From the point in question, where the two rivers unite, you proceed for a distance of two kuroh, still keeping south, and reach 'Alí-Grám, a small village close by the way, on the right-hand side † Here the valley of Suwád, which you are now in, begins to open out, and there is a wide area of plain, and the road becomes more level. The before-mentioned river flows away to your right hand, and near the village of Chando-Khwará (more correctly Chanda'h Khwarey),‡ unites with the river of Suwád.

"From 'Alí-Grám to Chando (Chanda'h) Khwarey is a distance of one kuroh in the direction of west, and from the latter place to the village of Hazárah, on the other side of the river of Suwád, is one kuroh south. Leaving the village of 'Alí-Grám, you proceed one kuroh to the east and reach the *mazár*—tomb and shrine—of the

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Vol. II., for 1875, page 232. The village of Manjha'h, mentioned a few lines under, is there turned into "Munjai," and the Ghás'haey or Pass appears to have been named after it, but the discrepancy may have arisen from an imperfectly understood conversation, in which "the Ghás'haey or Pass leading from Manjha'h "over the mountains to the north towards Dír" has been mistaken for Manjhey (the word inflected in the Afghán language would become Manjhey) Ghás'haey. In these parts, as well as in other parts of Afghánistán —I may say throughout all the parts peopled by the Afgháns—places have special local names as well as their specific ones, hence discrepancies arise. I have known villages called by four or five different names, each of which, when explained, appeared applicable, and there was some difficulty in fixing the name of the place satisfactorily in consequence. Some places have Pus'hto names as well as their original ones.

* The details of this route prove that "the Mullah" is out considerably in his calculations with regard to the "Panjkora" river, as he calls it, immediately west of the Dara'h of the Nikbí Khel Khwádozís, as indicated by his map.

† "The Mullah's" map shows his route into this dara'h, and in his narrative he says he halted a day, at a place called "Tighak." He must, consequently, have been within a short distance of Kálá and 'Alí-Grám, but not a word do we hear respecting them, or this route.

‡ This village is mentioned in the Yúsufzí history, in which the details of the conquest of Suwát are also contained. It is also satisfactory to find the account of the route confirmed by a writer who wrote some three centuries and a half since.

After Sultán Awes had been obliged to abandon his capital and his territory, as already mentioned, his youngest son, Kazán Sháh by name, took up his residence in the mountains bounding Suwát north-west of Manglawar, while the Ilyászí Yúsufzís occupied the country close to the Suwád river as far as Darwesh Khel, Báz Khel, Chanda'h or Chandá Khwarey, and Súe-galí. Kazán Sháh made constant raids upon them; and, when Khán Kajú took the field against the Ghwariah Khel, the Ilyászís were unable to send their contingent to his army on account of Kazán Sháh. On hearing of Khán Kajú's movements, Kazán Sháh went off to Káshghar (Káshkár?), which territory lay very near Suwád. The ruling race were all Musalmáns of the Sunní faith, and spoke Turkí, but the bulk of the ruler's subjects were Káfirís or Infidels. From thence Kazán Sháh brought a considerable force against the Yúsufzís, plundered Díwla'í, Chanda'h Khwarey, and other places, as far down as the last-named village, killing and making captive the people, and taking possession of their cattle and other property.

Succours soon turned out, however, from the other Yúsufzí villages, attacked Kazán Sháh and his forces, and defeated him. He retired towards the mountains again, and the Afgháns followed in pursuit, until they drove him beyond the Kar Ghás'haey or Pass, beyond which was Kazán Sháh's boundary. This Ghás'haey is in Bar or Upper Suwád, west of Díwla'í, in the direction of Darwesh Khel (that is, more towards the north), in the mountains forming the northern boundary of the Suwát Dara'h. The Kar Ghás'haey is not laid down in our maps.

About a month after these events, the festival of *Basandor* or *Basant*, or Spring, came round, which it was usual among the Suwátís to celebrate. Knowing that such was the custom, the Afgháns sent spies to ascertain when and where the *Basant* would be held, and organized an expedition with the object of attacking Kazán Sháh unawares. Having obtained the information, the Yúsufzís made a forced march during the night preceding the festival day, and concealed themselves before the day broke among the ravines and other convenient places near, fell upon Kazán Sháh during the celebration of the festival, slaughtered his followers and himself, cut off his head, and retired. His head, as elsewhere mentioned, was brought to Khán Kajú when encamped opposite Shaikh Tapúr when just about to cross the river to attack the Ghwariah Khel.

Shahíd Bábá, as the Ákhúnd, Karím-Dád, son of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah (referred to at pages 236 and 243), is styled by his votaries. The village which has sprung up round his tomb is now known as Kánjúán, which lies on the left hand, near the road. You proceed from this place a short distance, about one kuroh, to the south-west, and reach Damghár."

Khush-ḥál Khán, the Khaṭak chief, refers to this place in his spirited poem, the "Ode to Spring," given in my "Translations from the Poetry of the Afgháns," page 150. He had gone into Suwát to endeavour to rouse the patriotism of the Yúsufzís to join the confederacy against the Mughals, but without effect. He says:—

> "Since I arrived in this part, I have become a nonentity—
> Either I am despicable, or this people are infamous grown.
> I cry out unto them, 'Troops,' 'troops,' until I am weary;
> But, deaf to all, they neither say 'Die!' nor 'Thy sacrifice!'
> When the state of the Yúsufzís became known unto me,
> Lowághar was then my better place, not Damghár," etc.

Fiftieth Route. From Damghár to Dawárika'h, which lies in the extreme northern part of the territory of Suwád.

"The route between Damghár and Bar Bánḍa'h, or Upper Bánḍa'h, has been already described (page 230), and opposite the last-named village, on the right hand, on the other side of the river of Suwád, is Chhár-Bágh, situated at the foot of the mountains.

"Setting out from Bar Bánḍa'h, you proceed half a kuroh to the north-east to Ním-Galí, a small village near the banks of the Suwád river. From thence you go on in the same direction for about one kuroh and a half by the Ním-Galí Pass, which juts out towards a branch of the river, as previously mentioned, to Shakar Dara'h, which is also situated near the river. After proceeding two kuroh farther, in much the same direction as before, you reach Bámá or Banba'h Khela'h, which lies on the left-hand side of the road. This is also the name of a dara'h, so called after one of the khels or sections of the Akozí Yúsufzís,* and from its farther (northern) part a stream issues, in volume sufficient to turn six or seven water-mills, which flows towards the south, and unites with the main river.

"On the right hand, on the other side of the river, is Galí (or Galaey) Bágh, which is a large village situated at the foot of the mountains.

"From Bámá or Banba'h Khela'h you go on for a distance of two kuroh and a half to the north (north-east) to Kúz (Lower) Darush Khel,† another village of considerable size on the banks of the river of Suwád; and, continuing onwards in the same direction for four kuroh more, you reach Bar (Upper) Darush Khel, on the banks of the same river. On the opposite side, at the foot of the mountains, is the large village of Khwájú Khel.‡

"Setting out from Bar Darush Khel, you proceed five kuroh in the same direction as before to Kálá-Kot,§ another large village on the river of Suwád, and at this place the extreme point of Suwád in this direction is reached.

"On the opposite side of the river is the large village of Khúna'h, also called Khúna'h Khela'h, at the foot of the mountains facing Darush or Darwesh Khel.

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* A small section or khel of the Shámízís.

† Now known as Kúz Darwesh Khel, or Darwesh Khel-i-Pá'ín, and the other as Bar Darwesh Khel, or Darwesh Khel-i-Bálá. It was at this latter place, on his way down the valley, that the person I despatched into Suwát in 1858 had a narrow escape from the Suwátís. He says, "We left Landaey and proceeded to the "village of Darwesh Khel-i-Bálá, or the Higher, about eight miles distant, passing several small bánḍa'hs or "hamlets of four or five houses by the way. The ground all along our route, which lay at the skirt of the "mountains, was very irregular and hilly, and the cultivation was very scanty. A rivulet runs through this "village, which is shaded by a number of fine trees, under whose shade there are mosques, and *hujra'hs* (cells or "closets they may be termed) for *ṭálibs* or students, of whom many come here to study; and, altogether, it is "a very picturesque and pleasant spot. At this place we were very much distressed and annoyed by the Malik "or head-man, and a Mullá or priest, both Suwátís. The Malik wished to take away my clothes and papers, "and the Mullá ordered me to show my papers to him. There is no doubt that, in case I had shown him "my papers, and he had seen what was contained in them respecting Suwát, we should all three have been "lost. By great good luck, however, some guests happened to arrive just at this time, and occupied the whole "of our persecutors' attention. This we took advantage of to make ourselves scarce with all speed, and reached "Darwesh Khel-i-Pá'ín, or the Lower, some distance from the other village. Here we halted for some time to "rest ourselves, and I made inquiries about books and old coins, but without success. I found that the "*Shálaka'í* or woollen scarfs I before alluded to, both white, black, and flowered, are manufactured at these "two villages just mentioned."

‡ To style this place, called after its inhabitants, "Khwazozai," would be a very great error.

§ Unknown to "the Mullah," apparently.

"From Kálá-Koṭ you proceed another eight kuroh north, inclining north-east as before, to Dawárika'h,* which is inhabited by Kohistánís; and from this place upwards the race of people called Spín Káfirís, or White-clad Unbelievers, dwell.† The mountains in that part (around the Kohistán, as the upper part of the Suwád valley is called above the Afghán boundary to the source of the river) are clothed in perpetual snow, and out of them the river of Suwád issues.

"From Damghár to Kálá-Koṭ there are numerous populous villages, and much cultivation; and from the clefts, glens, or lateral dara'hs, on either side of the two ranges bounding the dara'h of Suwád, several streams of greater or lesser volume rise, and, flowing down, unite with the main river. Facing the two Bánḍa'hs, Upper and Lower, on the eastern side of the river of Suwád, there is the large Dara'h of Manglawar, in which is the town of that name. You cross the river by means of a raft to proceed thither, and through the dara'h is the route into Buner, which is described farther on."

Manglawar, now a village, is situated at the entrance of a small dara'h or valley, running to the north-east. Between it and Míngowara'h, farther down the river, a spur from the mountains bounding Suwád to the east approaches close to the river, or rather the river to it. In the summer months, when the river is at its height, there is no other road between these two places, and into the central parts of the Suwád valley, except by the Shamelí Pass, leading over this spur. In the winter months there is a practicable road along the river's bank below the spur.

Subsequent to the forcing of the Mala'h-khanḍ Pass, described at page 240, the Afgháns encountered the Sulṭán of Suwád in battle near Tárnah. He was defeated with great loss, including most of his kinsmen and Chiefs left dead on the field, and fled across the river to Tirhang, while the victors returned towards Tárnah,

The Sulṭán made for Damghár by way of the Súe-galí Pass, and lost his way among the mountains. He succeeded in finding it again, crossed the river, and reached his capital, which was the city of Manglawar.

Subsequent to the capture of the stronghold of the Gibarí Sulṭán of Bájawṛ, Bábar Bádsháh, who wanted to get Malik Aḥmad into his power, crossed the river of Panj-Korah and encamped at Dayarún, and entered Suwát by Tálásh. Dayarún is situated about two kuroh from the T'ra'í Ghás'haey or Pass. The defile by which Bábar entered Suwád was called Da Bábar Ghás'hí from that day. It lies farther north than the Káṭ-gala'h Ghás'haey, and is distant about three kuroh north-west of the Úchhún, as the two villages of Úchh are styled. He made a dash from thence on Manglawar, crossing the river of Suwád at the Ḥasan Dera'í ferry. What his real object was does not appear. His ostensible object was to get Malik Aḥmad to come to him; and he seems to have been favourably inclined towards the Suwátí Sulṭán, and hostile towards the Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ Afgháns.

Manglawar was, however, too strong a place to be assailed except by a large force, and a regular investment. Bábar, finding his efforts would be useless, retired, and rejoined the force left to guard his camp at Dayarún by the Káṭ-gala'h Pass. The city and citadel of Manglawar was the capital of the Jahángíríán Sulṭáns. The fortress was situated on the skirt of a hill, and was very strong. It contained numerous fine buildings, consisting of masjids, palaces, squares, bázárs, and other public edifices, and streams of water ran through the city. Subsequently, when the Sulṭán had to abandon it, and retire into the mountain fastnesses to the north, and the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs obtained possession of it, they destroyed and laid waste the city, but the fortress and buildings within it were of too solid a construction to be demolished easily, and they were left to the ravages of time. Their remains may still be seen. The city was situated in what is called Upper Suwát, and the ruins lie near the skirt of the mountains to the east, and near it are two small streams, which, after flowing for about two kuroh, fall into the main river. The Dara'h of Manglawar is described at page 253.

When Malik Sháh Manṣur's daughter, Bíbí Mubáraka'h, whose hand Bábar Bádsháh had demanded in marriage—he having seen her and fallen in love with her when he had, on a previous occasion, entered Suwád in the disguise of a Ḳalandar—

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* This name, known to the author of these surveys ninety years ago, like that of the Báshḳár Dara'h—I do not refer to the Kohistán of Suwád—has not hitherto been made known to Europeans, and escaped the notice of the person whom I sent into Suwát, and whose account of the Kohistán is mentioned farther on. "The Mullah" also did not discover it.

† *See* pages 161, 190, and 228.

was escorted from her father's house to Bábar's camp near Dayarún, the escort came from the Sama'h into Suwát by the Mhora'h, or, as the Afgháns style it, the Mora'h Pass (inflected, it becomes Morey), and then proceeded by way of Chak-Dara'h, Úchh, the Kát-gala'h Pass, into Tálásh, and from thence towards Dayarún by the T'ra'í Pass, a kuroh distant from which, near Dayarún, Bábar's camp was pitched. At the foot of the T'ra'í Pass the lady was received by a Mughal escort, sent to receive her, and the Afgháns turned back again on their way homewards.

The T'ra'í Ghás'haey or Pass is the spot where Zain Khán was stopped by the Yúsufzís and Mandars, when he was on his way into Suwád from the side of Bájawr, described at page 169, and when, by a stratagem, he succeeded in entering their territory by another route, the Kát-gala'h Pass apparently.

The usual road from Suwád and parts adjacent to Kábul was, and still is, by the T'ra'í Ghás'haey. The Yúsufzís and Mandars, on their way between Kábul and their territory, used it, in order to avoid passing through the country between Pes'háwar and Jalál-ábád, held by the Khalíls and other Ghwaríah Khel tribes. The road led by Tárna'h, Chak-Dara'h, and the T'ra'í Ghás'haey, through Bájawr to Náwa'h-ga'í, and then through Kúnar and Kámán.

The author of these surveys does not appear to have entered the upper part of the Suwád valley, which is much to be regretted, and merely refers to it *en passant*. I will therefore give an extract from the narrative of an intelligent man of Turkish descent, but a native of Western Afghánistán, a Persian and Pus'hto scholar, who had passed many years in my service and knew what information I required, whom I despatched into Suwát or Suwád as far back as 1858, as already mentioned.

He went up the valley by the east bank and returned by the opposite side. Leaving Manglawar, and proceeding by way of Chhár-Bágh, before referred to, and Kábul-Grám, he reached Khúzah Khel. His narrative is as follows:—

"We again set out up the valley, and passing Bar Shern, or Upper Shern, and Kúz Shern, or Lower Shern, and Khonah, we reached Petaey and Ban-warí. At Petaey we found it so excessively cold (it was the end of August) that one could not drink water with any degree of comfort. I ventured to enter the river for a few paces, but soon had to come out, and was glad to stand in the sun, on the rocks, to get some warmth into my feet again. The people were then sitting in the sun for warmth, and all slept in their dwellings at night, it being too cold to sleep outside. I saw snow on the mountains about ten or twelve miles off.

"At this village I also met, for the first time, some of the people of the mountain tracts north of Suwát, together with some of the Gilgit people, who had come here to purchase salt. They were all clothed in thick woollen garments, woven wholly from *pashm*, coats, trowsers (drawers), caps and all, and wore sandals on their feet, the two great toes being left bare. They twist strips of cow or goat leather about the feet and legs as far as the knee. The women dress similarly to the men, with the exception of the covering for the legs. These people were in appearance something like the people of Badakhshán, and although, to look at, they were not very powerfully built, they carry loads equal to that of an ox of Pes'háwar and the Panj-áb. I could not understand a word of their language, except that they called salt *lún*, which is, Sanskrit, *lon*. The salt is brought here by the Khataks from their own country for sale, and the people of the Kohistán to the north, near which Petaey is situated, come down as far as this place to purchase it. . . . The villages in this part of Suwát are much smaller and more scattered than in the central parts of the valley; and the people of each village are generally at feud with each other, and, consequently, little or no intercourse takes place between them.

"In the vicinity of this village the peculiar mineral substance like gravel, called *charáta'í*, mentioned elsewhere, is found in great quantities. Here, too, the valley is not more than half a mile in width, the banks of the river are very high, the fields are few, and the extent of cultivation insignificant.

"There are more mills in this part of the valley than in any other part of Suwát. Much honey is produced here likewise. The people of Suwát take great care of their bees, and make hives for them after the following fashion. They place a large earthen pot in a *ták* or niche, made in the side wall of the house, with the bottom of the pot turned outwards and the mouth inwards, the mouth being just level with the interior wall. They then plaster all around with mud mortar, so that the pot may not move about or fall out of the niche. The mouth is then closed with mud mortar, while the bees enter by a hole made for them in the bottom of the pot or hive which is turned outside. When the hive is well stored with honey, the mouth of the pot is reopened from the interior of the house, and a piece of burning cow-dung, which

smokes, is applied thereto. On this the bees get out, and then the hand is inserted, and the honey removed, but some of the comb is left for the bees. The mouth of the pot is then closed up again.

"This part of the Suwát Dara'h is also famous for its fruits, every description of which comes into season earlier in this vicinity than in any other part of the valley. There are no Hindús in these villages hereabouts: the Paráncháhs* are the only traders and shopkeepers to be found so far upwards.

"The complexion of the people of Upper Suwát is quite different from that of the people lower down the valley, and the men are generally fair and good looking. The females of the Kohistán of Suwát, about to be described, are very handsome, as are likewise those of Ḳáshḳár, who are sometimes seen in this part.

"I should mention here that, from Tárnah to Chhár-Bágh, the ground rises gradually, and thence to Khúzah Khel still more so, and that, at every hundred paces almost, the difference can be distinguished.

"From Petaey we proceeded onwards about three miles to Pí-á, the ground rising considerably and abruptly until we came to the village. It is the last held by the Yúsufzí Afgháns in the northern extremity of the Suwát valley,† which here terminates (politically, at least). Beyond, the country is called the Kohistán, which is, however, the Persian word for highlands, and generally used throughout most parts of Central Asia to designate all mountain tracts. Between this place (Pí-á) and Petaey also, the river boils and foams along with great impetuosity, and in point of volume it is more considerable than the Arghand Áb, near Ḳandahár, even when its volume is greatest.

"About four or five miles farther up the valley, beyond the Yúsufzí boundary, there are a few hamlets, the two principal of which are called Chúr-ṛa'í, on the east bank, and Tírátaey, on the opposite side. These villages are inhabited by the descendants of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah. The whole of Suwát was conquered, as far north as Pí-á, in the time of Malik Aḥmad and Shaikh Malí, it is said, but these few villages here referred to were acquired from the Spín Káfirís (all people are termed Káfirí by the Afgháns who are not of the same faith as themselves, hence the term is rather ambiguous) about a century and a half after, in the time of the Ákhúnd, Karím-Dád, son of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah. At the capture of Tírátaey Karím-Dád lost his life. I was informed by the people here, that, some years since, a number of dead bodies were discovered buried in a mound at the side of a hill near Tírátaey. The bodies were quite perfect, as if but recently dead, and had been buried with their arms, consisting of bows and arrows, axes, and swords. . . . .

"Having now reached the boundary of the Afghán portion of Upper Suwát, beyond which I could not then penetrate, we prepared to cross the river and return home by the opposite (western) bank, but, before giving an account of our homeward journey, I will here give you the information I gained respecting the country beyond, up to the source of the Suwát river, which I obtained from an intelligent Afghán who passed several years there.

"After leaving Pí-á, the boundary of Upper Suwát, the first village is Chúr-ṛa'í,‡ beyond which the Afghán language ceases to be spoken, and the Kohistání language is used. The first village beyond that again is Birán-yál, inhabited by the Torú Ál, or Torw Ál, which is situated on the western bank of the Kohistán river, as the river of Suwát is here also termed. The distance between Birán-yál and the village of Chúr-ṛa'í is about eight miles, from the first of which places the Kohistán may be said to commence.§ From Birán-yál to the extremity of the valley, at the mountain known as

* Paránchah is not the name of a tribe: in Pus'hto it signifies a mercer, draper, or cloth merchant in general, but they are Musalmáns, and carry on an extensive trade, chiefly in cloth, piece goods, and the like, also tea, and a few other articles, with great part of Central Asia. They are doubtless the remains of one of the tribes displaced by the Afgháns, or by others who preceded the Afgháns, but who have, with many other tribes, been overlooked in the rage for making all things chime with Herodotus and Hindús.

† There is no mention of these places in "the Mullah's explorations." There is no place called "Payatey."

‡ Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.B., in his "Gazetteer of Central Asia," Part I, vol. 1, page 339, has the following :—"CHARÁ, a village in the upper part of the Swát valley, Yaghistán, and the first met with after "leaving the boundary of the (*sic*) Upper Swát. From this point the valley is inhabited by Kohistánis, who "do not understand much Pashtú. They are called here Torwáis.—(*Raverty*)."

I must protest against such erroneous statements as the above. I never wrote anything of this kind, and must deprecate such errors being laid to my charge. What I did write will be found in my "Account of "Upper and Lower Suwát," and in the text above.

There is some difference between "Chúr-ṛa'í" and "Chará," as much indeed as between "Pus'hto" and "Pashtú."

The people do not consist of Torú Ál, or Torw Ál only, but Gárwís also, and Gújars, as mentioned a few lines farther on. It is very probable that the termination ál, in Birán-yál—Birány Ál—means tribe, as in Torú Ál, &c.

§ *See* "the Mullah's" narrative, para. 19.

Sar Dzá'e, is a distance of seventy-five miles,* but it is so narrow in some places that a stone thrown from one side reaches the other; in short, it is about a bow-shot across. The whole of this space is occupied by two tribes, first the Torú Ál, or Torw Ál,† sometimes called Rúd-báris, and above them again is the Gárwí tribe.‡ The former amount to about nine thousand adult males, and the latter to about three thousand, hence it will be noticed that this tract is pretty well populated. The villages belonging to the Torú Ál, from south to north, are:—Birán-yál, west of the river, eight miles above Chúr-ṛa'í; Cham, also on the west side; Gornaey, on the east; Chawat-Grám, on the west; Rámeṭ, on the east side; Chúkíl, on the east; Ajrú Kalaey (the Pus'hto word for village), on the west bank; and Mán-kíál, on the east.§ All these belong to the Torú Ál. Pash-mál, on the west side; Har-yání, on the east; Iláhí-Koṭ, on the west; Úshú, on the east; Kálám, on the west;‖ and Utroṛ, also on the west bank, belong to the Gárwí tribe. After these, still farther north-west, are three villages belonging to the people known as Gújars,¶ and called the Báṇḍa'hs or 'Hamlets' of the Gújarán, one of which is called Sar-Báṇḍa'h, inhabited by about fifty families. It is close under the mountain of Sar-Dzá'e, the mountain barrier closing the extremity of the valley to the north. These villages contain, altogether, about six hundred dwellings.

"A short distance to the south of Sar-Báṇḍa'h there is a marshy meadow-like plain of some extent, probably about fifteen jaríbs** of land. This is called the Jal-gah, a term derived from Sanskrit '*jal*,' 'water,' and Persian '*gah*,' 'place'—the place of water or streams—but not the proper name of any place.†† The springs or rivulets issuing from this marshy meadow, having collected together, flow downwards towards the south, and form the Suwád river, or, correctly speaking, the river of Suwát, or river of the Suwát valley.

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* My informant says, in the original, fifty *kos*, which I calculated at three miles to two *kos*. This is too much, however, because the *kos* in this part, called the *kachchá kos* by Hindí speaking people, is just about a mile, and no more, and therefore the distances between places from this point are less in the same proportion.

† These tribes are evidently portions of one of the three Tájzík tribes, namely, the Gibarí, Mutráwí, or Mumiálí, the greater part of which people abandoned their native country, and took possession of Pakhal or Pakhala'í when the Khas'hí Afgháns conquered Suwát.

‡ Here a good road diverges, which leads to the Abáe-Sín or Indus, and to Gilgiṭ and Yasin. There are indeed several routes, both on the east and west sides of the valley, leading into the tracts bounding it on either hand. Afgháns from Suwát have often joined in the wars carried on by the Musalmáns of Yasin, Gilgiṭ, and Ḳáshḳár, against the Sikhs and Dograhs of Kash-mír, and have followed the routes referred to.

Out of the places here named, "the Mullah" mentions "Baráníal," "Churrai," "Cham," "Kálám," "Mánkiál," "Ushu," and "Utrot." He turns Utroṛ into Utrot, unable, apparently, to catch the local pronunciation.

§ The most correct way of writing this is Torú Ál, or Torw Ál, not Torwál. The Ál is the same as is described in the following note ††, para. 14. I believe I was the first to notice these tribes some twenty years ago, but, although the "Torwáls" have been recently noticed by Major Biddulph, neither the other name by which they are known, nor the Gárwís appear to have been yet discovered by others.

‖ From which point the dara'h inclines more to the north-west instead of north, as shown in my sketch map. A road leads from it to Gupuz, on the Warshigum river, and into Ḳáshḳár.

¶ *See* page 215.

** A *jaríb* is sixty yards by sixty.

†† But which constantly appears in our maps as such, even in "Afghan Turkistan," so called by Europeans, or rather by English writers.

Here again I am mis-quoted. Colonel MacGregor has, Vol. II., Part I., p. 28:—"JALGÁH, a marshy plain in "Yághistan, from which the Swát river takes its rise, whence, in the first part of its course, this river is called "the river of Jalgáh.—(*Raverty*)."

What I wrote in my "Account of Upper and Lower Suwát," page 27, is precisely as in the text above.

The most disappointing, and, I may say, inexplicable part of "the Mullah's" journey is his "explorations" in the Kohistán of Suwád. I should have thought that one of the chief points to discover and determine, if not *the primary object* of his journey, was the source of the river of the Suwát valley, but we are left in much the same position as before.

First he says, in para. 22 of his "Narrative," "Six miles above Churrai, near Náwe Baráníal (Chur-ṛa'í and "Nawey or New Biríny-ál, probably) the Swát river divides into two streams of about equal dimensions (*sic*), "one from the Kalám direction, which I followed, and the other from the Darál valley," but which of the two is to be considered the "Swát river" he does not inform us.

"The Mullah's" Darál valley is the Chá-yal Dara'h of my sketch map. The person who described the Kohistán of Suwát to my explorer, being more intent on the valley through which the river of Suwát flowed, did not take the lesser dara'hs on either side into as much account as he might have done; and it was more particularly in reference to the river of Suwáṭ that my man instituted his inquiries.

In the following paragraph "the Mullah" says:—"I arrived at Utrot *viâ* Kálám. Kálám is situated "between two rivers, one flowing from Utrot (an error for Utroṛ), and the other from Ushu (Úshú). . . . "In nearing Utrot I crossed, by a third wooden bridge, a very large stream called the Gabriál, which is *the* "*main source* of the Swát river."

Here, then, he gives us some indication of which branch he considers to be the "Swát river," which is correct, and agrees with the information embodied in my account, published about twenty years ago, and in the rough sketch accompanying it, only, at Kálám, the dara'h should have been represented in that sketch as bending to the north-west, instead of north; for the stream issuing from the Úshú Dara'h comes from the north, instead of the north-east, as I have noticed in the text above. The person who described it to my man was

"On first issuing forth, and for some distance, it is called 'the water of the Jal-gah,' and afterwards enters the boundary of the Gárwí tribe, and from thence flows on, in a south-easterly direction, to Utroṛ. From that point, under the name of 'river of Utroṛ,' it flows down opposite to the entrance to the Dara'h of Úshú, lying in a north-easterly direction, out of which a stream issues, and unites with the Utroṛ river near the village of Kálám, situated on the west side of the stream. Still lower down, it receives the

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an uninstructed person, who knew nothing of surveying or the use of instruments; and, as before-mentioned, the river of Suwát being the chief subject on which inquiry was made, both he and my man considered the side dara'hs quite a subordinate matter, although they are all as correctly indicated as we could expect, perhaps, under the circumstances, and without actual survey. "The Mullah's" account, as far as it goes, confirms the man's statements.

In paragraph 25 "the Mullah" says "the Gabriál"—which he just before mentioned as "the main source "of the Swát river"—"flows from a glacier situated *about* three miles distant from the road," but he neither visited what he calls the Gabriál village, nor did he trace up to its "main source, the Swát river," which, he says, was but "*about* three miles distant from the road." Although detained at Utrot (Utroṛ) "for two days "on account of heavy snow," he was able to go on to "Lámuti," but, apparently, unable to trace the "Swát river" to its glacier, which might have been considered the *sine quâ non* of his explorations.

On his way to this "Lámuti," likewise, he reached a "*zeárat*" and "*masjid*," but, strange to say, he gives it no name, although he visited it again on his return from "Lámuti." On this occasion, also, he went up the stream issuing from the Úshú Dara'h, instead of attempting, at least, to trace "the main source of the Swát river."

According to my sketch map, the distance from Kálám to the *jal-gáh* or *jal-gah* under the great mountain of Sar-Dzá'e, where the river rises, is much the same as in "the Mullah's" map—about ten or eleven miles; and, had he gone towards the "main source," he would have found another *jaba'h* there, for it is very probable that the water in the marshy meadow-like plain I have described comes from a glacier in the mountain range near or at Sar-Dzá'e. In the month of July the *jal-gáh* would, probably, have been in the same state as "the Mullah's" *jabba*, which is the source of the river of the Úshú Dara'h, "the water being only visible in pools here and there, the *jabba* being almost frozen over." In August, however, this *jaba'h* would have been similar in appearance to the *jal-gáh*, the source of the river of Suwát.

"The Mullah," or his translator for him, has mistaken the correct meaning of *jaba'h*, not "jabba," which is a word used in the Pus'hto or Afghán language, signifying "a marshy tract where water accumulates," "a bog," and the like, which, in the cold season, would be frozen over, but which is not a lake. *See* note ‡, page 243.

As "the Mullah" was turning his back to the Dara'h of Suwát and passing this "*jabba*," the sun was setting, and with it set our hopes, for the present at least, and possibly for an indefinite time, of settling or setting at rest, from actual observation and survey, the doubtful point respecting the source of the river of Suwát.

It will be noticed that "the Mullah" has a "Gabriál," both in the Kohistán of Suwát and in the upper part of what he calls "the Kándiah valley." This would appear strange if not explained. He has not done it, and I will. He should have written, "village of the Gárwí Āl," not "village of Gabriál." Both parts referred to are inhabited by Gárwí Āl or Gárwí tribe, mentioned in my former account of Suwát, and on the preceding page 237. They *may be* of the race referred to at pages 161, 171, and 228 as Spín Káfirs, but, in all probability, they are Tájzík Gibaris, from the termination *ál*. This Āl occurs in a number of names current in these parts, such as Birány Āl, Mánkí Āl, Gay Āl, Darí Āl, etc., as well as in Pal Āl, Dúd Āl, Hindau Āl (*vul.*, "Hindwál"), and the like.

A knowledge of the past history, the language, and ethnology of a country or tract to be surveyed, would be of great advantage to a surveyor, as well as to an explorer.

There is another matter I must mention in the interest of geographical science, and that is, that it is necessary to receive "the Mullah's" explorations with some caution; and it is clear that a great deal must be taken on trust, for the following reasons. On a former occasion he is said to have "*surveyed* the whole route "from Sar Lás-pur to the Tal Pass, and down the Panjkora river;" and in his map accompanying the account of his "explorations" and "surveys," the Tal Pass is in lat. 35° 30′ N., and long. 72° 20′ E., while in his "Swát" map, just issued, the Tal Pass is in lat. 35° 48¼′ (a difference of 18¼ geographical miles), and long. 72° 15½′ (a difference of 4½ miles). In the *former map* his "Lámutí" is 2 miles south of the Tal Pass; in his last map it is 24 miles. "Dír" was *then* 31 miles from the Tal Pass, *now* it is 44. In the *former* map, from "Seo" to "Lámutí" is 60 miles, in the *last* map it is but 54; from "Tal" to "Chitrar" *was* then 36 miles, *now* it is but 19; from the "Lahori Pass" to "Tal" *was* 25½ miles, *now* it is 37; from "Lámutí" to "Chitral" *was* 27 miles, *now* it is 38. In this manner, between his two journeys, the tract of country lying between the Indus and the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, not greater in extent than two degrees of longitude and one of latitude, has shrunk, in some instances, as much as 23 or 24 miles. It can scarcely be considered, therefore, that his present work "fits in very nicely" with his former explorations, and both must be received with some degree of caution. When I come to the route leading from the Dara'h of Suwát into Buner, and across the Indus into the Hazárah, I shall have to notice some other discrepancies.

When "the Mullah" is right in his statements, however, it is hard that he should be condemned. With regard to his use of the term "Kohistán of Swát," in the 33rd paragraph of his narrative, I notice that Lieutenant-Colonel H. C. B. Tanner, R.E., in his foot-notes thereto, says, "The Mullah has oddly omitted to "give the name of this tract, which comprises one, if not more, of his Kohistáns, and which is called "Bashkár."

In this instance, however, "the Mullah" is perfectly right, and had he called the Kohistán of Suwát by the name of Báshḳár he would have made a great mistake. There are several Kohistáns besides "the Mullah's" "one, if not more." The word is merely the Ī-rání term for a mountainous tract, but it is somewhat loosely applied. Other dara'hs intervene between the Kohistán of Suwát and the Báshḳár Dara'h. The latter I have already described, at page 194; and it terminates on the north and east at the Tal Ghás'haey or Pass. The river running through it is also called the river of Báshḳár. *See* also page 229.

As to the "peculiar and difficult dialect of the *so-called* Dard group of languages," referred to in the same foot-notes, and said to be spoken by the so-called Bashkáris, all I can say is, that *jor* is pure Pus'hto, and *khairiyat*—not "khairat," which signifies "alms," "charity," etc.,—pure 'Arabic, but commonly used. As the lower part of the Dara'h of Báshḳár is peopled by Yúsufzí Afgháns, and the upper part by Kohistánís—not Suwát Kohistánís—the use of such words are accounted for without going to the so-called "Dardistán" for them.

stream flowing out of the Dara'h of Chá-yal, which lies in a south-westerly direction, near the village of Shá-Grám on the western bank. East of the Utror river, and about half a mile lower down, is the village of Chúr-ra'í, where the name of the river again changes, and it is then known as 'the Sind, or river of the Kohistán.' On reaching the villages of Pí-á and Tírátaey, it receives the name of 'river of Suwát,' having, during its course, received, little by little, the waters of several rivulets from the other small dara'hs on either side.

"At the extreme head of the valley, near the mountain of Sar-Dzá'e, there is a pass leading into Káshkár; another road on the eastern side leads to Gilgit, through the Dara'h of Úshú; and a third leads into Panj-Korah, through the Chá-yal Dara'h.

"Throughout the whole of this upper portion of the valley, from Sar-Bánda'h down to the boundary of the Afghán portion of Upper Suwát, there are an immense number of trees along the river's banks, and the mountains are wooded to their summits. . . . .

"As there was no raft at Pí-á by which we could get across the river—such a thing as a boat is not known—we had to retrace our steps down the east bank of the river to Ban-wari, where we found one, and crossed over to the village of Landaey,* which is about two hundred paces from the west bank, the breadth of the river at this ferry being about one hundred yards. The banks are very steep here, and the river is very deep. I observed that, where the stream was deep, the banks were steep and scarped, but, where the water was shallow and spread out more, there the banks were like the sea-shore, more sloping and gravelly. Having now reached the opposite bank, we began our journey homewards."

Fifty-first Route. From Kábul to Damghár of Suwád, by way of 'Ash-Naghar, a distance of one hundred and forty kuroh east, inclining north-east.

"The road from Kábul to Práng has been previously described (at page 175). From thence you proceed one kuroh to the north-west, inclining north, to Chhár-Sada'h, a large village near the banks of the Jinda'h river, and then another kuroh and a half north-east to Radzar, also a considerable village, near the banks of the same river, which is distant about half a kuroh on the left-hand side. Going on for another kuroh and a half, still keeping in the same direction, you reach the large village of Utmánzí, and another kuroh, inclining more to the west, brings you to Trangzí. You then go one kuroh, much in the same direction as before, to 'Umarzí, another kuroh in the same direction, to Sher-páo, also written Sher-pá,† and two kuroh more to Tangaey, which is a town of some size. All these large villages, or rather towns, belong to the Muhammadzí Afgháns, who have been located here ever since the district was assigned them by the Yúsufzís and Mandars after their conquest of these parts from the Dilazáks,‡ and are now known as Hasht-Nagar, the first word being Tájzík and the other Sanskrit, and signifying 'eight towns,' but, as previously mentioned, the ancient name of the district was 'Ash-Naghar.§

"Shab-Kadr lies about seven kuroh south-west from Tangaey. From the last-mentioned place two roads branch off, the left-hand one of which leads into Panj-Korah and Dír, and on into Káshkár, described at page 177, while the right hand route goes into Suwád. Setting out from Tangaey, and proceeding ten kuroh north-east, inclining east, you reach Sháh-Kot, also written Sá-Kot and Tsaná-Kot, a small village‖ belonging to the Mandar Afgháns, and in it is a spring of water, which issues from the hills. On the way to it you have to cross a considerable tract of desert; and lofty mountain ranges show themselves at a considerable distance on either hand.

"Leaving Sháh-Kot you proceed four kuroh to the north by Dargaey, and Kharkaey, the last half of the way inclining more to the westward, and reach the foot of the Malá-khand Ghás'haey or Pass, and cross it. Though, comparatively, a small defile, it is a difficult one to cross. The river of Suwád, from its summit, lies some distance away on the left hand.¶ From the foot of the Ghás'haey you proceed one kuroh north,

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* Not mentioned by "the Mullah," and not contained in his map.

† This name, in the Tájzík dialect, signifies the Lion's Paw. Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík, is said to have died here. *See* note ¶, page 247.

‡ *See* page 225.

§ A brief description of these places will be found in my paper on the "City and Province of Pes'háwar," contained in Vol. 10 of the "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society," for 1850.

‖ This place has nothing to do with the Sháh-Kot Pass referred to under.

¶ The north.

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inclining north-west, to Jalo-Grám, a large village belonging to the Yúsufzís. On the right of it is a small dara'h in the mountains, three or four kuroh in length, inhabited by some of the Rárnízí section of the Akozí division of the before-mentioned Afghán tribe. A stream flows out of it, which, running northwards, unites with the river of Suwát."

The Mala'h-khand or Malá-khand (the name is written both ways, and each correct) Pass is much less difficult to cross than the Mora'h Pass. From the Suwát or north side, the road, at the commencement of the ascent, and for nearly half way up, is good and tolerably broad, admitting of five or six laden mules, or three or four horsemen proceeding abreast. About half way up is a spring and pool of cool and pure water, around which spikenards flourish luxuriantly. At times, a few Gújars take up their quarters here. The mountains round, and in the vicinity of this pass, are more densely wooded than near the Mora'h Ghás'haey. The trees are pines, wild olive, and other forest trees.

On reaching the crest of the pass, you find an open space of level ground, sufficient for half a regiment to encamp comfortably, and for a whole corps at a push. This is the place, mentioned at page 260, whither Zain Khán, the General of Akbar Bádsháh, came from Chak-Dara'h, to facilitate the passage of the reinforcements under Abú-l-Fath and Bír-Bar, at which time there was a small fort here.

After crossing this level space on the way southward towards Pes'háwar, the mountains converge towards the road on either side, and at one point, for a short distance, rocks narrow the path considerably. The route down the southern face, indeed, is the narrowest and most difficult, admitting only of two horsemen or a couple of mules passing along abreast, or a single loaded camel. There is no water procurable except from two wells between the foot of the pass and the village of Dargaey. The road is also commanded every here and there from the hills around, but these heights could probably be crowned without much difficulty.

Near one of these wells, or rather a small tank, there is another road, apparently very ancient, leading over the Mala'h-khand range into Suwát, the whole of which, to within a short distance of the summit, is built up with slabs of stone, cemented with lime. It has many turnings and zig-zags, and appears to have been scientifically designed. Although it is the shortest way with all its turnings, nevertheless, the Afgháns prefer the other road previously described.

When the Yúsufzís and Mandars compelled Mír Hindá to evacuate 'Ash-Naghar, and, subsequently, the Sama'h altogether, he and his people, Shalmánís and Dihgáns, retired by the Mora'h Pass into Suwát, to Tárnah, which was the home and appanage of Mír Hindá, but a strong force was left to defend the fortifications in the Mora'h Pass. The Mala'h-khand or Malá-khand Pass was also occupied, for Sultán Awes, ruler of Suwát, although he had contracted marriage with Malik Ahmad's sister, who was now dead, feared an invasion from the grasping and conquering Khas'hís. He was not kept long in suspense. The Yúsufzís and Mandars, soon after the Dilazáks allowed them to settle in the Do-Ábah, being in a poverty-striken condition, used to carry salt and mats into Suwát for sale. They thereby acquired a knowledge of the country, and set their eyes upon it, determining, if possible, to obtain a footing therein as soon as they should be strong enough to attempt it. It was with a view of getting a footing in Suwát that Malik Ahmad gave his sister in marriage to the Sultán. Some, indeed, say, that numbers of the Yúsufzís and Mandars took service with the Sultán. The Afgháns, as soon as opportunity offered, assembled their forces, and endeavoured to get into Suwát by the Mora'h Pass, and several times attempted to force it without success. After spending nearly two months in this attempt, the Afghán chiefs sent spies to examine the Mala'h-khand Pass, farther to the west. The report they received was, that the garrison, which was commanded by Sháh Awes, or Wes, as it is also written, and Farrukh-zád, two of the greatest of Sultán Awes's Dihgán nobles, was negligent, and might be easily surprised.

It was determined, therefore, that, after the evening meal, the chief portion of the force should set out towards the Mala'h-khand Pass, while the remainder should stay behind in the old camp, and kindle watch-fires, so that the Suwátís should imagine that the whole of the Afgháns were in camp as usual. The main force marched all night, and, at dawn the next morning, reached the position occupied by the Suwátís in the Mala'h-khand Pass, and found the garrison asleep. The Yúsufzís and Mandars, and their confederates, fell upon them and began to slaughter them. Sháh Wes and Farrukh-zád, with the remnant, fled towards Tárnah; and Mír Hindá, who had held the Mora'h Pass so well, on hearing that the other had been forced, retired from it with his forces, and also made towards Tárna'h to secure that then important town.

The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, says it was the Sháh-Koṭ pass which the Afgháns were encamped before, but the Yúsufzí historian, who was living about the time, states plainly that it was the Mora'h Ghás'haey. Perhaps they were threatening both, for, although the Sháh-Koṭ Pass is situated about midway between the Mora'h and Mala'h-khanḍ Passes, the routes leading to the Mora'h and Sháh-Koṭ Passes both branch off from Pala'í and Zormanḍa'í, the one to the right, the other to the left. The Ákhúnd also says that, after the fires were lighted, the Afghán women began to sing songs, in which they boasted of the prowess of their tribes, and the want of manhood of their opponents, and that they would be brought to battle next day. The Suwátís, noticing this, directed all their watchfulness to this point, and neglected to guard the Mala'h-khanḍ Pass as carefully as before.

Having thus gained possession of the pass, the Afgháns descended on the other side, pushed on for a distance of two kuroh, and encamped in the open country, which contained a number of villages, and was called the S'hahr or K'hahr (this seems to refer to the chief place giving name to the tract around. At the present time, there is a village so called, standing probably on the site of a larger place), and through which tract the river of Suwát flowed. At the foot of the pass, on the northern side, the invaders first reached a strong castle, called Malakút, which they found abandoned. It contained a vast quantity of stores and other property. By this success, one third of the whole of Suwát, the most western portion, fell into the possession of the Afgháns; and, in the course of another twelve years, they conquered the whole of the valley.

To return to the account of the route.

"Leaving Jalo-Grám, you proceed three kuroh east, inclining north-east, to Allah-Ḍanḍ,* another large village of the Ráṟnízís; and here is the tomb and shrine of that holy man, the Mián Allah-Dád, a Darwesh held in great sanctity by the Afgháns of these parts. To the right of this place, likewise, there is a dara'h of considerable size, out of which, from its southern or upper part, in the mountains, a river flows, which unites with the main river near Allah-Ḍanḍ, which is situated near its banks. From the last-named place you go on to Táṟnah, which is a town of some size, the largest in Suwát,† and distant two kuroh farther east, inclining north-east. On the right hand (as you proceed) there is another dara'h of considerable size, peopled by the Tsolízí clan of the Bá'ízí Akozí Yúsufzís. A stream likewise rises in the upper part of that dara'h, which flows towards the north and unites with the main river.

"The next stage from Táṟnah is Mání-har,‡ another considerable village, lying near the banks of the river of Suwád, distant six kuroh in the direction of north-east, inclining north. Leaving Táṟnah, you skirt a high mountain on your right hand, and pass three or four villages. About a kuroh and a half from Táṟnah, this mountain reaches close to the river of Suwád, and you have to go along the road at the foot of it, with one of the two branches of the river flowing close by on your left hand. This road is only available during the cold season, when the river is low. In the summer, when it rises considerably, you have to follow the road up the mountain, which for some distance, overhangs the river. It is steep and difficult in some places, and only practicable for men on foot. It is called the Lanḍakaey *Kotal*.§ Another road lies farther east, which leads over the mountain, and by this animals can be taken. As travellers generally choose the cold season for their journeys, the latter route is seldom used.

"Having passed round the foot of the mountain, the road turns more towards the south to the small village of Koṭa'h, and then runs north-east as before. Near this village are numerous ruins, and by the way are some remains of buildings, the work

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* Allah-Ḍanḍ is a small town of Lower Suwát, and is chiefly remarkable as being the residence of the chief of the Ráṟnízí division of the Yúsufzí tribe. When I wrote my account of Suwát, the chief was Sher-dil Khán, son of 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán. He was then a young man about twenty years old, and said to be lineally descended from the famous Khán Kachú or Kajú, the chief of the hundred thousand spearmen, who is often mentioned in these pages, but he is a Yúsufzí and Khán Kajú was a Mandaṛ. It is said that the latter was buried here, but this is a mistake. His tomb is near Ṣawába'í, on the Badṛaey stream, a short distance south of Manera'í, and facing the hill known as the Taraka'í of Khán Kachú or Kajú. The tomb of the renowned Malik Aḥmad, his predecessor in the chieftainship, is near Allah-Ḍanḍ, at 'Umr-ḍer, in the direction of the river, hence the mistake, probably, and that of Shaikh Malí is at Ghúr Bánḍa'í in Suwát.

† This is the "Mullah's" "large village" of "Thána."

‡ *See* page 252. It is now generally called Mán-yár. That portion of the Suwát valley down the river, from this place as far as Tútakán, is called Lower Suwát, and all above, as far as Pí'á, Upper Suwát. *See* the account of the Dara'h of Suwát, pages 199 and 200.

§ But not "Landeh Kai," as Colonel C. M. MacGregor makes me spell it according to his "Gazetteer." Major-General J. T. Walker has the place marked somewhat erroneously in the Indian Atlas map under the name of "Lionduki." *See* page 261.

of idol-worshippers. To the right of Mání-har is another dara'h of considerable size, inhabited by the Rárnízí clan of the Akozís,* out of which a stream flows from south to north, and unites with the main river. From Mání-har you proceed to Hazára'h, distant four kuroh to the north-east. This village likewise is of considerable size, and to the east of it is another dara'h, out of which a stream flows which unites with the main river. From Hazára'h you proceed two kuroh farther to the north-east, to Mingowaṛa'h, also written Míngowaṛa'h.† It lies on the right hand, some little way off the road; and south of the village a large dara'h‡ runs away towards the south-east, which is also held by the Rárnízí clan. A river rises at the head of it, and runs towards the north-west to join the Suwád river."

"At Míngowaṛa'h you cross the river of Suwád by means of a raft; and at the distance of a quarter kuroh north from the river's bank is the village of Damghár. North of it is the tomb and shrine of the venerated Ákhúnd, Karím-Dád, previously referred to, who was killed at Dawárika'h in Upper Suwád, fighting with the Spín Káfirís, and hence he is known as the Shahíd or Martyred Bábá.§ North-west of the Ákhúnd's tomb is another considerable dara'h running towards the north-west, and a river rising in its upper part runs into the river of Suwád. Its inhabitants are of the Tsolízí Bá'ízís.

"The tract of country extending from Práng to Sháh-Koṭ is contained within the 'Ash-Naghar district, and the Suwád territory commences from the crest of the Malá-khand, or Mala'h-khand Pass. The river of Suwád flows near by, as you proceed, on your left hand, and on the right rises a lofty mountain range, bounding Suwád on the south and east."

Fifty-second Route. From Pes'háwar to Gaṛhí Kapúra'h, by way of Noh-s'hahra'h of the Muḥammadzís.

"From Pes'háwar to Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h,‖ or Noh-s'hahra'h of the Tájzíks, there are three routes. The first, or Sháh-Ráh, or Royal Road, which has been already given (at page 34, Section Second), leads across the river of Kábul, which you cross at the Noh-s'hahra'h above referred to, and enter Noh-s'hahra'h of the Muḥammadzís, or of the Afgháns, as it is also called, which is one of the large villages of 'Ash-Naghar, or Hasht-Nagar, and the distance between them will be about half a kuroh. The remainder of the road from thence to Gaṛhí Kapúrah has been described at page 244.

"By the second road, you set out from Pes'háwar, and proceed one kuroh in the direction of north-east to Kanbhú, and from thence in the direction of north is the Nahr-i-Sháhí, or Sháh's Canal, previously described, which having crossed by means of a wooden bridge, you continue to proceed for another kuroh, and reach the village of Daurá-púr. Leaving it, you proceed for a distance of a kuroh and a half in the direction of east, inclining to the north-east, to Ráno-kí Gaṛhí; and, after going a kuroh and a half farther east from that village, you reach Budhí. Another kuroh brings you to Akbar-púrah, which is a place of considerable size, with a large bázár. To the north of the town, and immediately beneath it, is a large Rúd,¶ called the Kaṭṭa'h, which has been cut from the river of Kábul. It flows for a short distance towards the east, and is expended in the irrigation of the lands. From Akbar-púrah one kuroh and a half in the direction of south-east, inclining east, is Khúsh Makám, which having reached, you go on another kuroh and a half in the same direction as before to Chaukí. From thence you go on another kuroh in the same direction as before, and reach the large village of Khidr Khel; and about the same distance farther in the same direction is Pabbíán, from which place to Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h the road has been already described (page 34).

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* *See* page 208, and note ‡ for the correct genealogy of this clan.

† The Dara'h of Saiydúgán, mentioned at page 251.

‡ Not "Mingraura," as "the Mullah" has it in his narrative. It does not appear in his map, but, in his narrative, he tells us that "the Swát valley contains two large villages, Thána and Mingraura." He might have added, and a good many more.

§ *See* pages 236 and 243.

‖ Neither this town, nor the division of the Pes'háwar district from which it takes the latter name, is called "Khálsa," as stated in Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Gazetteer." "*Khálsa*" is the name the old Sikh Government was called or known by; but "khálisa'h" means "lands held immediately from the Government, "and paying the dues directly to the Government"; and, the lands of that district being so held under the Mughal sovereigns of India, that name was applied to it.

¶ The writer makes a difference here between Nahr, "a canal," and Rúd, "a river," "a stream," "running water."

"The third route from Pes'háwar is as follows. Setting out from thence, you proceed one kuroh to the north, and reach the brick bridge over the Nahr-i-Sháhí, which canal comes from the left hand, and, flowing to the right, becomes expended in the irrigation of the lands of Chamkaní. Crossing by the bridge, you proceed three kuroh in the direction of north-east, inclining north, at which point are two villages. That on the right hand is called Mahmand, and that on the left Danúrí. On the way thither is much cultivation—fields and gardens—and plenty of water. Then you go on another kuroh in the direction of north-east to Dilazák, the name by which two or three villages (adjoining each other) are named, after the well known tribe of Afgháns so called. These are situated on the banks of the river of Kábul,* which lies on the left hand; and from thence you go one kuroh east to Shálí,† a large village on the Kaṭṭa'h Rúd, which stream runs on the left hand. Another kuroh farther to the east brings you to Jaba'h-há,‡ or 'The Bogs,' a large village so called, to the west of which is a wooden bridge. A water-cut from the Kaṭṭa'h Rúd has been carried under this bridge, and the water, after flowing to the right hand, is drawn off and expended in the irrigation of the lands (near by). Half a kuroh farther east from Jaba'h-há and you reach Akbar-púrah.

"The route from thence to Pabbían and on to Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h has been given above. On the road from Pes'háwar to Akbar-púrah and Pabbían by the above route there is much cultivation, and the country is well populated.

Setting out from Akbar-púrah, you proceed three kuroh north and reach the village of Shaikh Ismá'íl,§ north of which the river of Kábul and the Jinda'h, or Jindá, unite. The ferry at that point is known as the Guzar of Do-bandí; and at this place the united rivers receive the name of Landaey Sín or Little Sín. From the ferry, leaving the village of Nisata'h on the left, you go on to Noh-s'hahra'h of the Muḥammadzís, and from thence to Gaṛhí Kapúra'h, as mentioned in the following route, or to Pṛáng in the opposite direction, and from thence into Suwád."

Fifty-third Route. From Pes'háwar to Damghár of Suwád by way of Pṛáng.

From Pes'háwar you go four kuroh in the direction of north-east to Dilazák, previously referred to, situated near the banks of the river of Kábul. Having crossed it

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* These two routes, the above and the following, so near Pes'háwar, are, perhaps, of greater interest than special value for practical purposes near a city, and in a province which has been in our possession thirty-one years, as showing the state of the districts round nearly a century ago, and especially with reference to the manifold changes which have since taken place in the course of the river of Kábul and the different canals during that period, as well as in the courses and volumes of the streams in the Sama'h.

If we compare this and the following Route with the Thirty-fourth, given at page 176, we shall arrive at the following important conclusions. Neither was the name of the Adizí, nor Ná-Gumán, nor Sháh 'Álam (not "Allum") branch known, nor were these identical branches of the river of Kábul known when these surveys were made. At the period in question there were but two branches; one, the northern one, passable by boat only, the other, or southern one, fordable or bridged. What is now called the "Shaikh ká Kaṭṭah" (not "*Kuttah*," for that means *a dog*,) was then called the Kaṭṭa'h Rúd, and there is no mention whatever of the Báṛah river flowing in the direction it now takes. It is never once referred to, notwithstanding the elaborate details, respecting the road from Pabbían and Chamkaní to Pes'háwar, contained in the First Route. Now it would have to be crossed. On the way from Pes'háwar to Akbar-púrah also, the Báṛah must now be crossed, but in the description of the route there is not the least mention of it, neither is the least mention made of it on the way to the same town by way of Daurá-púr and Ráno kí Gaṛhí, although all the canals are named. In the present day that river must be crossed on the way thither.

In coming from Shab Ḳadr to Pes'háwar (Route Thirty-four, page 176), by Kángṛah, Baṭ-Giráwn, Yághí-Band, and Tarkhaey (which seems to have disappeared), to Ḍaḅ, you used to cross the river of Kábul by means of a boat, which signifies that it is neither fordable nor bridged. Going from thence to Gul-Bela'h you then passed two canals which flowed east and joined the Jinda'h; now there are none intervening. Proceeding from Gul-Bela'h by Kharak, which apparently has disappeared, to Gújar, the present Mián Gújar, you, at the period in question, crossed the Murwára'h also by boat, but no Ná-Gumán branch. Now that branch intervenes, and it is by far the broadest of the three, being in some places, when at its full, over a quarter of a mile in breadth. Its signification is "unexpected," and the name is suggestive.

It is plainly stated before (page 177) that the river of Kábul has but "two branches," the northern branch being the river of Kábul proper, and the other the Murwára'h, the same probably as is referred to in the battle at Shaikh Tapúr as the Khazam (at page 227, note *), which is said to emanate from it and to join the Jinda'h, and that both must be crossed by boat, meaning that they were neither fordable nor bridged. Taking these facts into consideration likewise, it is not a matter of astonishment that the sites of many places mentioned in history, are not now known.

† This apparently is the "Sahibi" of our maps. Its people are, like those of Dilazák, Afgháns of the Dilazák tribe.

‡ The Pus'hto for a marsh or bog is "jaba'h."

§ Now, apparently, called the Báṇḍa'h of Shaikh Ismá'íl.

from thence by means of a boat, you reach Dá'údzí, the name by which several villages named after that Afghán tribe are known. Two kuroh north from thence is Murwárá or Murwára'h, which is the name of a considerable river which emerges from the river of Kábul, and, flowing towards the right, unites with the Jinda'h or Jindá. Having reached the Murwára'h at the point in question, you go on for three kuroh in the direction of north-east, inclining north, and reach Pṛáng, one of the villages of 'Ash-Naghar, or Hasht-Nagar, by crossing the Jinda'h in a boat to the west side of Pṛáng. The route from thence to Damghár is given at page 239.*

Fifty-fourth Route. From Kábul to Gaṛhí† Kapúra'h, a distance of one hundred and thirty kuroh east.

"The route followed from Kábul goes to Pṛáng, and has been already described (at page 175). Setting out from the last-named place, and proceeding four kuroh to the south-east, inclining south, and leaving the large village of Nisata'h on the left, you come to the Do-bandí Ferry. At this point the Jinda'h river unites with the river of Kábul, and receives the name of Landaey Sín, or Little Sín, by which name it is chiefly known among the Afgháns. From the ferry you proceed twelve kuroh east, inclining south-east, to Noh-s'hahra'h (called Noh-k'hahra'h by the eastern Afgháns) of 'Ash-Naghar or Hasht-Nagar, and Noh-s'hahráh of the Muḥammadzís, to distinguish it from the village of the same name on the opposite side of the river, known as Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h, and previously referred to at page 34, Section Two, which lies on the right-hand side of the road.

"There is a scarcity of water by this way, and considerable ascent and descent in some places. From Noh-s'hahra'h you proceed four kuroh north, inclining east, and reach the banks of the river known as the Kála'h or Kálá-Pární,‡ which comes from

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* *See also* pages 175 and 177.

† An Afghán would pronounce this word, which is Sanskrit, without the "h"—Gaṛí.

‡ The word is, correctly, Kála'h-Pární, but the long "á" is sometimes dropped, and the word becomes, from constant use, Kal-Pární. It is the name of a great water-course, ravine, or river bed, which runs through the Sama'h from north to south. It takes its rise in the Báz Dara'h or valley, south and west of the Mhora'h or Mora'h Ghás'haey, leading into Suwát, and has several small and four or five larger tributaries or branches, three of the most considerable of which unite with it a short distance east of Gújar Gaṛí, flow past Mardán and Útí, and some small villages on the east, the town of Torú, and some small villages on the west, and finally unites, after receiving other considerable tributaries, presently to be mentioned, with the Landaey Sín or Sind, or River of Kábul, about three miles and a half E.N.E. of Noh-s'hahra'h of the Muḥammadzís, and rather more than a mile N.W. of the present Khaṭak village of Pír-i-Siwák, or Pír Siwák.

I call the Kála'h Pární a great water-course or river bed—at Kasama'í it is some forty feet deep—because it does not now flow throughout its course in a perennial stream, but, after rains, it contains a considerable volume of water, and sometimes rushes down with great violence; and its bed, particularly the southern half of it, below the junction of its upper tributaries near Gújar Gaṛí, contains more or less water at all times of the year. The tract of country through which it flows is also called the Kála'h Pární district, and is constantly mentioned in the Yúsufzí history quoted in these pages, but latterly this name has grown into disuse.

It may be well to mention, however, that there is more than one tract of country styled Kála'h-Pární, which words are Hindí. There are two or three east of the Indus. The origin of the name is said to be pure and clear water, which, first flowing from a spring, and running over dark stones or in a dark stony bed, appears very dark to the sight, hence "dark or black water," as the words signify. Farther west, where the Tájzíks dwell, together with some Afgháns, and the Turkí tribes dwell, or did dwell, we have the same meanings in Sí-áh-Áb and Ḳará-Sú respectively. *See* pages 58 and 59.

In the ranges of mountains bounding Suwát on the south, and Buner on the south-west, there are a number of water-courses or river beds, of greater or lesser importance, which unite with the Kála'h-Pární, the principal of which are, beginning from east to west, the Bagyáṛa'í, the Lúnd or Lúndaey Khwaṛ, the Guzar Rúd, and the Maḳám Rúd.

The Bagyáṛa'í, or Bagyáṛa'í Khwaṛ, which latter word is the Pus'hto for a river bed or water-course, or bed of a mountain torrent in which some water is generally to be found, originates from a number of smaller streams and khwaṛs, which bring down the water from the mountains near to and west of the Mala'h-khanḍ Ghás'haey, runs past the low range of detached hills on which the Takht-i-Bihí is situated, on the east, and towards the village of Gújar Gaṛí, near which it meets the Kála'h-Pární, and Lúndaey Khwaṛ.

The Kála'h-Pární then runs about two miles farther in the direction of south-west, when it is joined by the Ḥiṣára'h Kanda'h, which comes from the direction of north-west. Kanda'h is a Pihlawí word used in Pus'hto, and signifies a great cleft or chasm, a cavity, a large ravine, or channel made by a mountain torrent or torrents, and very deep, and in which water accumulates in the rainy season and after heavy falls of rain. It is of much the same meaning as Pus'hto *khwaṛ*, but *kanda'h* is the name these great ravines were called by previous to the arrival of the Afgháns in these parts, the Πάκτυες notwithstanding, and *khwaṛ* is the name the Afgháns themselves gave to them and others. There are several *kanda'hs* east of 'Ash-Naghar or Hasht-Nagar, but one much larger than the others is called the Ḥiṣára'h Kanda'h, possibly after "the Ḥiṣár," one of the chief places in the district in ancient times (*see* page 175). This *kanda'h* begins about three kuroh east of 'Ash-Naghar, and in some places is from ten to fifteen *gaz* in depth. It runs south-east to join the Kálah-Pární, and forms the boundary between the 'Ash-Naghar district and the Sama'h.

The Lúnd, or Lúndaey Khwaṛ, is so called from the Pus'hto or Afghán word *lúnd* for "wet," "watery," "moist," etc., as mentioned in the description of the Dara'h of Suwát. Its plural form, with a masculine noun,

the left hand (north), and flows towards the right, and unites with the Landaey Sín

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is *lánw-dah*, and with a feminine, *landa'h* and *landey* respectively. Like other adjectives of its class, in the masculine, it takes the affix *aey* (*see* under Nawa'h-ga'í, at page 113), used to indicate diminution and to lessen the importance of a word, or to convey contempt (*see* my Grammar, page 29), as in the word *land*, "short," "little," etc., and *landaey*, its diminutive, in the words Landaey Sín (for which word Lúndaey must not be mistaken), and the name of this river bed or ravine is therefore known as the Lúndaey Khwaṛ as well as the Lúnd Khwaṛ. I have entered into these particulars because persons unaware of these matters turn the name into "*Lúnkhor*," "*Lúnkwar*," "*Lúndkhor*," and the like.

The Lúnd or Lúndaey Khwaṛ takes its rise from a number of minor branches in the same great mountain range as the Bagyáṛa'í, but farther to the east, and west of the village of Kharkaey. After running south, during which it is joined by other branches, some of considerable size, it reaches the large village to which it gives name, the village of Lúnd or Lúndaey Khwaṛ—*lit.*, the village on the Lúnd or Lúndaey Khwaṛ—close to which, on the south side, another considerable branch unites with it, after which, and immediately north of the Paja'h range of hills, and near Sayyid-ábád, it unites with the Kála'h-Pární. The two then, after running farther south, unite with the Bagyáṛa'í about two miles north of Gújar Gaṛí, at which point the Togh Nála'h or stream, and some minor affluents, also penetrating the Paja'h hills farther east, join them.

The Balaṛ (not "Bálar") Khwaṛ, which is mentioned by Khush-hál Khán, Khaṭak, under the name of Balaṛ Nála'h, in which, near Gumbat, he once laid an ambush, lies much farther east, towards the *Maira'h* or desert, and its tributary, the Shiga'í—in Pus'hto *shiga'í* signifies "sandy," "gravelly," "pebbly,"—or Shiga'í Khwaṛ, or Gravelly Kanda'h, may also be called feeders, in some degree at least, of the Kála'h-Pární. The Balaṛ Khwaṛ takes its rise near the extreme northern point of the *Maira'h*, some distance east of the village of Hamzah-Deṛ, and, running westward, passes immediately under the large village of Yár Ḥusain on the south, and, shortly after, unites with the Balaṛ Khwaṛ or Kanda'h.

The Shiga'í Khwaṛ or Kanda'h rises in the mountains running down southwards towards the Dara'h of Manera'í, from the range bounding the Chamla'h Dara'h in that direction. The country is much cut up by water-courses hereabouts, and the river arises from several small streams which unite near Amán-Koṭ, about six miles east of Parmulí, then bends towards the south-west in the direction of Hamzah-Deṛ, and running westward, passes close under Yár Ḥusain on the south, about four miles westward of which it unites with the Balaṛ Nála'h, just two miles south of Yár Ḥusain, near Bázárga'í. The united Khwaṛs, in one channel, then takes a course nearly due west, passes Gumbat a little to the north, at which point water is generally to be found in its bed, and about five miles farther west enters what was the *kol* or *joeyr*, now a marshy lake, into which the Guzar and Maḳám Rúds drain.

I have described the Kála'h-Pární and its tributaries as they *now* are, but, according to the statements of the author of these surveys, the whole of them used to contain much more water than they do at present, for he describes most of them as rivers. That he was correct in his statements the people of these parts fully confirm, for they say that, during the past sixty or seventy years, the water in most of the rúds and khwaṛs has greatly decreased, and that many springs have altogether disappeared. The existent ruins of former ages, and the numerous mounds of earth, apparently artificial, which are to be found scattered all over this tract, which mounds, in the Pus'hto or Afghán language, are called *der* (but this well known term has been turned into "*Dheyr*," "*Dher*," "*Deyr*," and the like incorrect and meaningless words by one or two writers on the subject, and, consequently, instead of indicating what the word really means, they lead people astray), the diminutive form of which is *dera'í*, and still forms the terminations of the names of scores of villages, plainly show that, in bygone times, before and since the arrival of the Dilazáks, who were the earliest Afghán settlers in this part, especially before, it must have contained many flourishing towns and villages, and have supported a large population, who must have had water in far greater plenty than at present exists.

The whole of these khwaṛs, however, still contain springs every here and there, and some water all the year round, as is attested by the number of villages built along their sides; and even in times of severe drought, when apparently dried up altogether, water can be found by digging a few feet in their beds, as is the case with most of the khwaṛs in Afghánistán and on our Panj-áb border.

The Guzar Rúd or river is the next important tributary, which, in its true sense, is a river, for it has a swift stream, and is rarely dry. The name of this river—which is the Arabic word for a ferry, ford, or passage—is written with the Arabic letter ذ—*zál*, conveying the sound of *dth*, which people of Hind, and some Europeans who (notwithstanding their "ingenuity" in turning Afgháns into Πάκτυες) have no ear for sounds, cannot realize, and who, in consequence, turn it into simple د—*dál*, and make the word "*Gudr*," "*Gadr*," "*Gadai*," "*Gadar*," and even "*Gada*," after the same fashion as they turn the name of Mandaṛ or Mandaṛn, written with Pus'hto ړ, into "*Mandan*," and turn Kála'h Pární into "*Chalpani*," and even into "*Chalpanikhwar*," as if it were one word.

The Guzar Rúd issues from the mountains forming the south-west boundary of Buner, a little to the north-west of Sangáo, passes the three small villages called Káṭlang (*see* page 195), pierces the Paja'h hills immediately west of Jamál Gaṛí, passes the village called Guzar or "The Passage or Ford," which gives name to the river, enters—and, when these surveys were made, went to form—the *joeyr*, *kol*, or lake, now a mere marsh, referred to at page 247, where the Muḳám Rúd and other khwaṛs from the east, also empty themselves. Then, in a united channel, they issue from this marshy tract lower down, and the stream passes east of Torú, and about two miles south of that town unites with the Kála'h Pární, just above Ághalah-Der, which name, although it has a significant meaning in Pus'hto, has been turned into "Alahder," "Aladher," "Attadeyr," "Ghuladheyr," "Ghaladair," and "Gholader," by as many modern writers and compilers—anything but the correct name.

The Maḳám (incorrectly made "Mokam") Rúd was known in former times as "the river of the Yúsufzís," the name of which is evidently derived from the 'Arabic "*maḳám*" or "*muḳám*," signifying "a station," "a place of residence or encamping," or "the halting of an army," and is not an uncommon name for a small river. It *now* takes its rise from two small streams rising at the head of the Súdam valley, in the mountains bounding Buner on the south—the half of its southern boundary—which unite about a mile north of Bázár. It then runs to the south-west, for a short distance west of Rustam, below which it receives a tributary from the eastward, which rises in the mountains a few miles west of Anbela'h, and continues its course south-west through the Súdam Valley as far as Bakhshalaey, when it turns south, and, passing by Sháh-Báz Gaṛí, and Gaṛí Kapúra'h, enters what was the great *kol, joeyr*, or lake, previously referred to.

The author of these surveys describes the sources of the Maḳám Rúd very differently. He says, at pages 247, 249, and 257, that its source is the stream rising in the little Dara'h of Mír Sháhí, which passes Náranjí, and, farther west, a little to the north of Parmulí or Farmulí, having joined another stream flowing out of

or River of Kábul, on the west side of the village of Pír-i-Siwák.* On both sides of this river's banks there are many ups and downs, and much *jangal*. The Radzaṛs, a sub-tribe of the Mandaṛ Afgháns, infest the roads in this direction."

I have already mentioned that Bábar Bádsháh was induced by Malik Hamzah, one of the Gagyání chiefs, who had been in his service, to make a raid upon the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks, under the plea that they annoyed and molested the Gagyání traders on their way to and from Hindústán, they having to proceed through the Kála'h-Pární district, then to Jánakur (not "Jahangíra"), Sunyála'h, crossing the Landaey Sín or river of Kábul at the Sargh-waṛa'í ferry, and thence to Níl-áb, Aṭak Banáras not then being in existence. The object of the Gagyání chiefs was partly against the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs to whom Bábar was still hostile.

At the period in question all the territory between the Kála'h-Pární and the Abáe-Sín or Indus, including Buner, was in the hands of the Dilazák Afgháns, and the 'Umr Khel section of that tribe held the Kála'h-Pární district, which was covered, every here and there, with vast cane forests, in which canes six and seven *gaz* in length—from 18 to 20 feet—were to be found, and which forests were infested by man-eating tigers, and gave shelter to the rhinoceros. The bed of the Kála'h-Pární is said to have been much narrower then than now; and the 'Umr Khel possessed two villages on its banks, one on one side, and the other facing it, and both were connected by a bridge. These villages were situated, in all probability, north of Útí Mardán, but may have been farther south, for their exact position is not mentioned in history. The Mughals and their allies surprised the western-most village, and secured the bridge-head. The 'Umr Khel defended this with great obstinacy, and held the Mughals at bay until Bábar himself led them on. The bridge and other village were then captured, but the 'Umr Khel had time to send away their families, cattle, and other effects, to the Kaṛah-Már hills, before the Mughals entered the village.

In this affair, Sháh Boṛa'í, the wife of Rustam, a prominent man of the 'Umr Khel clan, and her cousin, perished. She wore male attire previous to her marriage, and was famed for her warlike prowess, and, subsequently, used to accompany her husband in military expeditions with her face veiled. Rustam was laid down with fever, and was unable to fly, and there was no means of removing him when the Mughals attacked the place. She defended him valiantly, and the enemy, who took her for a man, had great difficulty in overcoming her. She and her husband were both killed.

Soon after this affair, a Gagyání chief having been killed in a brawl among his own tribe, Bábar, suspecting or fearing treachery, abandoned further operations and retired, as I have mentioned at page 224. This affair appears to have happened just before Bábar crossed the Indus and invaded the Panj-áb, and occupied Bárah and Khúsh-áb.

To return to the description of the route to Gaṛhí Kapúra'h.

"From the point where the Kála'h Pární unites with the Abáe-Sín, four kuroh north, inclining north-east, is Torú, a large village, or rather town, belonging to the Mashranzí Kamálzí, 'Usmánzí sub-tribe or division of the Mandaṛs.† East of it is a small river called the Maḳám, which rises in the mountain range north of the Súdam

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another small dara'h, called the Sher Dara'h, the united streams run towards the west, pass not far from Múchaey, and then, some miles north of Shewa'h, after having been joined by other tributaries from the mountains north of Rustam in the Súdam Dara'h (to which some recent writers have applied the fanciful name of "the *Ilam* "*Range*," but which is quite unknown to the people of this locality), flow down by Sháh-Báz Gaṛí, as already described. That this was the course of these two streams, which constituted the sources of the Muḳám Rúd, at the period in question, is undoubtedly the fact, as is also the statement that vast changes have taken place in these parts since that time, of which the people themselves are well aware. The effects which these changes produced, to the *kol* or *joeyṛ* in particular, I have referred to farther on.

Now those two streams go to form the Khwaṛ, which runs southward, and passes Parmulí, Shewa'h, Shaikh Jáná, and Naua'h Ḳala', when it bends to the west, and, running by Kálú Khán and Adínah, between which two places it separates into two branches, the main branch passes Ismá'íla'h, and both are soon after lost in the ground on nearing Gaṛí Kapúrah, where, instead of the *kol* or *joeyṛ*, at present there is only a large extent of marshy ground. This Khwaṛ appears to have no single specific name, since some call it the "Árang "Khwaṛ," others the "Wûch Khwar," "Úch Khwar" or "Úch Chína'h," some, "a feeder of the Kalpani," others again, "a great sandy ravine," and the like, but Úchh Khwaṛ is the name chiefly applied to it. These are all the khwaṛs draining into the Kála'h-Pární.

There are others draining into the Abáe-Sín or Indus, which will be referred to in their proper places.

* This place is at present generally known as Pír Siwák, but it is sometimes called Pír Sihwák. It now belongs to the Khaṭak Afgháns. *See* also page 273.

† This is quite correct. They are Mandaṛs, not Yúsufzís. Not "Mishránzáes," however, because "mashar" and not "*mishar*" is the Pus'hto for elder, whence the name Mashranzí is derived, and the "*a*" is not long but short. The name of this place suggests connection with the Torú Ál, or Torú tribe of the Gibarís.

Dara'h or Valley, and falls into a large *kol, joeyr*, or lake.* This lake is of considerable extent, to such degree that, for a distance of three or four kuroh all round it rice is largely cultivated.

"Leaving Torú, you proceed two kuroh north-east, inclining east, to Amánzí, a large village inhabited by Afgháns of that section of the 'Usmánzí Mandaṛs, and in going thither you follow the course of the Makám river. At this village the route given farther on branches off towards the Ḳaryah or Village of the Bádsháh in Buner. From Amánzí you proceed three kuroh, much in the same direction as before, to Langar-Koṭ, a ḥiṣár or fortress of considerable elevation, on the east side of the Makám river, and giving name to the dara'h.† Half a kuroh farther on is Gaṛhí Kapúra'h, a strong fort and large village, on the east bank of the Maḳám stream. The tract around belongs to the Amánzí Mandaṛs.‡

"On the way from Torú to this place you meet with many ascents and descents, while a lofty mountain range lies near by on the left hand (the range separating this tract from the Lúnd Khwaṛ or Lúndaey Khwaṛ Dara'h or Valley). The country through which this route lies (from Noh-s'hahra'h) is part of what the Afághinah§ style the Sama'h in their language, signifying a plain or level tract, and extending from the Landaey Sín, or river of Kábul on the south, to the mountains bounding Suwád and Buner on the north."

Fifty-fifth Route. From Kábul to Ḳaryah-i-Bádsháh, or Village of the Bádsháh, which is one of the large villages of the country of Buner, a distance of two hundred kuroh‖ east.

"This route may be subdivided into three. The third lies through Suwád, the first leads direct from 'Ash-Naghar or Hasht-Nagar, and the second is by Langar-Koṭ.

"*First Road.*—By 'Ash-Naghar to Ḳaryah-i-Bádsháh. The road between Kábul and Noh-s'hahra'h as far as the Kála'h Páṛní has just been described. From the last-named point you go two kuroh north-east, inclining north, to Ghálaey-Ḍer, otherwise Ághalaey-Ḍer¶ (in Pus'hto, ághalaey means pleasing, agreeable, etc.), now wholly

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* This *joeyr* or *kol* has almost disappeared. The cause of this change is partly accounted for in note ‡, page 249, which see, and note ‡, page 244, para. 10.

† After what is stated here, and what immediately follows, it is almost superfluous to say that Langar-Koṭ, etc., is not "the modern Kapurda Garri, a fort built in 1670 to command the plain of Yusufzai."

Langar-Koṭ is mentioned in the Yúsufzí history which was written more than a century before 1670, indeed, before 975 H., 1566–67 A.D. There is no doubt but that it is an ancient site, probably of a fortress, which appears to have given name to the dara'h. The low range of hills on which it stood was called the Koh-i-Langar, or Langar range, before the time of Akbar Bádsháh at least.

After the disaster sustained by Akbar's troops in their retreat from Suwát, related farther on, the young Prince, Murád, along with the Rájah, Todar Mal, at the head of fresh forces, was hurried across the Indus, from Akbar's camp at Aṭak, to oppose the victorious Afgháns, who were reported to be in full march upon that place, and took post at Miṣrí Bánḍa'h to threaten their flank. Soon after, the young Prince was recalled, and the Kuṇwar, Mán Singh, was summoned from the neighbourhood of Jam-rúd, where he was watching the Táríkís, to serve under the Rájah's orders. Mán Singh at this time erected a fortification near the site of Ŭhanḍh—said to have been that of an ancient city, but, at that time, only a great mound of earth—and made arrangements for the cultivation of the lands belonging to it.

In the meantime Todar Mal moved from Miṣrí Bánḍa'h to the Koh-i-Langar, which range, Abú-l-Fazl, the historian of Akbar's reign, says, is an offshoot from the mountains of Suwát (of the mountains bounding Suwát and Buner on the south), and there the Rájah erected a permanent camp. From these two points, Langar-Koṭ and Ŭhanḍh, the two commanders began to make raids into the territory of the Mandaṛs and Yúsufzís, and to plunder and devastate it, and massacre its people. These events happened in 1586 (994 H.), nearly a century before 1670.

Langar, in Persian, means a place where food is daily given away to the poor and needy, also a circle or enclosure of stone, brick, or other material, erected round the tomb and shrine of some holy man among the Musalmáns; and, sometimes, a khánḳah, or religious structure built for recluses, is also called a Langar. In the hills referred to there was, no doubt, such a structure as is here mentioned.

Gaṛhí Kapúra'h is sometimes called Koṭ Kapúra'h.

After capturing the Dilazák villages just previously named, Bábar Bádsháh and his Gagyání allies set out in pursuit of the fugitive Dilazáks in the direction of Sháh-Báz Gaṛah and Kaṛah-Már. After proceeding for a distance of three kuroh, night overtook him, and he encamped near the Máḳam river; and close to the place where his camp was pitched, one Yúsufzí historian says, "the fort of Langar-Koṭ now stands," that is, the defences erected by the Rájah, Todar Mal, above referred to. They are now in ruins. The village of the Langar is mentioned by the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, in his work. It was here that the notorious heretic, the Ḳalandar, Sháh-Báz, took up his residence when he came from Khurásán into the Sama'h, and here was a *langar*, the tomb of the venerated Sayyid Maḥmúd. *See* page 218.

‡ *See* note †, page 246.

§ The 'Arabic plural of Afghán, in the same manner as Turk, and Tarákamah. It is commonly used in Persian writings.

‖ One copy of the original has "one hundred and eighty kuroh."

¶ "Ghuladheyr," "Alahder," "Aladher," "Attadeyr," "Gholader," etc., as in our maps and gazetteers, is not correct. The correct name is shown by its Pus'hto meaning. It is in the Kála'h Páṛní district. As mentioned elsewhere, it is probably near the place where the 'Umr Khel Dilazák villages stood, which were

deserted, but, in ancient times, the site of a strong fort, and the seat of government of this tract of country. Torú, Langar-Koṭ, and other villages, lie some distance from it to the north and east respectively. Another five kuroh from thence in the direction of north-east, and you reach Mián Khán, and then, keeping onward for eight kuroh more, much in the same direction as before, arrive at the village of Rustam, situated on the east side of the Maḳám river. Setting out from thence, you proceed for another eight kuroh in the direction of north, inclining north-east, to Túrsak,* and on the way thither have to cross a defile of considerable elevation, the crest of which marks the boundary between the Sama'h and Buner, and when you reach the foot of this defile the Sama'h terminates.

"From Túrsak you go on to Maira'h, distant a kuroh and a half in the direction of north, inclining north-west. As the Afgháns of the small dara'h in which Túrsak and Maira'h are situated belong to the 'Ísázís, a small section of the Ilyászí Yúsufzís, it is also called the 'Ísází Dara'h. You next proceed three kuroh from Maira'h, in the direction of north-east, to Pá-e Khel and Kálá Khel, two villages belonging to the Gadází clan of the above-mentioned Ilyászís; and the river of Buner flows below these villages on the east side.

"Another kuroh north from Pá-e Khel brings you to 'Karyah-i-Bádsháh,' or 'Village of the Bádsháh,' or 'Bádsháh's Village,' which is of considerable size, situated at the foot of the mountain range separating Buner from Suwád. The river of Buner, before referred to, is crossed below the village to the west side; and north of the village is a small stream, which comes from the direction of east, and, on the west, unites with the river of the Gadází Dara'h. A little to the north of the point of junction of the two streams is the *mazár*—tomb and shrine—of the Sayyid, 'Alí, the Tirmizí, a native of Tirmiz on the Ámúíah (Oxus), whose disciple the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, was. The Afgháns hold the Sayyid, 'Alí, in the greatest veneration, and style him the Pír Bábá. The village is peopled by the Sayyid's descendants.†

"*Second Road.*—By Langar-Koṭ and Súdam, or Sudam, to the Karyah-i-Bádsháh, or Village of the Bádsháh.

"From the village of Amánzí, mentioned in the preceeding (Fifty-fourth) Route, you proceed three kuroh east to Ismá'íla'h,‡ and Langar-Koṭ and Gaṛhí Kapúrah lie half a kuroh distant on the right hand.§ From Ismá'íla'h you go on to Adínah, distant one kuroh in the direction of east.‖ Leaving Adínah, you go on for a distance of another kuroh and a half east, inclining south-east, to Kálú Khán, with Takhta'h-Band lying distant, under the hills, on the left hand, in the direction of north-west, and Sher Ghund, about the same distance to the north-east. Kálú Khán is a large village, and the residence of Karam Khán, the Mandaṛ chief. From thence you proceed another kuroh and a half east to Tálandey, and from thence one kuroh north-east to Nawaey. Another half a kuroh north, inclining north-east, brings you to Shaikh Jáná. Leaving that place, you go on to Shewa'h, distant nearly two kuroh to the north, a short distance east of the Kaṛah-Már range of hills. This is a town

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connected by a bridge, and in one of which Sháh Boṛa'í, the Dilázak heroine, fell. It is also written Ághalah-Ḍer. A weekly market used to be held here. Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík, resided for some time at this place, and from it issued his manifestces, and here he was surprised by Muḥsin Khán, Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul, and captured. He managed to escape from his hands, however, and again caused great disturbances. Finally, after having been again overthrown by Muḥsin Khán in Nangrahár, or Nek-Anhár, he managed to reach a village in the Kála'h Pární district, but some say Sher-páo of 'Ash-Naghar, where he died of fever, brought on by fatigue, chagrin, and exposure, and went to the place prepared for him. What happened to his remains will be mentioned in another note.

* Túrsak is a town of some size, belonging to two small sections of the 'Ísází (some say 'Áyishahzí) Yúsufzís. There is an ancient *ṭop* or cupola near this place, and another under the little range of hills immediately north of the town, known as the Ja'far Koh, on which are some other ancient ruins.

† *See* page 252.

‡ Incorrectly called "Smalia" in the maps. What appear in Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Gazetteer" as "Smalka," "Shmalia," "Ishmalia," and the like, in as many different places, all refer to this place.

§ Captain T. C. Plowden, S.C., says, in his notes to the translation of a book styled "Kalíd i-Afghání," (page 180) that "Langarkot is the modern Kapúr da-Garrí," and that it consists of "four villages of Garri "Ism'aílzai, Garri Daulatzai, Kot Ism'aílzai, and Kot Daulatzai." A few pages farther on he says that "Garri Daulatzai (known as Kapúr Garrí) stands on the site of the ancient Langarkot," while, in the text to which this note is appended, Langar-Koṭ is mentioned and Kapúr Ghaṛí not. A few pages farther on (Appendix IV., page ii.) he says "Langarkot is modern Garrí Ism'aílzai *cum* Daolatzai." From the route above given it is clearly shown that Langar-Koṭ (the fort) and Gaṛhí Kapúra'h, otherwise Koṭ Kapúra'h, although near each other, were totally distinct places. *See* preceding note †, page 247.

Gaṛhí Kapúra'h is contained in Colonel MacGregor's work under one heading as "Kapúr da Garhi, about "6 miles east of Hóti Mardán," and, in another place, as "Garíkapúr, about 7 miles east of Mardán fort," as though two distinct places.

‖ Adínah is the name of a clan of the Radzaṛ Mandaṛs. The village is situated on what is sometimes called the Árang Khwaṛ, and Uchh Khwaṛ, but these names are somewhat loosely applied.

of considerable size; in fact, the largest in these parts.* From it you next proceed two kuroh north-east to Jalál and Ghulámán, and from the last-named village two kuroh north to Sudam or Súdam, as it is also written, another large village.† Two kuroh farther on from thence is the small village of Malandaraey.

"From the village of Shewa'h to the last-named place this tract of country is also called Sudam. A small river rises near here, which, not far from Shewa'h, joins that flowing out of the Sher Dara'h, and receives the name of Makám, which, after passing by Langar-Kot, enters the *joeyr, kol*, or lake, referred to at page 247.‡

"Setting out from Malandaraey, you go two kuroh and a half to Tuwaey (in one copy Nuwaey), and by the way have to cross a great *kotal* or pass,§ named after the village of Malandaraey, and its crest marks the extremity of the Sama'h territory in that direction, and beyond it, on the other side, is Buner. Having crossed this *kotal* you proceed two kuroh and a half to Kharappa'h, which Afgháns pronounce Karappa'h. North of it there is a lofty defile to be crossed, and having done so, and descended on the other side towards the north, you reach a small river, known as the Makhzí river, which comes from the right hand, and, flowing towards the north, unites with the river of Buner.

"Departing from thence, you go on for a distance of two kuroh north-west, inclining north, to Ilaey, an ancient village, situated on a spur from the mountains, on the left-hand side of the route. In bygone times it was the place of residence of the ruler‖ of the Buner Dara'h. The river of Buner¶ flows beneath it on the east side, while on the right hand is an extensive open plain, known as Makhzí,** after a clan of the Ilyászí Yúsufzís. A road coming from the right hand, from the direction of Shikolí,†† joins this route at Ilaey.

"Leaving the latter village, you proceed, for a distance of three kuroh north, along the banks of the river of Buner, and reach Ghází Khání, a small village on the right hand, on a hill. Continuing onwards, in the same direction as before, for a kuroh and half along the banks of the same river, you reach Sultán-Wash,‡‡ another small village on the right hand, also perched upon a crag. Setting out from thence, and going another kuroh and a half farther north, you reach Karyah-i-Bádsháh, or The Bádsháh's Village.

"Pá-e Khel and Kálá Khel, mentioned in the preceding route, lie at a distance on the left hand. The excessively mountainous nature of the tract passed through on the latter part of this route is almost beyond description."

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* Shewa'h is remarkable as being the place, on a hill near which, the beacon fire was lighted as a signal to the people of the villages round, when it was determined to cut off the followers of the Khalífah, the Sayyid, Ahmad, referred to in note †, page 252. The Afgháns wished to get rid of him and his followers, for they never yet tolerated Khalífah, or "King;" and, according to the plot formed for the purpose, they induced the Sayyid to send out his followers into the different villages round to collect the tithe, in order to separate them. The firing of the beacon at Shewa'h was the signal agreed upon for falling upon the Khalífah's men; and, on a certain Thursday night, when one watch of the night had passed, the beacon blazed out. Some 800 of the Khalífah's followers were cut off, he being at Panj-Tár at the time with 150 of them. The Afgháns were about to fall upon them likewise, when Fath Khán, the Mandar chief, conducted him by an unfrequented route through the mountains to the north, and sent him in safety across the Indus into the Hazárah district.

† Also called Súdamúnah, or the Súdams. According to our maps there is no place so called at present. The chief of Súdam resides at Chhár-gola'í, about two kuroh and a half south-west of Rustam.

‡ It will be remarked that there is no mention of any river or river-bed crossed up to this point, which is another proof of the great changes which have taken place in the Sama'h since these surveys were made. In going from Adínah to Kálú Khán at the present time you must cross the Khwar, in these days sometimes called the Árang Khwar, and Úchh Khwar, and, in proceeding from thence to Shewa'h by the above route, you skirt it the whole way; in fact, from Nawaey to Shewa'h, you have to keep close to it. The author, who is so particular in mentioning rivers crossed, and rivers near, would not have omitted to mention them had any existed at the time. It is the more remarkable because the sources of the present Khwar are the very two streams which issue respectively out of the Sher Dara'h and Dara'h of Mír Sháhí, referred to at page 257, and which, in those days, flowed west instead of south, and were the sources of the Makám Rúd, at which period the great *kol, joeyr*, or lake, existed where now only a great marsh remains to attest its previous existence. The probability is, that, when the course of these two streams became changed through some convulsion of nature not recorded, or of which European writers have no cognizance, the great *kol* or *joeyr* greatly diminished, and soon became changed into an extensive area of boggy ground.

Another remarkable fact remains to be mentioned. As far as I can discover, the great lake bed immediately west of Kala'bat, which is alternately full and empty for periods varying from five to ten years, was formed about the time that the Makám Rúd lost its two affluents or sources, when they took a course from west to south, and since the author of these surveys wrote. *See* also note *, page 32.

§ *See* page 263.

‖ In the time when the Mutráwí tribe held it.

¶ *See* the Sixty-eighth Route, page 287, where the Barandú river is mentioned.

** This is the place which one of Colonel C. M. MacGregor's authorities makes into "Makhozai."

†† *See* page 215. This is a totally different place from that mentioned at page 231, but is the same as is mentioned in the Sixtieth Route, which *see*.

‡‡ Neither "Sultánwes" nor "Sultánwáis." Wash is an old Tájzík word and a particle of similitude.

A third road is not given, as, after reaching the Suwád valley, the route is the same as that given in the Fifty-eighth Route, farther on.

Fifty-sixth Route. From the S'hahr of Bájawṛ to Damghár of Suwád.

"Issuing from the S'hahr, and proceeding one kuroh to the east, you come to the large village of Ḳalá'-cha'h, and the river of Sherí* flows on the left hand, and Náwa'h Ḍand lies on the right. The village of Mahmandzí lies on the left hand, on the other side of the afore-mentioned river.

"From thence (Ḳalá'-cha'h) you go on another half a kuroh east to Súraey Wálah, another small village, and on the way thither you have to cross the before-mentioned river. After going another kuroh and a half from thence you reach Jár, which is a large village on the left hand, on the river of Chanḍawul, and the river of the Bábá-Kara'h Dara'h lies on the west side of it, the village being thus situated between two rivers, which unite to the east of it, while the Sherí river flows near by, on the right-hand side.

"From Jár you proceed to Anís Khel,† a large village on the Sherí river, distant one kuroh east. The rivers of Jár and the Maidán Dara'h come from the left hand, and unite with the before-mentioned river. You then proceed two kuroh farther east to Aogúsum, and another kuroh to Guraṛ. Three kuroh farther, in the direction of north-east, brings you to Khema'h,‡ a large village belonging to the Yúsufzí Afgháns, and the river of Bájawṛ, flowing to the right hand, joins the river of Panj-Korah.

"From this village to Toṛ-mang, and from thence to Damghár, the route has been previously described.§ The territory of Bájawṛ extends as far east as Khema'h; and from Aogúsum‖ east the Yúsufzí tribe is located."

Fifty-seventh Route. From the S'hahr of Bájawṛ to 'Ash-Naghar or Hasht-Nagar.

"There are two roads to 'Ash-Naghar from the S'hahr of Bájawṛ. One goes by Náwa'h-ga'í and Khema'h,¶ as has been already mentioned: the other is as follows.

"Setting out from the S'hahr, and proceeding fourteen kuroh south-east, you reach Baṛhang,** a small village belonging to the Utmán Khel Afgháns. From thence you go eight kuroh to Trikh-Áo,†† the name of a ferry over the river of Panj-Korah, which ferry they also style by the name of Zángo. You pass the river by means of a raft, and go on for seven kuroh farther towards the south to Búcha'h,‡‡ and at that point cross the river of Suwád by means of a bridge, but, according to the statements of some persons, by means of a *zángo*, or raft; hence one of the names of the ferry.

"The details respecting the remainder of the route between Búcha'h and 'Ash-Naghar have been previously given (at page 177)."

Fifty-eighth Route. From the S'hahr of Bájawṛ to the Ḳaryah-i-Bádsháh or the Bádsháh's Village in Buner.

"The route leading from the S'hahr of Bájawṛ to Damghár has just been described (in the Fifty-fourth Route).

"Leaving Damghár, and proceeding south for a short distance, you reach the river of Suwád, and cross it by means of a raft. You then continue in the same direction for another kuroh, and reach Míngowaṛa'h, which is a large village on a mountain spur,§§ lying on the left-hand side of the route, which follows the course of a river bed.

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* The same as is mentioned in the Thirty-sixth Route, and in the Eighteenth, pages 143 and 182.

† *See* page 164.

‡ *See* pages 116 and 178.

§ At page 231. *See* also page 178.

‖ This place is in the Maidán Dara'h. *See* page 117.

¶ *See* page 178.

** *See* page 219.

†† Trikh-Áo, in Pus'hto, has a meaning, but "Tarnao," as it has been erroneously styled, none. It is in the Utmán Khel country, not in "Hashtnagar."

‡‡ *See* page 177. Here the river of Suwád is sometimes called the Ágaṛah, from the small stream, apparently, which rises on the northern face of the mountain range, bounding Lower Suwát on the south, and flows to the west, joins the united rivers of Bájawṛ, Báshḳár, Panj-Korah, and the river of Suwát, about eight miles below the junction of the latter with the three former rivers and their feeders.

§§ This place consists of some seven or eight hundred houses, and contains a number of Hindú inhabitants. It is a short distance from the left or eastern bank of the Suwát river, and north-west of it, on the opposite side, is Damghár.

Saiydú, or, in the plural form, Saiydúgán, giving name to the dara'h likewise—"Syadú-gam," as it appears in Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Gazetteer," and "Seedo" of Major Biddulph's book, being quite out of the question—became famous after the author of these surveys wrote his account, as the residence of the Akhúnd

From Míngowaṛa'h you go two kuroh south, to Saiydú, which lies on the left hand. It appears to be the site of an ancient city, for there are extensive and massive ruins car by, among which is a *top* or cupola. From this point two roads diverge. The right-hand one is as follows:—Leaving Saiydú, and proceeding one kuroh to the south-west, you come to Gulaey-Grám, which is situated on the right-hand side of the way.

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of Suwát, about which poor old recluse the most absurd nonsense has been, and still is, written. I gave a short account of him and his mode of life twenty years ago, in my paper on Suwát, previously referred to in these Notes, and need not recapitulate it here.

Persons interested in so doing were in the habit of spreading reports that this old priest, whom they made out as having numerous armies of Gház̤ís at his back, was ready to pour them down upon our territory. He was said to be "occupied day and night in plotting against us"—in fact, that he did nothing else—and even that he was a king-maker. Colonel C. M. MacGregor even, in his Gazetteer ("Central Asia," Part I., Vol. 3, page 155), says:—"The Akhún proposed that a chief hitherto unconnected with Swát should be chosen (as "king), and, among other nominations, pointed out Syad Akbar of Satána as a man of energy, head, true "Mahamadan [*sic*] principles, qualified for the position, with the advantage of being a Syad.

"Syad Akbar was accordingly invited to become *King* of Swát, under the patronage of the Akhún, and "shortly after was duly installed," etc.

Whether he ascended a throne and assumed a crown and sceptre or not, is not said.

On the very next page the compiler writes of "the Swát Governor," "the Swát Government," and "the "rulers of Swát." All these terms could scarcely refer to the poor old recluse. Such are the errors caused by shutting our eyes to the fact of the existence of the chiefs of the different great clans, especially the chiefs of the Rárnízís and Bá'ízís.

Another writer, the Rev. J. Cave Browne, in a book entitled "Punjab and Delhi, in 1857" (Vol. II., p. 311), says:—

"On our northern frontier, in the Swat valley, the laboratory of Mahommedan intrigue, the right hand of the Alchemist was paralyzed at the very moment when he had seemed to have attained the grand *eureka* of his life. The *Badshah* whom the wily Akhund of Swat had raised, in order to gather under the green banner of the prophet every Mahommedan fanatic [all are 'fanatics,' 'rebels, or 'dacoits,' who fight against us according to some people], and to recover Peshawar over the corpses of the unbelievers,—this creature king *died on the very day* that the tocsin of rebellion was sounded forth from Delhi; and the fanatic fury which was to have overwhelmed Peshawar spent itself in civil war in the Swat valley."

It was *a year after* this that I sent a person into the Suwát valley, as previously stated. Whoever will read the account of the Ákhúnd in my Suwát paper cannot fail to perceive the absurdity of all this.

Some years before the rebellion of 1857, the Akhúnd of Suwát, as the spiritual guide of Afgháns of that part, was requested by some of his most orthodox followers to appoint a Bádsháh, that is to say, a Sayyid, *not a king*—and the word also means a great lord, noble, or headman—but as a sort of high-priest, or rather a legate, to whom the *zakát* and *'ushr*, certain alms and a tithe sanctioned by the Ḳur'án, might be legally paid [Khush-ḥál Khán, Khaṭak, mentions a precisely similar circumstance in his day], and who must be a Sayyid, which the Ákhúnd himself was not. As the Sayyid, Akbar Sháh, of Sathánah on the Indus, was the head of the most influential family of Sayyids in those parts, the Ákhúnd named him as the most proper person to whom these alms and tithe might be legally paid, as being a descendant of the prophet, Muḥammad. He died *some months after* the Dihlí massacre, on which his son, the Sayyid, Mubárak Sháh, desired to be nominated to the same office, but, as the Suwátís were no longer inclined to pay the tithe, the Ákhúnd declined to do so.

These are the facts concerning the "King of Swat," so called. All appear to have forgotten that there were several powerful independent chiefs in Suwát, and that the most powerful chief of all the parts around was Ghazan Khán of Panj-Korah, and that his ancestors, and the ancestors of the other chiefs, never tolerated a king, not even Aḥmád Sháh, Durráni, in the height of his power, and never have done so.

I notice that Colonel C. M. MacGregor quotes very copiously from my "Account of Suwát," but, strange to say, does not even refer to my account of the Ákhúnd, and quotes that of others instead. One of the objects I had in view, when despatching a person into the Suwát valley, was to obtain an unprejudiced account of him from a personal interview, and the chief of a loyal Afghán clan accompanied my agent.

The late Ákhúnd left Suwát when a mere child, and resided in the Khaṭak country, at Saráe, at the *ziárat* or shrine of the Shaikh Raḥím-Kár. There he remained as a student of theology until past his thirtieth year, and was so abstinent that he could scarcely walk a hundred yards through weakness. When the Sikhs got the upper hand at Pes'háwar, and drove out the Bárakzís, he left the Khaṭak country and returned to Suwát. Previous to his attaining eminence as a spiritual guide, the most influential religious character in those parts was the Ṣáḥib-zádah [that is, the son of some man held in veneration for piety, just in the same manner as the late Akhúnd's son will be styled the Ákhúnd-zádah] of Úchhúnah—as the two villages, Úchh-i-Bálá and Úchh-i-Pá'ín, in Lower Suwát, are styled.

I notice in "the Mullah's" narrative, para. 16, that he falls into the same errors, only he makes a deeper plunge. His errors must be patent to every one conversant with the tenets and ordinances of the Muḥammadan religion, but, at the same time, they tend to prove what I have previously stated.

He says: "Titles appear to be assumed at pleasure in some of the valleys in the Swát district. Khán Saiyid "Ahmad Sháh" ["Khán Saiyid" is certainly new], "native of Sarsenai, has assumed the title of King of the "Sibujní Valley" [like all Sayyids, he is, of course, entitled to be called Bádsháh, as well as by the shortened title of Sháh], "and levies on all the villages in the valley a tax of one tenth of the produce of every kind of grain, "and a small percentage on the live stock. This tax, called *ushur*, is, properly speaking, rather a voluntary "contribution" [*see* para. 9 of this note] "or offering than a tax. Should there be no King or Khán" [there are several of the latter in Suwát, for example, at Tárnah and Allah-ḍanḍ], "the *ushur* is distributed among "the poor. The word is from the Arabic, and signifies 'God's property.' The King's servants are called "*Ushurain*, as they collect the *ushur*."

It seems as improbable that a Mullá should be ignorant of the meaning of *'ushr*, not "*ushur*," as that a parson should not know the meaning of *tithes*. Can the title of "Mullah" be an assumed one, as in "some of "the valleys of the Swát district?" The word *'ushr* signifies "a tenth," and is derived from the 'Arabic *'ashara*—"ten." The giving of alms, legal and voluntary, is enjoined by the Ḳur'án; and these legal alms are termed *'ushr* or *tithes* by theological writers; the voluntary alms are termed *ṣadaḳa*.

As it is quite time that this "King" bubble should be burst, I may mention that, according to the Muḥam-madan law, these tithes and alms must be given of five things:—1, of corn; 2, of fruits; 3, of cattle of all sorts and kinds; 4, of money; 5, of wares and manufactures sold. Such being the case, the collections made

"From this place also two roads diverge. The right-hand one leads over a lofty defile, after crossing which you come down into the Dara'h of Hazárah and Mání-har.*

"The left-hand route is as follows:—Leaving Gulaey-Grám, you proceed half a kuroh west to Kokraey, and then another kuroh south-east to Saif Bánda'h (probably, Saifál Bánda'h), a small village belonging to the descendants of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, which lies on the left-hand side of the route. On the east is a great mountain range, and among its ravines a stream rises, which flows towards the north, and, west of the village of Míngowara'h, unites with the river of Suwád. You proceed on your way along the course of this stream. From Saif Bánda'h (Saifál Bánda'h?) you begin to ascend, and continue to do so for a distance of four kuroh in the direction of south-east, inclining east, and reach the crest of the range, the way being exceedingly crooked and winding. On the right hand, on the crest of the range likewise, there is a small lake, named Hulam, which is a sacred place of the Hindús, and which they visit in Baisákh (April–May). The *kotal* or pass leading over this range is called the Bijwára'h Ghás'haey; and the crest of the range constitutes the boundary between the territories of Suwád and Buner.

"You now begin to descend on the other side, and, proceeding downwards for a distance of four kuroh, in the direction of south-east, reach the little village of Pilhana'h† Bánda'h, which is in Buner. On the right-hand side of it, from a ravine in the side of the mountains, a stream issues. From the last-named village you go three kuroh to the south, and reach a point where a river of some size issues from the small dara'h named Gadází, after that section of the Ilyászí Yúsufzís, and which lies on the left hand as you proceed. This river unites with the stream coming from Pilhana'h Bánda'h, and receives the name of Gadází river. The Gadází Dara'h so called is about three or four kuroh in length, and runs in the direction of north-east and south-west.

"Proceeding a short distance south from the junction of the two streams referred to, you reach the *mazár*—tomb and shrine—of the Sayyid, 'Alí, the Tirmizí. South of it again there is another small river, which comes from the left hand, and also unites with the river of the Gadází Dara'h. To the south of the small river just referred to is the large village known as the Karyah-i-Bádsháh, or The Bádsháh's Village,‡

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by Aḥmad Sháh, or Aḥmad Bádsháh, but not Aḥmad *King*, as a Sayyid, are sufficiently accounted for. "The Mullah," apparently, might study 'Arabic and the Muḥammadan law with much advantage.

In the following paragraph he says:—"Three or four years previous to the death of the Akhúnd of Swát, "he expressed a wish that Saiyid Ahmad Sháh should be nominated king over the whole of Swát; the latter, "however, and other influential men, would not agree to this proposition" [truly], "but advised the Akhúnd "to allow his eldest son to assume *the reins of government*. This again the Akhúnd dissented from, saying "that he himself was a *fakir*" [What! the "levier of armies," and "leader in the field," attended by his "standard-bearers," a faḳír?], "and his son must be one too." *See* my "Account of Suwát," in the "Bengal "Asiatic Journal," page 19, para. 3.

There are no "reins of government" in Suwát to "assume." Each chief, and each clan, is independent, but, on occasions of emergency, or the invasion of their territory, the different chiefs and clans combine. At such a time their supreme head would probably be (as his father used to be before him) Raḥmat-Ullah Khán, the head of the Molízí Yúsufzís of Panj-Korah—"the Mullah's" *inhabitant of Dir in Malezai*, referred to in note *, page 202,—the greatest and most powerful chief of those parts, in counsel with their then chief spiritual guide, whoever he might be. What was meant by the notables of Suwát was the receipt of the tithes and alms by the Ákhúnd's son, not "the reins of government," but, as he was not a Sayyid, he was not legally qualified, even had his father consented; and the knowledge of this prevented the Ákhúnd from assenting, had he been inclined to do so, and every Sayyid would have objected.

The most romantic account I have yet met with, however, is contained in a book entitled "Central Asian Portraits," by Mr. D. C. Boulger, but instead of a portrait we have a caricature. He tells us (p. 40) "how easy "is the passage, among the superstitious and fanatical hillmen of the lands beyond the Punjab, *from the hermit's "cell to the chieftain's castle*." A description of "the chieftain's castle" will be found in my article on Suwát in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal," previously referred to, page 19.

He also tells us that *Akhond* signifies "a priest magistrate"; and that his "exclusive spiritual power over-"rode whatever secular authority the native chiefs possessed," etc., etc. The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, mentioned in these pages, was no more a "priest magistrate" than the Ákhúnd of Suwát, whom the people round followed and venerated as their spiritual guide. The meaning of Ákhún or Ákhúnd, not "Akhond," will be found in any Persian Dictionary; and as to the late Ákhúnd's "spiritual power" over-riding "the secular power" of the native chiefs, a proof, in point, will be found in my Suwát paper, pages 16 and 17. If he possessed such power in his lifetime, who possesses it now, for his death appears to have made no difference to Suwát politically? The power remains in the same hands as before, but the personal influence which greatly guided it is gone.

* This is the Hazárah and Mání-har referred to at page 241.

† Not called "Bulhan." "Gadézáí," and "Búnér," are equally incorrect, and "Buhnair" wholly so.

‡ The crude idea that the word Bádsháh applies to a king alone has caused a deal of nonsense to be written. If Bádsháh stood alone for king, there must have been a king of Buner between three and four centuries ago, for the Sayyid 'Alí's village is called "The Bádsháh's Village." There must have been a great number of dynasties unknown to history, according to the same logic. I find also that the Hindústání Waḥábí, the Sayyid, Aḥmad, who gave such trouble to the Sikhs and Bárakzís, and who was killed at Bálá-Koṭ, in Hazárah, in 1831, has also been dubbed a king, "to whom," says one, "Futteh Khan Mundur" [*sic*] "may be said *to have given "the crown*." He was not even styled Bádsháh, however, but Khalífah, and the writer might have said "given the Khiláfat," and so had a "Caliph," as well as a "King."

inhabited by the descendants of the before-mentioned Sayyid, or, as they also style him, the Pír Bábá, and the Gadází river flows near by on the right hand.

"The left-hand route from Saiydú is as follows:—Leaving that place, you proceed about two kuroh south-east to Islám-púr, peopled by the descendants of the Mián, Núr, grandson of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, which is situated on a mountain crag.* From that side a stream comes, which runs towards the north, and near the village of Saiydú unites with the river of Míngowaṛa'h. From Islám-púr two roads diverge. That on the left hand leads over a high mountain range, and brings you into the Dara'h of Manglawar,† the southern boundary of which this cross range forms, and which contains within it about forty villages. The water of the dara'h flows towards the north, and unites with the river of Suwád. From Manglawar you set out in the direction of south-east, and, having crossed the high mountain range, you enter the Gadází Dara'h,

"The right-hand route from Islám-púr leads for one kuroh up the mountain range, and down to Saif Báṇḍa'h (Saifál Báṇḍa'h?);‡ and from that place to The Badshah's Village the road has been already described."§

Fifty-ninth Route. From the S'hahr of Bájawṛ to Kogá of Buner.

"The road from the S'hahr of Bájawṛ to Damghár of Suwád, and from thence to The Bádsháh's Village, and to Khaṛappa'h, has been already described.

"Leaving Khaṛappa'h, therefore, and proceeding for a distance of one kuroh and a half south, inclining south-west, you reach Regah,‖ a small village lying near by the road on the right hand. Then you go on another two kuroh, inclining more to the south, to Baro Khel,¶ another small village, and the Kalaey-i-Míágán, or The Village of the Míáns, lies half a kuroh towards the east, at a distance from the road, on the left-hand side.

"From Baro Khel you go one kuroh to the south, inclining south-west, and ascend the mountain range before you for about the distance of another kuroh. Having gained the crest, you descend, much in the same direction, for another kuroh and a half. The defile which you cross is called the Anbela'h Ghás'haey.** It is very

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With all the discoveries, notwithstanding, respecting the "king of Swat *succeeding to the throne*," "which "*entailed the kingdom on the heirs for ever*," and such like nonsense, the writers do not appear to have discovered to what family the "Syad king," Akbar Bádsháh, referred to in the previous note, belonged. He was a lineal descendant of no other than the Sayyid, 'Alí, the Tirmizí, the Pír Bábá, mentioned at page 248, and after whom the above-mentioned village is called "The Bádsháh's Village." There were, a few years ago, and probably are still, three principal branches of this family, the head being two brothers, the Sayyid, 'Azim Sháh, and the Sayyid, Mián Sháh. The former, who was of an easy good-natured disposition, left his more active-minded and energetic brother to exercise his spiritual authority. They resided a good deal at Takhta'h-band, mentioned at page 248. *See* also note §, page 275.

The head of the second branch was the Sayyid, Akbar Sháh, of Sathánah, the same who has been made "king of "Swát" by English writers. The head of the third branch was the Sayyid, Rasúl Sháh, of Chamla'h. All these were both Sháhs and Bádsháhs, but not kings, and Akbar Bádsháh was no more "king of Swát" than "king" of "Sama," or "king" of "Búnér," or, indeed, "king" of "Yághistán." How numerous the "king" family was is proved from the fact that, at the attack of Sathánah, in May, 1857, among the "fanatics" killed were "four leaders, one of whom was known as 'the Badshah.'" Thus, by these accounts, in May, 1857, there were "two Richmonds in the field" at the same time, the Bádsháh of Suwát and the Bádsháh of Sathánah, and, it may be added, scores of others in the same locality, namely, all the Sayyids of the family referred to. Kings must have been, and must be, very numerous in the parts north of the Laṇḍaey Sín, for esides all these Bádsháhs, if it meant king only, there is the Bádsháh of the Spin Káfirís, mentioned in these surveys, the Bádsháh of Kanjút, and the Bádsháhs of Káshkár, etc. With regard to these latter, Bádsháh means Chief. *See* also page 172, where the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, says the Yúsufzís made Ghází Khán their Bádsháh, or Chief.

* The Mián's tomb may still be seen there. This person is the butt of Khush-ḥál Khán's irony in his poem on Suwát, a portion of which is contained in the account of that valley, page 204.

† "Manglor" is quite a mistake, and I have never written it so.

‡ The dara'h in which Islám-púr is situated lay in that part of Suwát inhabited by the Suwátí tribe of Mutráwí, and here, in this dara'h, their stronghold lay, called Bál-Grám, which was evacuated by them, and taken possession of by the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs after the conquest of the rest of Suwát. It is situated in the mountains between Suwát and Buner, and its ruins are still inhabited by the Gújars. The only open and somewhat level part in this dara'h is Káṭila'í, where the Afgháns encamped when they moved against Bál-Grám. The Mutráwís, after this, retired across the Indus, where they, and others of the Suwátí race, may still be found. Káṭila'í is more correctly a ramification of the Dara'h of Saiydú-gán, through which lies the road over the mountains into Buner by the Bijwáṛa'h Ghás'haey, just described above, for which "Jawarai" is an error. It is well wooded, and much fruit is produced in this dara'h.

There is said to be a large *top* or cupola here, as large as that of Shankar-dár, of which I gave a rough sketch in my "Account of Suwát," page 12.

§ *See* page 252.

‖ "Regar," as recently written, is not correct: there is but one *r* in the word. In the hills south-west of this place there is an ancient *top* or cupola.

¶ Turned into "Burkilla" in our maps.

** What we call the "Ambela Pass," is not the whole of it: it is only a portion of it, and the above is the other part.

difficult and arduous, and the crest of it marks the boundary between the Kohistán of Buner, and the *Sama'h* or plain, before mentioned. Having cleared the mountains, you proceed for rather less than a kuroh in the direction of south, and reach the village of Anbela'h, which belongs to the Mandaṛs. Leaving that, and going a kuroh and a half farther in the direction of south-east, threading your way along the bed of the Anbela'h river, with high mountains on either hand, you reach Kogah.

"The dara'h, through which you pass from Khaṛappa'h to Baro Khel, is called the Núrízí Dara'h, after a clan of the Malízí Yúsufzís; and the stream running through it, having made its way through the high mountain range on the left hand, unites with the river of 'Ísází, and finally joins the Abáe-Sín."

Sixtieth Route. From Koga'h or Kogá of Buner to Hazrao, which route brings you into the great road from Láhor to Kábul.

From Koga'h or Kogá, you proceed five kuroh south to Chinjzley—written and pronounced Chingley by Eastern Afgháns—a village of considerable size* belonging to the Khudo Khel section of the Sadozí clan of Utmánzí Mandaṛs. On the way thither you have to cross a high mountain range in which a small river rises, and which flows through the Dara'h of Manera'í, mentioned previously (at page 216), and, passing to the south, unites with the Abáe-Sín.

From Chinjzley or Chingley seven kuroh south is Panj-Tár, the name by which a cluster of villages is known, belonging to the before-mentioned Khudo Khel, and the residence of Alif Khán,† the chief of that section of the Mandaṛ tribe of Afgháns. In going thither you follow the course of the river running out of the hills, as previously mentioned, and here called sometimes the Chinjzley or Chingley river.‡

You then proceed five kuroh south to Manera'í, giving name to the Dara'h of that name. This is a very large village, belonging to the Mandaṛs, and is particularly famous as being the native place of Najíb Khán, Mandaṛ, who was originally a peasant of this village, and rose to be the Commander-in-Chief of the forces, and Minister, for a time, of Aḥmad Sháh, Bádsháh of Dihlí.§ One kuroh and a half farther south is another

* This was once a fine, flourishing town, containing some 1,500 houses, and a bázár. It was destroyed by the force under the command of Major-General Sir S. Cotton, in April, 1858.

† This Alif Khán was descended, in a direct line, from a brother's son of Malik Ḳará, the father of the celebrated Khán Kajú. Fatḥ Khán, who died in 1840, was his eldest son. Fatḥ Khán had, among other children, three sons, the eldest of whom, Muḳarrab Khán, then about thirty, was on bad terms with his father, and had lived apart from him, in a fortified village some miles distant, for seven or eight years. The second son, 'Álam Khán, was a youth about nineteen years old, and was his father's favourite; indeed, the enmity between the father and his eldest son, Muḳarrab, was caused through the desire of Fatḥ Khán to set aside the claims of Muḳarrab, and give the succession to 'Álam, a mode of procedure which perhaps, more than anything else, has caused the destruction of many great Afghán families from their sovereign's family downwards. The third son, named Maddad, was about fourteen years old at his father's death, but he had caused his parent's displeasure to such degree, three years before, that his father would not allow his name to be mentioned in his presence, not even when on his death-bed. This boy had fled, and was living with Muḳarrab.

When the Sikhs, some years before, entered the Sama'h with a large army, to the number of 14,000 or 15,000 men, with guns, and under the leadership of one of the European adventurers in the Sikh service, but others say, under the command of the Kuṉwar, Sher Singh, and the Sardár, Harí Singh, appeared before his villages named Panj-Tár, Fatḥ Khán, who could not muster more than about 300 followers, made a gallant stand against the invaders for some hours, when they thought fit to retire, expecting that the Buner clans would come down upon them in the night. They burnt one of the villages and its masjid before they decamped.

Panj-Tár, which, as the name implies, consists of a cluster of *five*, not four, villages, again recovered, and became a flourishing place, and lately contained from 900 to 1,000 dwellings. It was, however, again given to the flames in April, 1858, by the force under Major-General Sir S. Cotton. Muḳarrab Khán, who had succeeded his father, lost his possessions, and, for a time, resided in British territory, but, subsequently, he again engaged in intrigues against us, in his endeavours to regain his lost possessions. What has now become of him I am unaware.

‡ The river here referred to is now known as the Badṛaey Khwaṛ. It rises in the mountain range bounding the Chamla'h Dara'h on the south, one lofty peak of which is called Mahá-waṉ or Mahá-baṉ in Sanskrit—signifying "the great wood or forest," and Mahá-barn by the Afgháns. The village of Chinjzley is situated on one of its feeders, which is locally called, in consequence, the Chinjzley river. The united streams run through the Khudo Khel territory, and nearly due north and south after reaching the village named Salím Khán, then, passing Manera'í, Panj-Pír, and some other villages on the west, flow on to Zeyda'h, after which they bend to the westward, and enter the Abáe-Sín or Indus about a mile and a half west of Ūhanḍh. In the present day, during the summer months, the stream becomes dry throughout great part of its course, but, after heavy rains in the hills, it changes to a foaming torrent, often impassable for days together.

§ Muḥammad Najíb Khán, son of Iṣálat Khán of the 'Umar Khel clan of the Sadozí, Utmánzí, Mandaṛs, like many others of his countrymen before him, sought to better his fortune in Hind. His uncle, Bishárat Khán, was then serving under the Afghán chiefs of Rohil-khanḍ, and to him Najíb Khán went. He soon distinguished himself, and was made a Rasála'h-dár by Sa'd-Ullah Khán, chief of Kaṭher, during whose youthful years Ḥáfiz Raḥmat Khán, presently to be noticed, governed for him; and Dowandaey Khán, another distinguished Rohilah chief, a nephew of Ḥáfiz Raḥmat Khán, gave him his daughter in marriage.

When the rebel Wazír of Dihlí, Ṣaf-dar-Jang, the progenitor of the "Kings of Oude," so called, was dismissed

considerable village called Kálá, and from thence you proceed one kuroh more, in the

from his office for the base murder of his rival the eunuch, Jáwed Khán, the Bádsháh's favourite, he openly rebelled against his sovereign, Aḥmad Sháh, advanced with an army to attack him in his capital, and pitched his camp near Dihlí. Ṣaf-dar-Jang obtained assistance from Ḥáfiẓ Raḥmat Khán, who was under obligation to him, and he marched to his support at the head of a large force.

The Bádsháh endeavoured to induce Ḥáfiẓ Raḥmat Khán to desert Ṣaf-dar-Jang, and come over to him, but he pleaded that his honour was at stake if he should act hostile to Ṣaf-dar-Jang. The Bádsháh allowed his plea, but desired him, as he could not fight for his sovereign, not to fight against him, and to withdraw with his forces. This he did, and returned home. The Imperial officials, on this, endeavoured to induce some of the subordinate leaders with Ḥáfiẓ Raḥmat Khán's force, with promises of high pay and promotion, to join the Bádsháh's army, but, with a single exception, they did not accept those offers.

The exception was Muḥammad Najíb Khán, who was in command of a body of 100 horsemen. He entered the Mughal service; and, as his name as a bold leader was already well known, numbers of the Afghán soldiery joined him, and, in a few days, he had 2,000 men under his standard. He greatly distinguished himself in the battle of Koṭilah which followed, and was rewarded with a valuable jágír or fief.

During this stormy period he continued to rise to distinction; and, when another arch-rebel and Wazír, Ghází-ud-Dín Khán, the younger, who put out the eyes of the Bádsháh, Aḥmad Sháh, and set up 'Álam-gír-i-Ṣání, called in the Marhaṭṭahs, which act was the source of so much bitter misery to Hindústán, and caused the total downfall of the Mughal empire, already tottering, the Nawwáb, the Najíb-ud-Daulah, to which title Najíb Khán had been raised, was, in reality, the only Muḥammadan chief of power and ability who always opposed the Marhaṭṭahs. The Najíb-ud-Daulah could not, however, bring into the field an army sufficiently strong to withstand those whom Ghází-ud-Dín Khán had called in more particularly against himself, and he had to retire from Dihlí; and the Bádsháh, 'Álam-gír-i-Ṣání, had to open the gates and again to receive Ghází-ud-Dín Khán as his Wazír.

The Mussalmán chiefs of Hindústán generally, sought help subsequently from Aḥmad Sháh, Durrání, the Bádsháh of the Afgháns, to expel the Dakhaní marauders; and, when he entered India, the Najíb-ud-Daulah also joined him. When Aḥmad Sháh, Durrání, retired, after expelling them, and arranging the affairs of the Dihlí State, he, at the entreaty of his namesake, Aḥmad Sháh, the Mughal Bádsháh, nominated the Najíb-ud-Daulah, whose character and abilities stood very high, to the post of Amír-ul-Umará of that kingdom, as a counterpoise to the Wazír, Ghází-ud-Dín Khán.

It would occupy too much space here to narrate, however briefly, a tithe of the events of this period, which belong to the history of India. Suffice it to say that the Najíb-ud-Daulah, subsequently, when Aḥmad Sháh, Durrání, was again marching to rescue Dihlí and its ruler, from the same rebel Wazír, Ghází-ud-Dín Khán, and his allies, the Marhaṭṭahs, the Najíb-ud-Daulah, with his own forces, at the passage of the Jún (the Jamna, so called), overthrew the Marhaṭṭahs with great slaughter, and Datah, the Paṭel, Madho Ráo Sindíah's uncle, their leader, was killed; hence the subsequent bitter hostility of the Marhaṭṭahs, and of Sindíah in particular, towards the Najíb-ud-Daulah's family. This happened in Jamádí-ul-Awwal, 1173 H. (January, 1760).

The battle of Pánípaṭ followed early in 1761 (1174 H.), on which occasion the Najíb-ud-Daulah brought 16,000 men into the field. In concert with 'Ináyat Khán, son of Ḥáfiẓ Raḥmat Khán, he made an ineffectual attempt to storm the entrenched camp of the Marhaṭṭahs, and they were repulsed with the loss of 6,000 men.

Towards the close of his career, an effort was made by the arch traitor, Ghází-ud-Dín Khán, the Wazír, to deprive the Najíb-ud-Daulah of the office of Amír-ul-Umará, and to set up Aḥmad Khán, Bangas'h, of Farrukh-ábád, in his place. This caused enmity between the Najíb-ud-Daulah and Ḥáfiẓ Raḥmat Khán, who took the part of Aḥmad Khán, Bangas'h. The Najíb-ud-Daulah, on this, entered into terms with the Marhaṭṭahs, a pernicious example set him by others, and which was now become quite a custom, while they were ever ready to take up the cause of the highest bidder. Although in a weak state of health at the time, he was moving against Aḥmad Khán, Bangas'h, when he was taken dangerously ill, and it was thought advisable to remove him to Najíb-ábád, the town which he had himself founded, together with the stronghold of Najíb-Gaṛh, close by, and also Ghaus-Gaṛh, but he died at Hápúr, on his way thither. He was buried at Najíb-ábad, in the handsome tomb which he had prepared for his last resting place, in October, 1770.

The Najíb-ud-Daulah was a poet of no mean powers; and I have a Díwán of his poems, in the Pus'hto or Afghán language, in my possession. Respecting the fate of the last representative of his rival, Aḥmad Khán, Bangas'h, of Farrukh-ábád, *see* my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 326.

The son of the Najíb-ud-Daulah, Zábiṭ (not "Zabitah") Khán, but not by the daughter of Dowandaey Khán, separated from the Marhaṭṭahs as soon as he was able to get out of their clutches and effect his escape from their army; for after his father's death, he made up matters with Aḥmad Khán, Bangas'h, and they had detained him against his will. Sháh-i-'Alam, Bádsháh, however, who had now succeeded to the Dihlí throne, and was a tool in the hands of Mhado Ráo, Sindiah (the nephew of Datah, the Paṭel, who was killed in battle against the Najíb-ud-Daulah), incited the Marhaṭṭahs to hostility against Zábiṭ Khán, the object being to prevent his interference, as successor to his father, in the affairs of Dihlí, to which Sháh-i-'Álam was returning. Zábiṭ Khán was resolved to enforce it, and he put his troops in motion and marched towards Dihlí accordingly. Sháh-i-'Álam, and his Marhaṭṭah allies, moved against him; and, through want of energy on his part, Najíb-ábád, and his father's family, as well as his own, fell into the hands of those infidels. They were treated with great indignity; Najíb-ábád was sacked; and all their property and treasures were carried off.

The families were subsequently freed, at the interference of the Bádsháh, Sháh-i-'Alam, on payment of forty lakhs of rúpís—400,000*l.*—to the Marhaṭṭahs for "the expenses of the war" against Zábiṭ Khán. For this sum, Ḥáfiẓ Raḥmat Khán, in an evil hour, gave a bond to the Shujá'-ud-Daulah of Awadh (son of Ṣaf-dar-Jang), and this bond was the ultimate cause of all the misfortunes of the Nawwáb, the Ḥáfiẓ-ul-Mulk, Ḥáfiẓ Raḥmat Khán, the appropriation of his territory by the Shujá'-ud-Daulah, and that much injured man's death in battle with the Shujá'-ud-Daulah and his British allies.

Zábiṭ Khán subsequently acquired considerable power, although he did not regain it at Dihlí again. He died in 1785, and his son, Ghulám Ḳádir Khán, succeeded to the fief of his father. He was subsequently sent for by the Bádsháh, Sháh-i-'Álam, to assume the direction of affairs. Having gained a footing at Dihlí, and remembering probably the past conduct of the Bádsháh towards his father, he behaved in a high handed manner towards him. The Bádsháh, on this, began to intrigue with his old friends, the Marhaṭṭahs, for his betrayal and ruin. Ghulám Ḳádir Khán, on being made acquainted with this plot, and considering what his family had already suffered at his hands, and those of the Marhaṭṭahs especially, was so exasperated against the Bádsháh that he deprived him of sight with the point of his own dagger, the females of the Bádsháh's

same direction, to Panj Pír, another good size village.* Setting out from thence, and going four kuroh farther towards the south, you reach Hunḍh, but more correctly Ūhanḍh, which is the site of an ancient city and a considerable fortress (a fortified city), on the banks of the Abáe-Sín, founded by Bádsháhs of former times.†

From thence you cross the great river by boat to the Ḥazrao ferry; and, having proceeded one kuroh south inclining east from thence, reach the cluster of villages known as Ḥazrao, belonging to the Ghurghusht Afgháns, previously mentioned (in the beginning of Section Two, page 31, which see) in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah."

Sixty-first Route. From Kábul to Koga'h or Kogá, a village of the territory of Chamla'h, a distance of one hundred and sixty kuroh.

"This route likewise leads into Pakhla'í, Tunawul, and Kash-mír.‡

"The route from Kábul, as far as Noh-s'hahra'h, of Ash-Naghar, and from thence by Amánzí and Shewa'h, has been already described at pages 244 and 247.

"Setting out from Shewa'h, and proceeding one kuroh north, inclining east, you reach Parmulí, a large village so called after a clan of the Mandaṛ Afgháns,§ and which is distant about one kuroh from the eastern termination of the Kaṛah-Már range of hills.‖ Here two roads diverge. The right-hand one is as follows:—Leaving this village, you go in the direction of north-east for a distance of two kuroh and enter the small Dara'h of Mír-Sháhí, so called after a little village of that name, about half a kuroh farther up the valley, and inhabited by Mandaṛs. You then proceed three kuroh north-east, inclining east, and begin the ascent of the Koga'h *Kotal*, as the pass over the mountains leading to it is called. It has about one kuroh of ascent and descent in the direction of north-east; and having cleared the defile on the northern side, distant about a kuroh from the crest, a short distance farther brings you to Koga'h, which is a large village belonging to the Mandaṛ Afgháns. The route from Tunawal to this place will be found farther on.

"North and south of this village are high mountain ranges; and a short distance to the north is a small river, which issues from the mountains near by on the south-west, runs towards the east to join the Daulatzí river, or river of Buner, after which the united waters receive the name of Baranḍú. On the opposite (north) side of this stream from Koga'h is a high range of mountains bounding Chamla'h on the north-west, and separating it from Buner.

"The left-hand route from Parmulí takes you for a distance of two kuroh north, inclining east, into the Sher Dara'h, which is a considerable cleft or opening in the

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family were subjected to gross outrages, and the little treasure remaining was carried off. This happened in 1204 H. (1790 A.D.).

Although there can be no excuse for the excessive cruelty (too common even in the present day) of Ghulám Ḳádir Khán towards Sháh-i-'Álam, but which has been much exaggerated, Indian history writers do not appear to have made any allowance for the treatment of his own family at the hands of the Marhaṭṭahs. Shortly after, Ghulám Ḳádir Khán, having been captured in attempting to escape from the fort of Miraṭh, which he had bravely defended, by his horse falling under him, and leaving him senseless on the ground, was put to the most painfully cruel death that Marhaṭṭah ferocity could devise, by order of Sindiah (the Paṭel, Datah's nephew), who hated the Rohilahs as much as they hated him, and all other Marhaṭṭahs.

* This village is so called from a rocky hill immediately to the east of it, which is covered with *jangal*. Its name signifies the "Five Saints, or Spiritual Guides." It is visited by Muḥammadan females in considerable numbers, in April of each year, and by Hindú women, in October. The village lies on the right bank of what is now called the Badṛaey Khwaṛ.

At L'waṛa'h Manára'h, near Ṣawába'í, five kuroh to the north of Manára'h on the Abáe-Sín, there is a rocky hill or spur completely detached, and known as the Taraka'í of Khán Kajú, and near there he was buried. In Pus'hto a rocky spur detached from the hills is called a "taraka'í," in distinction from a spur, hill, or mound of earth, which is called a "ghunḍa'í." *See* note *, page 241.

† It sustained much damage in 1840, when the Ábáe-Sín or Indus was flooded, and when so much damage was caused. This is the place which some persons, to suit their own theories, would turn into Wahind. *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 76, note 2.

The Afgháns of the Sama'h used sometimes to make raids into the Mughal territory east of the Indus from Ūhanḍh. They did so in 1077 H., in the reign of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír; and were subsequently defeated, on the 15th of Shawwál—the tenth month—April, 1667 A.D., near the Ḥazrao ferry, by Kamál Khán, the Fowj-dár of Aṭak Banáras, and his troops, aided by reinforcements from Pes'háwar, and the contingents of the neighbouring feudatories of the empire with their contingents, including Ashraf Khán, Khaṭak, son of Khush-ḥál Khán, who was then languishing in exile in the fortress of Rantabhúr. The Yúsufzis and Mandaṛs, and others who had joined them, were defeated and put to flight, with a loss of some 2,000 men, including 400 killed and 40 taken prisoners. The others perished in the Indus in attempting to reach the opposite side.

At this period the river flowed in three channels between Ḥazrao and Ūhanḍh, and these were fordable in several places.

‡ The Durránís used this route when Kash-mír was under their sway, in preference to the route by Aṭak.

§ These must not be mistaken for the Ghurghusht Parmulís or Farmulís east of the Indus.

‖ At the present time, the two streams which formerly ran to the westward before reaching this village, and were the sources of the Maḳám Rúd, as before stated, now pass near it on the west side, and run to the south, and constitute what is known chiefly as the Ūchh Khwaṛ. *See* note ‡, page 244, para. 16.

mountains,* inhabited by a section of the Mandaṛ tribe of Afghánṣ; and the stream from the Dara'h of Mír Sháhí uniting with that flowing out of the Sher Dara'h, at this point, flows towards the west, and joins the river of the Súdam valley, and the united streams then receive the name of Maḳám river, previously referred to at pages 247 and 249.

"From thence (the point of junction) having gone three kuroh to the east, and then two kuroh to the north-east, another kuroh farther brings you to Anbela'h, a small village on the left hand side, near the line of route.† Another kuroh east brings you to Koga'h, the chief place in the Dara'h of Chamla'h, and the road or track over the mountains leading to Anbela'h is like the dry bed of a river."

Before leaving this part, and describing the remainder of the Afghán territory embraced in this Section of Notes, it will be well to give a short account of the first great disaster sustained by the Mughals of India at the hands of the Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ Afgháns in the Karakaṛ and Malandaraey Passes. The author of these surveys does not give any account of the former Pass, which appears not to have been much used at the period when he wrote.

The Mughals were on their way from Suwád, which they were unable to hold, into Buner in order to rejoin the camp of Akbar Bádsháh then established at Aṭak Banáras, which had been founded only a short time before.

To make the account intelligible, I must refer to some other events preceding it.

Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, the Bádsháh's brother, died in the province of Kábul, which was his fief,‡ on the 12th of Sha'bán, the eighth month of 993 H. (August, 1585 A.D.). On the third of the following month—just twenty days after—the news reached Ágrah. Akbar was inclined to confer the fief on his brother's sons, who were mere children; but his counsellors strongly advised him against it, on account of the power of the Úzbaks in Badakhshán and territories around. On the 10th of Ramaẓán, within a week of the receipt of the news, Akbar Bádsháh set out from his capital for the Panj-áb. On the way, information reached him that the Kuṉwar, Mán Singh, who was stationed in the Panj-áb, on the news of the Mírzá's decease, had crossed the Níl-áb (Indus) and moved on Pas'háur, the officials of the late Mírzá retiring to Kábul.§ On reaching the Bihat or Jhilam on the 28th of Ẕí-Ḳa'da'h, the eleventh month, a despatch reached Akbar Bádsháh from Mán Singh, intimating his having reached Kábul and occupied it without any opposition, and the submission of the officials; and that, having provided for the safety of the city, he had set out, along with the sons of the late Prince, for the Bádsháh's presence. He reached the Bádsháh's camp, soon after, at Ráwal Pinḍí, on the 25th of the following month, Ẕí-Ḥijja'h. Soon after, Akbar, who intended to annex Kash-mír, moved to Aṭak Banáras, which he reached on the 15th of Muḥarram, the first month of the year 994 H. (26th December, 1586 A.D., old style).

Some years previous to this, Jalálah, son of Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík, who was in his fourteenth year when his father went to the place prepared for him, had presented himself to Akbar Bádsháh, when that monarch was on his return from Kábul in 989 H. (1581, A.D.) and was favourably received and well treated; but he, shortly after, fled to the Afgháns again, and raised sedition in the country west of the Indus. The routes between Kábul and the Panj-áb were infested by Táríkís; and the Khaibar route had been so effectually closed by them, that the envoy from the Úzbak rulers, on their way to Akbar's presence, could not get through it, although attended by a strong escort. Consequent on this state of affairs, the fief of Kábul and its dependencies was conferred upon the Kuṉwar, Mán Singh, with directions to quell these disturbances. He set out for Pas'háur accordingly.

Soon after Akbar had reached Aṭak, the Chiefs and Maliks of the Afghán tribes and clans of Mahmand, Khalíl, Gagyání, Torí, Dzádzí, Sherazád, Khiẓr Khel, some Ghurghushtís, and a few others, came in to complain to him of the doings of the

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* During the Anbela'h campaign the route by the Sher Dara'h to Chamla'h was greatly improved by the troops, and is now a very good road.

† The pass is so called after this village, and not called "Súrkháwí" after a village of that name, for Surkh-Aobaey is the name of the stream, not the village, and besides it lies on the southern side of the mountains, while Anbela'h is close under the mountains on the northern side.

‡ All the territory subject to the Mughals west of the Abáe-Sín or Indus was under his sway, and his officials were located in the Pes'háwar district and administered the affairs of these parts. Their jurisdiction does not appear to have extended on the north beyond the Do-Ábah and 'Ash-Naghar, and not over any part of the Sama'h.

§ The death of the Mírzá was not wholly unexpected, and Mán Singh had been previously directed how to act under certain contingencies, and to take charge of his children.

Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ tribes, which were always molesting them, and plundering caravans of traders and travellers on their way from Kábul and Hindústán, and *vice versa,* between Bagrám (Pas'háur) and Níl-áb, and that they got a bad name for the acts of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs.

At this period the Khaṭak tribe of Afgháns were beginning to establish themselves in their present localities, and moving towards the Landaey Sín; and Malik Akoṛaey, the great grandfather of the celebrated Khush-ḥál Khán, who had previously presented himself, was mentioned to the Bádsháh as being competent to protect the road from Aṭak towards Pas'háur. He was accordingly summoned, and the tract of country from Khair-ábád to Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h was conferred upon him, in fief, on his undertaking that service. This chief founded the fort of Akoṛah, which he named after himself.

These complaints made against the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs determined the Bádsháh to despatch Zain Khán, Kúkah, entitled Kokal-tásh, at the head of a considerable army "to tranquillize" the territories of Suwád and Buner (which did not belong to Akbar Bádsháh), and bring the "rebel" Yúsufzís (who were not his subjects) into the right way. Zain Khán was despatched on the same day that an army was sent against Kash-mír for the same purpose, namely, annexation.

Abú-l-Faẓl says, "the object was to make inroads upon the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, "which people dwell in Suwád and Bájawṛ, and a number in the Dasht (the Sama'h "previously referred to*). Suwád and Bájawṛ are delightful tracts of country con- "taining pleasant jal-gáhs (meads) and grassy slopes filling the heart with delight in "their contemplation. The Kohistán to the north of the Dasht is about thirty *kos* "in length by twenty in breadth. Zain Khán did not commence operations in this "level tract, but pushed on at once into Bájawṛ."

Akbar Bádsháh also detached another force under the Sháikh, Faríd, Bukhárí, Ḳará Beg, and other leaders, into the Sama'h to harry that part, and create a diversion. This order they carried out, plundering and devastating the country of the Mandaṛs and their allies, after which they returned to the royal camp at Aṭak. They reported that it would be a difficult matter to occupy the Sama'h on account of its extent and populousness, and that it would be advisable to send another army into it to altogether destroy, root and branch, the "ungrateful wretches," as the Mughal invaders style them, then to advance into the Kohistán and effect a junction with Zain Khán.

Zain Khán, however, reported in the mean time that he was powerless to enter Suwád, the Afgháns being so numerous, until reinforcements reached him. On the 2nd of Ṣafar, the second month of 994 H. (January, 1585, A.D.), two other bodies of troops were detached. One under Sá'íd Khán, the Ghakar, and other leaders, with Shaikh Faiẓí, Abú-l-Faẓl's brother,† was to enter the Sama'h and chastise the refractory Afgháns of that part and create a diversion, while the other, under Akbar's prime favourite, Rájah Bír-baṛ (the latter word signifying "the very" or "most brave"), Fatḥ-Ullah, and others, and consisting of veteran troops under Ḳásim Khwájah, Tásh Beg, and others, were to march through the Sama'h and enter Suwád. All those who submitted were to be spared, and those who did not were to be plundered and annihilated. This latter force, having entered the Sama'h, and carried out its instructions respecting that part, moved towards the territory of Bájawṛ to join Zain Khán.

Having advanced a little way through a defile, the troops, under Bír-baṛ and others,

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* *See* page 218. Dasht, in Persian, has much the same signification as Sama'h in Pus'hto.

† Those sent with armies were not always soldiers by profession, as in this instance; and it may be noticed throughout Akbar's reign, that whenever he despatched an army on an expedition there was generally a Musalmán and a Hindú in joint command, the one to take care of and act as a check upon the other.

Shaikh Faiẓ, *alias* Faiẓí, Abú-l-Faẓl's elder brother, was a civilian and a poet, and had been teacher of the Princes, Akbar Bádsháh's sons. Bír-bal or Bír-baṛ, as it is also written, belonged to the Bhát or minstrel class, and was made Poet Laureate, and was sometimes employed on missions, but spent most of his time at Court. It is said that, when it was determined to send reinforcements to Zain Khán, Akbar Bádsháh made Abú-l Faẓl and Bír-baṛ draw lots which should go, and that the lot fell on Bír-baṛ. He had never been employed in any military capacity before in his life.

Zain Khán, on the contrary, *was* a soldier, and, altogether, the most successful of all Akbar's generals against the Afgháns and Táríkís. His father was a Turk, a native of Hirát, and his mother was Akbar's first nurse. Zain Khán's paternal uncle's daughter was married to the Sháh-zádah, Sulṭán Salím, afterwards Jahán-gír Bádsháh, and she was the mother of the Sháh-zádah, Parwez. Subsequently, Sulṭán Salím fell in love with Zain Khán's daughter and married her, much against his father's wishes. Zain Khán subsequently rose to the rank of commander of 5,000, and held the government of the Kábul province and its dependencies. He was given to drink, and died partly from this excess in 1010 H. (1601-2, A.D.).

reached the halting place called Ḍog,* and the Yúsufzís, thinking it a good place for making a stand, determined to do so. An obstinate "skirmish ensued," according to Abú-l-Fazl, "and brave deeds were done, and numbers of the rebels were killed and "taken prisoners, but, as the day was far advanced, instead of pushing on, the force "returned to its previous encamping ground. This was deemed expedient more "particularly because the troops were unacquainted with the country in front; indeed, "it was found that they could not have reached the point intended by that road, and "so they returned to the Dasht (the Sama'h) to take another route." It is evident that Bír-baṛ and the others met with a serious reverse.

At this time, the Ḥakím, Abú-l-Fatḥ, was directed by the Bádsháh to enter Suwád with a numerous force, when news was received from Zain Khán of "his complete "success over the Afgháns, but as his troops, from constant hard work and marchings "and counter-marchings, had sustained hardships, and as the Afgháns had assembled in "numbers in the Karakaṛ Pass, between Suwád and Buner, if he were reinforced by a "few of the Bádsháh's brave troops, he could easily dispose of the rebels, and bring "the whole country under subjection."

The success of Zain Khán, who was of a very sanguine temperament apparently, is thus narrated by Abú-l-Fazl.

"When Zain Khán reached Bájawṛ by the road of Dánish-Kol, that territory was inhabited by 30,000 Yúsufzí families, who lived in their fastnesses in pride and haughtiness, but they lost the opportunity of occupying the defiles and of impeding his advance, from the celerity of his movements. Jánish Bahádur, with a portion of the force, made an attack upon the S'hahr-i-Gibar (the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ, previously mentioned),† and numbers of Afgháns were well punished. Being reduced to extremities, Ghází Khán, Tá'ús Khán, Nazar Khán, and other Maliks, submitted, and the disturbances (caused by the Mughals invading their country) were quelled.‡

"Zain Khán then turned his attention to Suwád, in which 40,000 Yúsufzí families were located; and when he reached the banks of the Suwád river (the united rivers of Suwád, Báshkár, Dír, Panj-Korah, and other tributaries, before it enters the Do-Ábah) the Afgháns opposed him valiantly. The van was, in consequence, unable to effect the passage of the river, but the rear division hastening to its relief, having come up, the Afgháns were in their turn forced back, and put to flight, after which the passage of the river was effected, and Suwát entered, as related at page 235.

"After this success Zain Khán advanced to Chak-Dara'h,§ in the Lánw-dah division, opposite to Allah-ḍanḍ, the chief town of Lower Suwát, which is centrally situated, and commands one of the ferries over the river. He erected a fortress at this point, and then prepared to punish the refractory. Twenty-three times he was successful in skirmishes against them, and captured seven of their sangars or breast-works; and the whole tract (the open parts) was taken possession of, with the exception of the Karakaṛ hills and Buner. Zain Khán's troops, however, harassed by constant marchings, and the necessity of always being upon the alert, and other severe duties, were much depressed, and therefore he asked for reinforcements."

The reinforcements under the Ḥakím, Abú-l-Fatḥ, Ḥasan Beg, Shaikh 'Umar, and others, were sent off; and the command was, that, if the previously despatched forces under Rájah Bír-baṛ, Fatḥ-Ullah, and other leaders, were still in the Dasht (the

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* Ḍág probably, mentioned at page 182, but wrongly spelt above, or Bihí Ḍág, mentioned at page 180. There is a small village called Ḍog, on the east side of the river of Panj-Korah, which may be the same place. Bír-Baṛ was endeavouring to join Zain Khán, who was then in Lower Suwát, but, as he had entered the hills by Dánish-Kol, the Rájah's force followed the same route as far as the village in question, when he had to retire, and take another route, as subsequently mentioned.

† At page 116.

‡ These events happened prior to those narrated at page 169.

§ This is turned into "Chapdurra" in the Indian Atlas map.

In Elliot's "History of India," Vol. VI., page 80, the editor, Mr. Dowson, gives a translated extract from Abú-l-Fazl's "Akbar Náma'h," from a printed text apparently. He says:—"He (Kokaltásh) first subdued "Bajaur, in which *he found* 30,000 *houses* [*sic*] of the Yúsufzái tribe. . . . He then marched against "Swád (Swát), in which mountain region *there were* 40,000 *houses* [*sic*] of the same tribe. On reaching the "banks of the river, the *natives* made a strenuous resistance, and the advance guard was checked for a time; "but the braves of the Altamsh went to their support, and the sight of their gallantry so encouraged the rest, "that they fought bravely, and put the enemy to flight. Kokaltásh built a fort at Jagdara, in the midst of the "country, and then applied himself to the chastisement of the enemy. Twenty-three times he was "victorious, and *he destroyed seven armies*." If sangars mean armies, but they do not, and Abú-l-Fazl has sangars.

For an account of the Lánw-dah division of Suwád, *see* page 206.

Sama'h), they were to unite, and march to reinforce Zain Khán by the Malá-khand Pass, which was the nearest route.* The force under Bír-baṛ having failed to enter Bájawṛ by Ḍog, as before related, had not again attempted to enter the hills; and the Ḥakím effected a junction with it, and the combined troops moved towards the pass. When they reached the foot of it they found that Zain Khán had occupied the crest with a portion of his forces, and was present with them, in order to render assistance, if necessary, and facilitate the passage of the troops and stores; and there he remained the whole of the night and part of the following day, until all had passed over.

No sooner had Bír-baṛ joined Zain Khán than disagreement arose, for there had been emnity between them before. There was no friendly feeling either between Bír-baṛ and the Ḥakím Abú-l-Fatḥ. At the very outset the former began to complain, and to say that he did not know what the upshot would be of climbing mountains, and going in company with Abú-l-Fatḥ to the aid of Zain Khán.

The reinforcements having got through the pass, Zain Khán at once pushed on the Ḥakím with his division of troops to Chak-Dara'h. This displeased Bír-baṛ, who resolved to thwart Zain Khán in every possible way.

Next day, all the troops assembled around the fortress of Chak-Dara'h, and Zain Khán proposed to hold a council of war (at his quarters, apparently), to deliberate on their future proceedings, and all the leaders were requested to attend. Bír-baṛ refused to comply, and, as an excuse, said it was more seemly to assemble round the royal standard (in the camp) and there deliberate. Zain Khán, swallowing his wrath for the public good, and in order to appease, if possible, the proud and pampered Brahman favourite, repaired to the latter's tent, and the other leaders joined him there. On that occasion hard words passed between the Rájah and the Ḥakím, Abú-l-Fatḥ,† and culminated in abuse, but Zain Khán, at last, succeeded in somewhat appeasing them. He then stated his views. He said the campaign in the mountains was nearly over, for that even "the rebels,"‡ congregated in the Karakaṛ hills, and in Buner, were said to be "inclined to ask for pardon and submit," only their acts were not in accord with their words. His object in asking for reinforcements was to enable him to leave a sufficient force at Chak-Dara'h, and, with the remainder of the troops, to move in different directions to chastise and reduce the obstinate wherever they might be found, and thereby quell all opposition. He proposed that the fresh troops should undertake this latter duty, and that he with his own, who had endured a great deal of hard work, would hold Chak-Dara'h and such of the territory of Suwád as was in their possession. But, if they preferred the contrary, he would leave them to undertake the last-named duty, and carry out the former with his own force, and deal with those rebels assembled in the Karakaṛ hills.

Neither the Rájah nor the Ḥakím would consent to either arrangement; in this, at least, they were of one accord. They replied that the command was to make raids upon the country and harry it, not to attempt to hold it; and that, in combination,

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* Or Mala'h-khanḍ; it is spelt both ways. *See* page 239. On the summit of the pass there is a small open plain—and this Zain Khán occupied with his troops, as above mentioned—and in it are several kanda'hs or trenches in which a number of bodies have been buried. I have been informed that there are fissures in many parts of these kanda'hs, where hundreds of skulls may be seen, also swords, knives, etc. It would appear that a great battle had been fought here when the Yúsufzís first invaded the country, or prior to that time, for no great battle has since occurred there.

On the southern side of the pass there are no rivulets; and no water is procurable, save from two wells which have been dug near the village of Dargaey, at the foot of the pass. The Suwád valley lies high, consequently, the ascent on the northern side is not so long as on the southern, and the first is the easiest and broadest road. Spurs every here and there command it, especially on the southern side, but these might be crowned without much difficulty. *See* page 240.

It must be remembered that Zain Khán's operations did not extend beyond Lower Suwát, except skirting the hills of Bájawṛ to get into it.

† Ḥakím signifies "a sage," "a philosopher," or "a physician," but "Hákim" is meaningless. The Ḥakím, Abú-l-Fatḥ—which was his title, not his name—like his rival, Bír-baṛ, was no soldier. He was called Masíḥ-ud-Dín, and was a native of the country of Gílán, now a province of Persia. When Gílán fell under the power of Sháh Ṭhamá-sib, Ṣafawí, in 974 H (1566–67 A.D.), his father was thrown into prison and tortured to death, and Masíḥ-ud-Dín, and his brothers, both, subsequently, distinguished men of Akbar's court, fled from the country, and came into India. The Ḥakím was Ṣadr and Amín of Bangálah in the twenty-fourth year of Akbar's reign, and was a poet of great merit, and a heretic. Indeed, he has the credit of leading Akbar from the orthodox path of Islám. He was severely reprimanded for his insubordinate conduct towards Zain Khán, which brought about the disaster related above, notwithstanding the high favour in which he stood with the Bádsháh. He died at Dharam-ṭaur, on the march back from Kash-mír, in 997 H. (1589 A.D.), and was buried at Ḥasan-i-Abdál.

‡ "Fanatics," "rebels," "brigands," and "dacoits," of course, because they resisted invasion and defended their own. These are the names which have been applied to the same race of people, within the last few weeks only, by newspaper philosophers.

after having carried out this command, and punished the refractory sufficiently, they should march back again to the royal camp at Aṭak Banáras.

Zain Khán urged that it was not advisable to abandon what had been acquired after so much trouble; and that, even if it was determined to abandon it, they should not select the most difficult route to return by, which the others appear to have proposed, but should choose the road they had come by, the Malá-khanḍ Pass, where, at least, there was footing for troops. All was of no avail: they persisted in opposing him, and therefore, dropping his authority lest they might do him some injury, he gave up the point.

They, however, were not willing to leave him to act alone, lest he might perform some feat which would raise him still higher in the Bádsháh's estimation, and bring confusion upon themselves at the same time. Zain Khán then endeavoured to make arrangements for carrying out what the others proposed and persisted in, in order to attack the "rebels" assembled in the Karakaṛ Hills. In this too the Rájah and the Ḥakím were opposed, and they would neither consent to take charge of either the left wing or the right; each wanted to act as he thought best.

At last, on the 2nd of Ispandiár-muz̲ (February), some sort of arrangements, such as they were, having been made, the troops began their march from Chak-Dara'h towards the mountain range of Karakaṛ, separating Suwád from Buner.

But few details are given of the first part of the march; nor is it even mentioned that the Suwád river was crossed, which had, of course, to be done; nor whether this was effected at Chak-Dara'h or farther up. From the details, such as they are, the force must have marched by one of three roads: up the stream, and then have crossed over to Koṭa'h to avoid the Lanḍakaey Pass;* or have crossed at Chak-Dara'h, passed Tárnah, and ascended the Lanḍakaey mountain by the route leading over it; or have proceeded along the eastern bank of the river by the road, which, in the cold season, is available, at the foot of, and skirting, the Lanḍakaey mountain, which juts out close upon the river, and which would be dangerous if the heights above were occupied by an enemy. The first route is the most probable, as it was in that part that the "rebels" had assembled.

The first march is said to have been to Kandák,† a distance of five *kos*, but that place is not at present known. According to the distance, whichever route was adopted, they must have reached a point near Koṭa'h, above mentioned, to the south of which the road leading into the defile turns to the east.

The next day, as the route was exceedingly difficult, the left division of the force was made a rear guard of, and the whole, having moved forward for a distance of half a *kos*, was halted, and appears to have encamped; for it is plainly stated, that "it was "deemed advisable that the van of the army should make a demonstration against "the rebels, plunder them, and return to camp again."

This part of the movements of the Mughal troops is by no means clear in the histories of this period; and, although Abú-l-Faẓl, in his history, enters into details respecting some of the incidents of this disastrous retreat, he does not do so with respect to this halt. It seems strange to enter a defile for only a mile or thereabouts and come to a stand, much less to encamp in it.‡ It would appear that they found the hills commanding the road occupied by the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, and they had to be cleared before the march could be resumed, and that it occupied the day in effecting it. However, it is quite clear that the march was resumed next day, that the crest of the pass was reached, and that they there encountered the Afgháns posted to oppose them. According to the pro-Mughal writers, wherever the Bádsháh's troops could get at the Afgháns, they repulsed them; and that in a very short time they crossed the *kotal* or pass, acquired great plunder, and took thousands of prisoners. The obtaining plunder in such a place, where there were no villages—at least none are

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* For a description of the road and the Lanḍakaey mountain see my "Account of Suwát," page 10, and page 197 of these Notes. In the map accompanying it this name is printed Sanddakaey—with S instead of L—and was discovered too late to be remedied, I being in England when the paper was published; hence some misprints, but in the text of the article it is correct. I have never written it "Landeh Kai," as quoted by MacGregor in his work, Vol. II., page 276. In Major Wilson's map it is "Sandakai." Major-General Walker's maps show no pass whatever, but the name appears under the strange form of Lionduki.

† In one or two copies of the Akbar Náma'h it is Kandárak and Kandák. The defile leading to the Karakaṛ Kotal begins between Koṭa'h and Barí-koṭ, but nearer the latter place.

‡ Probably the halt was made at the foot of the pass on the Suwát side, where Ligárna'í now stands. It is six miles, or more, from the entrance of the defile on the Suwát side to the crest of the pass, and the road is commanded on both sides in several places, and a stream runs through it towards the river of Suwád.

mentioned—is scarcely credible. Some prisoners may have been made, but "thousands" is mere exaggeration.*

The rear division was chiefly composed of Kábulís, who no sooner heard of plunder than they left their division, and hastened forward to share in it, and numbers of the other troops followed their bad example.† These, and the rest of the troops in advance, had proceeded much farther than was intended; for when Zain Khán, who appears to have always continued with the rear, reached the ground appointed for the halt for that day, he found all were pushing on in the utmost disorder.

Rájah Bír-baṛ was the cause of this. He always took care to be the first to go on, and did so without in the least consulting the other leaders. On this occasion he had moved forward, and, without halting at the place appointed for the camp, pushed onwards. Some of the troops had already reached the ground, and had actually pitched their tents, when he arrived there. Thinking, from the Rájah's movements, that they had mistaken the place, and that the camping ground must be farther in advance, as all were going onwards, they struck their tents again, and were engaged in packing and loading them when Zain Khán arrived, and he was under the necessity of following with the stream.‡

The Afgháns, who were hanging on the flanks, noticing these proceedings, assailed the rear in all directions. Great confusion arose, which made the advance of the troops still more difficult than it had been before; for the road was so narrow that only two horsemen could move abreast, and the way was impeded by elephants, horses, and men, rolling one over the other. Ḥasan Khán, Baṭaní,§ kept the Afgháns at bay for some time, until he was wounded, and had to be carried out of the *mêlée*. On this, Zain Khán himself took post in the rear, and endeavoured to make a stand in order to enable the others to proceed. The remainder of that day, the whole of the night, and for great part of the next day, the attacks on the retiring rearguard were incessant. Zain Khán, with a matchlock, himself wounded no less than four of the Afghán leaders. Towards the close of the second day the Bádsháh's troops were generally successful in beating off their assailants, and such of the baggage and materials as were carried on mules and elephants, for the most part, reached the place where the disorganized troops had halted, but the loads carried on bullocks and camels fell into the hands of the "rebels."‖

The next day the march was resumed; and, having advanced for a distance of six kuroh, they cleared the Karakaṛ defile,¶ and reached Khánpur, and there again encamped.

There is no place in this part of Buner so called at the present time,** but there may have been at the period in question. This place must have been much in the same position that Angapúr now stands in, or near by it, on the direct route from the Karakaṛ Pass to the Malandaraey *Kotal*, which the Mughal forces took. Angapúr is about two miles S.S.E. of Túrsak, mentioned at page 248. Zain Khán again brought up the rear, and had to fight the whole way until he reached it.

He now proceeded to the Rájah's tent, in order to consult with him and the other

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* The Afgháns of Suwát will not allow that the Mughals ever succeeded in entering their valley, and affirm that they were overthrown in the Sháh-Koṭ Pass.

† What property the Afgháns could have had to excite their cupidity is by no means to be understood. At present there is a small village near the crest of the *Kotal*, and named Kaṛakaṛ after it. The *Kotal* itself, on the Suwát side, is nearly two miles of ascent.

‡ Bír-baṛ appears to have pushed on without leaving any troops to hold the crest of the pass until the rest of the force, or a portion of it, came up, and to have made for the foot of it on the Buner side and beyond. The descent on the Buner side is rather less than the ascent from the Suwád side, and is very steep and winding, and consists of a series or succession of terraces or gigantic steps, five or six in number, each terrace or step consisting of a small plateau or ledge. It is probable that Zain Khán contemplated halting on one of these, the crest being held by troops, until the whole force—followers, stores, and baggage—had cleared the pass; but Bír-baṛ, anxious only for his own safety, left the others to their fate.

§ The Baṭaní, also called Baiṭaní, Afgháns are descended from the sons of Shaikh Baiṭ, son of 'Abd-ur-Rashíd, Paṭán. Their name has been quite eclipsed by the descendants of their sister, Bíbí Maṭo—the Ghalzís, and Lúdís. Ḥasan Khán had been in the service of the Afghán king of Bengal, and afterwards took service with Akbar Bádsháh. He may therefore be called an Afghán of Hindústán.

‖ It appears that Zain Khán had to fight the whole way from the crest to the foot of the pass, near which this halt was made, to judge from the distance of the next day's march.

¶ This defile is what we are now told, on imperfect information, by those who never heard of this expedition, nor of this defeat, "is only used by footmen;" but Zain Khán appears to have known that the pass was practicable for a considerable army.

** There is a Khánpúr much farther east, near the Indus, but not the place here referred to. It is in the Sher Dara'h, and a few miles south of the Malandarey Pass, which they had not yet entered. The Khánpúr here referred to must have been in Buner, and in its western part.

leaders as to their future movements. As the remainder of the distance appeared to them not to be very great, and the nature of the country seemed less difficult and broken, they were all of opinion, as the danger seemed over, that they could easily get clear of the defiles they were then in, after which they could halt for some time, and make some new dispositions for the punishment and reduction of the "rebels."

Zain Khán informed them that the defiles in their front were sufficiently difficult, more so even than those they had just emerged from,* and that to attempt to proceed as they had been doing was merely to court destruction. He strongly advised that they should stay in the open position they were then in for a time. They had plenty of provisions and forage, water in abundance, and their camp not commanded from any hills; and that, after bringing their troops into some sort of reorganization, they should undertake further operations against the Yúsufzís. It is probable that he meant that they should pause before endeavouring to proceed through the pass between them and the Bádsháh's camp at Aṭak, as further offensive operations against the Yúsufzís was out of the question.

It was all of no avail: the arrogant favourite and the others obstinately adhered to their own opinions, and Zain Khán had again to give way. On the 6th of the month Ispandiár-muz̤, the march was again resumed in the direction of the Malandaraey *Kotal*,† leading out of Buner into the Sama'h. Acquainted with the nature of the route, Zain Khán again brought up the rear, while the Brahman favourite took care to be well in advance, such was his anxiety to get out of the hills he was destined never to leave.

The opposition on the part of the Afghán̤s was greater than before. The troops had only managed to get on for a short distance by the time the day was far advanced; and the crest of a defile immediately in their front they imagined to be the termination of the great defile, and on reaching it they came to a halt. When Zain Khán arrived with the rear-guard, they found that there was yet another defile to be passed before the actual crest of the *Kotal* could be reached. As the position they were then in was commanded from the heights around, an effort was made to get out of it. The arrangement was this: the van was to push on and gain the crest, occupy all the commanding points, and hold them and the crest. Then the main body, with the tents, baggage, and followers, was to follow and bivouac at the foot of it for the night, on account of the difficulty of the way, and push on with the first streak of morning light. This arrangement, had it been carried out, might have saved the force. As the Afgháns were then beginning to press upon the rear again, and ready to harass their retreat, Zain Khán faced about with the rear-guard to drive them off. On this, and seeing the rapid advance of the van to secure the crest of the pass and heights commanding it, as previously arranged, the main body imagined that all dangers and obstructions were at an end, and began to push on again without any order whatever, totally disarranged the order of the march, and again threw every thing into utter confusion.

The orders of the commanders could not have been properly explained for such mistakes to occur. All the shouting, halting, bringing back, and persuasion, and even violence, on the part of the leaders, was of no avail; and the Afgháns, who crowded the heights around, as numerous as ants or locusts, poured in volleys of arrows and stones among the now disorderly crowd, and sent great pieces of rock rolling down upon them. Completely panic-stricken, totally unaquainted with the way, and night coming on, they got entangled in the mazes of the hills. In their anxiety to get forward many fell into pits and holes, while some fell into ravines and over precipices and perished in the abysses beneath, while the route itself was completely blocked up, elephants, horses, and men being mixed up together in inextricable confusion and disorder, and impeding each other. Many lives were lost in the crush, and many brave men made a stand, and fell fighting valiantly. Rajáh Bír-baṛ, as on former occasions, was well in advance. Some small bodies of troops, which happened to be acquainted with the way, managed to push on and get out of the crush; and,

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* The route taken in this disastrous affair can be easily traced on Major Wilson's map.

I notice some strange discrepancies between that map and another in the "Geographical Magazine" for August, 1875, based on a map by Surgeon-Major Bellew. According to the former, the route over the Karakaṛ Pass from Suwád is by Koṭa'h, while by the latter it is by Barí-koṭ, several miles farther north. The latter, likewise, gives no indication whatever of the Lanḍakaey Pass, and both have Lingární on the wrong side of the mountain range, on the Buner side instead of on the Suwád side. Neither map shows or refers to the Malandaraey Pass in any way, but it is shown in the Indian Atlas map.

† Mentioned and described at page 249.

near the close of the day, another body of troops succeeded in clearing the defile, and reached the halting place beyond, previously determined upon.

Zain Khán, who was still bringing up the rear, and keeping the Afgháns at bay, determined to throw himself upon the enemy and close his career on this disastrous occasion, and could not be induced to retire. At last, the Bahádur, Jánish,* seizing the reins of his horse, brought it round, and the horse and rider away out of the press whether he would or no. They reached a gorge where dead and disabled elephants, horses, baggage, tents, and men—soldiers and followers—were all heaped together in such a way that they had to dismount from their horses before they could get along; and, in this manner, Zain Khán and his party, with the utmost difficulty, reached the halting place as night was closing in.

This was a comparatively safe position, but they had scarcely reached it when some one raised a cry that the Afgháns were in hot pursuit. Some say that a man—an Afghán, according to some accounts—brought information to Bír-baṛ, always well in front, and first to fly, that the Afgháns meditated a night attack upon the position, and that, as the defile remaining to be passed was not more than three or four *kos*, they would be absolutely safe from attack if that was only cleared. Without consulting with Zain Khán, he set out with his immediate followers in order to reach a place of safety, and the rest of the disorganized forces followed his example. Be this version correct or not, the panic was complete, and the whole again rushed forward. It was every man for himself, and the only idea seemed to be that safety lay in pushing onwards. In the darkness of the night they missed the way, and entered defiles leading in other directions, while the Afgháns, who were again on their track, were weary of slaying, capturing, and securing prisoners and plunder. Next day, hundreds of those, who had missed the road in the darkness, were overtaken and slain at the hands of their pursuers, a great number were made captive, and the Afgháns were so glutted with spoil that they could not carry the whole away.

Abú-l-Faẓl has the assurance to inform us that 500 men lost their lives on that occasion, and another writer says the loss was 1,000 killed, and that the maimed and wounded were innumerable. The most trustworthy writers, however, state that 8,000 men perished in that disastrous retreat, among whom were 500 men of note, including Ḥasan Khán, the Baṭaní.† The arrogant Brahman, Bír-baṛ, the first to fly on all occasions, and the chief cause of this disaster, together with others who had thwarted Zain Khán on all occasions, perished. Another of them, the Ḥakím, Abú-l-Fatḥ, however, succeeded, after much difficulty, in company with Zain Khán, in reaching the camp at Aṭak Banáras, in a sorry plight, with the shattered remnant of that army, on the 5th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 994 H. (13th February, 1586).‡

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* The Bahádur Jánish, the meaning of which former word, according to the "Ṭabakát-i-Náṣirí," is "a warrior" (*see* my Translation, page 968), was a good and efficient soldier, and was a Turk-mán by descent. He had been in the service of Akbar Bádsháh's brother, Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, feudatory of Kábul. When he died he took service with the Bádsháh, his brother. Jánish died fifteen years subsequent to this catastrophe. A son of his, Shádí Beg, rose to high rank in Sháh-i-Jahán's reign, served in several campaigns, and was once governor of the province of Kábul. He served in Aurang-zeb's expedition against Ḳandahár, was at Bust along with Rustam Khán. After that affair he was raised to the rank of commander of 3,500, and received the title of Shujá'at Khán. He again took part in the Ḳandahár campaign under Dárá Shukoh, described at page 23, and was again at Bust with Rustam Khán. He died shortly after that campaign.

† The strength of the combined Mughal forces is not anywhere stated. Oriental writers, generally, only mention the number of the enemy. In this instance the strength could scarcely have been less than 20,000 men —Zain Khán's original force 10,000, and those with Bír-Baṛ and Abú-l-Fatḥ 5,000 each. But, in any case, it could not have been less than 15,000 or 16,000 men, of which more than one half perished, without accounting the number of prisoners captured. Great as this disaster was, it by no means comes up to that in the Lanḍey Khána'h *Kotal*, related at page 40, when 40,000 were annihilated.

‡ In a "History of Afghanistan from the Earliest Times," by Colonel G. B. Malleson, C.S.I., previously referred to, and which "The Times" newspaper pronounces "a marvel of accuracy," the following is given as the version of this affair, from translations apparently, and from "other records of the period," whatever they may be :—

"The first army was directed by Akbar against the Yúsúfzais, then, as now, occupying the country beyond the Mahában mountain, the Búner and Chaghúrzai hills, and the country north of the former [but all these events happened much farther westwards, where Yúsufzís, then as now, dwell]. His army was commanded by his foster-brother, Zain Khán. It would appear that this general was at first successful. It is recorded by Abúlfazl [in Blochmann's translation of the A'ín-i-Akbarí rather] that 'he moved into the district of Waijús north of Pesháwar' [Blochmann has 'Waijúr' for Bájawṛ or Wájawṛ, 'b' and 'w' being interchangeable; but the extracts he gives are not from Abú-l-Faẓl : the notices of Akbar's nobles and commanders are taken, as he says, from the Ma'áṣir-i-Umará. See his Translation, note 1, page 308]. Several chiefs sued for pardon [for defending their own ?]. After this he created a fort at Jakdárah [always a long vowel where it does not occur in the original, as in 'Yúsúfzai'], in the middle of the country [what country ? Waijús perhaps ?], and defeated the enemy in twenty-three fights. He had at last to ask for reinforcements, and Akbar sent to him Rájá Bír-Bar and Hákím [in Blochmann's 'Á'ín-i-Akbarí,' the names are generally correctly given, Hákím is meaning-

Akbar Bádsháh was so much grieved at the loss of his favourite, and that his body had not been brought in to be burnt, that he took no food for two days and nights; and, for some days, he would not admit Zain Khán, and the Ḥakím, Abú-l-Fatḥ, to his presence, because they had not seen that Bír-baṛ's body was brought back.

On the third day, however, after their arrival they were of necessity admitted. The whole camp was thrown into confusion on the receipt of reports that the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, and other Afgháns, their allies, were advancing in strong force upon Aṭak. The Sháh-zádah, Murád, was hurried across the Indus with a force to oppose their advance, and the prudent Rájah, Todar Mal, was sent along with him as his counsellor and guide. They took the precaution of crossing the Indus below Aṭak Banáras, and keeping the Lanḍaey Sín or river of Kábul between themselves and the imaginary foe, but subsequently crossed it, and took up a position at Miṣrí Bánḍa'h, close to the ferry over the river, opposite the present Akoṛa'h, a good position for acting on the flank of an enemy marching towards Aṭak from the north-west or north. Zain Khán, and the Ḥakím, Abú-l-Fatḥ, received orders to join the Sháh-zádah's army, with the remnant of their shattered forces; and, shortly after, the Kunwar, Mán Singh, was recalled from Jam-rúd, with his troops, to strengthen it.

The subsequent movements of this army need not be related here. Suffice it to say that, soon after, strong forts were erected at Ůhanḍh, and on the Koh or Hill of the Langar, and named Langar-Kot, to overawe the Mandaṛs, which places have been referred to at pages 215, 216, 247, and 248.

1st October, 1880.

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less] Abúl Fath, with some troops. It is clear from the above recital, and other records of the period, that, however successful Zain Khán might have been in his advance into the hills, the Yúsúfzais then showed so formidable a front [after being worsted in twenty-three fights ?] that he was compelled to wait for reinforcements. The reinforcements were led by Rájá Bír Bar and Abúl Fath to a point which we may suppose to have been near Jakdárah [by no means]. Then there ensued, unhappily, a difference of opinion between the two chief generals [in a footnote it is said Bír Bar was 'a Brahman, a poet, and diplomatist']. Bír Bar was in favour of a combined attack upon the tribes, to be followed by a prompt retreat. Zain Khán was of opinion that the attack should not be made with the combined forces; that they should operate on two lines; that whilst one force held the position he occupied, the other should make a detour [to Waijús probably ?] and attack the enemy on their flank, or in their rear [where 'the enemy' was posted the chronicler sayeth not]. But he was overruled, and it was decided to attack the hill men [where?], and, penetrating the mountains, to return by another road, by way of Karákar. Bír Bar led the advance, Hákím Abúl Fath the centre, and Zain Khán the rear. The pass they had to traverse [what pass?] was long and difficult. Nevertheless, by incredible exertions, Bír Bar reached the summit by sunset. But he had scarcely arrived there, when, from flanks and from the front, the Afgháns poured down arrows and stones upon his men, and with such effect that they fled in panic, briskly pursued by the enemy. With difficulty Bír Bar retreated to the foot of the pass, and effected there, with a portion of his force, a junction with the two other divisions, which, likewise attacked, had with difficulty repulsed the enemy [it will be noticed that the facts are directly contrary].

"That night and the following day the Yúsúfzais continued the attack, inflicting greater and greater loss on the imperialists [the invaders of independent territory]. As the second night fell the generals held a council of war. Zain Khán was in favour of treating [but what 'History' says so ?]. Bír Bar would not hear of such a course [this must be ironical], but, dreading another night attack, he, without communicating with Zain Khán, drew off [that is, he ran away, leaving the rest to their fate], in the night through a defile, which he believed had been left unguarded. But the Yúsúfzais had set a snare for his destruction. Hardly had he reached the gorge at the head of the defile [what defile, and what gorge? It will be noticed that, without referring to them, the Karakaṛ Kotal and Malandaraey Kotal, although their crests are twenty miles apart, and a great valley of some eighteen miles in breadth intervenes, have been made one], than the mountaineers set upon him, and almost destroyed his force. The slaughter was terrific. 'Nearly eight thousand men, 'perhaps even more,' writes Badáoní, 'were killed. Bír Bar also was among the slain.'"

[The Budá'úní, that is, the Persian text of his work, says, "a terrible defeat ensued, and near upon 8,000 "men were killed or lost upon that occasion. Bír-Baṛ, who, for fear of his own life, had been the one to fly, "was slain, and became one among the dogs of hell, and received the reward of his evil deeds. Numbers of "nobles and distinguished men were killed, and the prisoners, who shall number them?"]

"Meanwhile Zain Khán and Abúl Fath had been furiously attacked. When day broke he [*sic*] began to retreat over the Bilandri [but where or what that is is not mentioned. Bír Bar was killed when flying from the last defile in the Malandaraey Kotal. There were no separate affairs: they were all together], still followed by the enemy. All that day he managed to keep his men together, amidst enormous difficulties; but when night fell the rumour that the Afgháns were upon them produced a panic, and they dispersed in disorder [this was the time that Bír-Baṛ was killed: his flight caused the panic]. Great was the slaughter [this is mere repetition, and an addition to the first], and it was with but few men only, and on foot, that Zain Khán and Abúl Fath reached the Emperor's camp at Atok."—Pp. 192-194.

I have deemed it well to quote this passage here—fiction as opposed to facts—in order to show how Oriental history is often written, and what errors are liable to occur from imperfect information. I think it will be admitted, that a casual reader of the passage in question, indeed even one acquainted with the Trans-Indus frontier, and with the best map before him, would be totally unable to understand, or to point out, where these operations and this disaster took place. *Not a single incident* in the whole affair happened north of, or near either the "Mahában mountain," or "the Chaghúrzai hills." There are no such hills really: the tract of country in which the Chagharzí Yúsufzís dwell, one or two writers have lately dubbed "the Chaghúrzai hills."

Sixty-second Route. From Gilgit to Karyah-i-Bádsháh, or "The Bádsháh's Village," which is in Buner.

"Having reached Batera'h,* also written Baterá, mentioned in the route from Gilgit to Kúz or Lower Tahá-Kot (page 190), which is the extreme north-western point of the Pakhla'í district, and crossed to the other side by means of a raft, you proceed seven kuroh in the direction of south-west, and reach the entrance of the Dara'h of Sháng.† This is of considerable size, and out of it a river issues which rises in the mountains bounding the Dara'h of Suwád on the east, about the parallel of Saiydúgán and Islám-púr, and the Dara'h of Buner on the north, and, flowing eastwards, unites with the Abáe-Sín.

"From this point, having proceeded into the dara'h for a distance of fifteen kuroh in the direction of west, inclining north-west, you reach the village of Sháng, which is of considerable size, and is peopled, like the dara'h itself, by the Chagharzís, one of the sub-tribes of the Yúsufzí Afghans.‡ From the village of Sháng you go twenty kuroh in the direction of south-west, and reach Saníhalá or Saníhala'h, and Chágam,§ two villages belonging to the same Afghán people, and on the way thither you meet with excess of mountainous country, and of ascents and descents. You then have to go eight kuroh in the direction of south-west, and reach Shikolí,‖ which is a large village; and another seven kuroh, much in the same direction as before, brings you to Ghází Khání. From that place to the Karyah-i-Bádsháh the road has been before described.

"From Shikolí to Ghází Khání the Makhzi¶ clan of the Ilyászí Yúsufzí tribe dwell; and, from the commencement of the Dara'h of Sháng, the tract passed through is accounted in Buner. From Shikolí to Kábul-Grám is a distance of twenty-five kuroh, which is well known.

"Between Batera'h and the Dara'h of Dángrak much gold and *lájward*—lapis lazuli—is obtained from the rivers, in such wise that people even go so far as to say, that most of the utensils of the inhabitants of that part are of gold."

From the village of Saigur, which is the dwelling-place of the Spín Káfirís, as far down as Makhad, below Atak, the banks of the Abáe-Sín are so high, the river flowing through a very mountainous tract of country, that its waters cannot be made

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* This village is peopled by the section of the Chagharzí Malízí Yúsufzís called Júnah Khel, but it is not known as "Batára."

† This place is not called "Shung." In the map published in the "Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society," in 1878, to illustrate the "Mullah's" surveys and explorations from the "fort of Abazái," by Dír, through "Yassin," "Gilghit," and down the Indus by this very route, he had a place entered in it called "Sháng," on its west bank, at the mouth of a stream which he therein calls the "Ghorban N.," which is made to issue from the mountains bounding Suwát on the east, and which, for the first half of its course, flows a little to the south of east, and for the last half about due east, and then enters the Indus immediately north of "Sháng." "Chakesar," in that map, lies 11 miles to the S.S.E. of Sháng, between which two places a dotted line represents a road; and there is another from "Chakesar" to "Gunágar," about the same distance S.E. In his last map, that accompanying his "Swát" surveys, published with the Surveyor General's Report for 1878–79, all is changed. "The Ghurband N." *now* runs in a totally different direction—N. instead of E.S.E.; "Sháng" and "Gunágar" are not entered in it, and "Chakesar," which, on his former journey, was 11 miles from the nearest point of the Indus banks, has now moved to within $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles of it. In the former map Tahá-Kot was 15 miles from "Chakesar"; now it is but 9. Many other astounding changes, which appear to have taken place since his first surveys, will be found in the map of his last, so many indeed as to make one somewhat doubtful of their accuracy.

‡ They are Malízí Yúsufzís, but not "Málizai Yúsufzais."

§ Although "Sháng" has disappeared from his last map, the "Mullah" has both Saníhala'h and Chágam in it, under the names of "Sanela" and "Chagam."

The map accompanying Major J. Biddulph's book, "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh," appears to be largely based on the "Mullah's" first map; and the author seems to describe the Indus valley from "Derbund," as he calls Dar-band, up to Búnjzey, from that map, for the tract in question has never yet been visited by a European.

‖ It is important to notice that, in his account of the Dara'h of Buner, the author of these surveys distinctly says that "*the water of the Buner Dara'h*"—which he keeps distinct from the Khwar-i-Daulatzí and its feeders, and the stream which comes from the direction of Adam Bánda'h, and which, having united with it, receives the name of Barandú—"*having flowed towards Shikolí, finally unites with the Abáe-Sín below Kábul-Grám.*" Thus it appears that the water of the northern portion of Buner, for Sháng is part of Buner, takes a different course to what has hitherto been supposed. *See* page 286, and also pages 215, 249, nd 268.

¶ Also mentioned at pages 249 and 268, but not called "Makhozai." In coming from Gilgit, in order to reach Karyah-i-Bádsháh in Buner, you turn up the Dara'h of Sháng, after passing Batera'h, and go on direct to Shikolí, the point here mentioned, instead of taking the roundabout way of going down to Kábul-Grám, and from thence up the dara'h mentioned in the Sixty-fourth Route (page 268) to Shikolí. Compare "the Mullah's" two maps with the "Dardistan" map in the "Geographical Magazine" for August 1875.

available for purposes of irrigation. From the Kohistán of the Yúsufzís, referred to in this route, down to Makhaḍ, there is a class of people known by the general name of Gír,* who pass all their time, both day and night, in their boats. These people narrowly examine both banks of the river, and, whenever they find any earth fit for their purpose, they take it, wash it, and extract therefrom gold dust and lapis lazuli, and one *tola'h*† of the latter sells for from six to seven rúpís."

Sixty-third Route. From Kúz or Lower Tahá-Koṭ, or Taha'h-Koṭ, to Kogá or Koga'h, in Chamla'h, a distance of forty kuroh west. This road also goes on to Pes'háwar.

"The route from Kúz Taha'h-Koṭ to Kábul-Grám has been given in the account of the road from Gilgiṭ to the former place (page 190).

"Setting out from Kábul-Grám, and proceeding a distance of two kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining south, you reach the small village of Biyár, peopled by Sayyids. Another kuroh in the same direction brings you to Bíṛ, and, about the same distance farther on, to Kahmách. You then continue to go on for another kuroh and reach Didal; and from this place to Kábul-Grám the tract of country is inhabited by the Chagharzí branch of the Malízí Yúsufzís, which contains several smaller divisions.

"Leaving Didal, you go one kuroh and a half to Karná or Karna'h,‡ and then another two kuroh and a half more to Ḍúdbá, and about the same distance farther to Abú Bánda'h. The route from thence to Kogá has been elsewhere described (at page 285).

"From Manjha'h-Koṭ, which has already been referred to (at page 285) as being situated in this tract of country, to Aojza'í, which Eastern Afgháns, who turn the softer sound of "*jz*" into "*g*," call Aoga'í,§ on the opposite side (eastern bank) of the Abáe-Sín, is a distance of eighteen kuroh, and the road thither is well known. Setting out from Manjha'h-Koṭ and proceeding one kuroh towards the south, you reach Kárúr, and then go on to Maidán, a kuroh and a half distant. From thence you go to Bagíána'h,|| a small village belonging to the Yúsufzís, and continue onwards for another kuroh and a half to Lád, crossing, by the way, the Abáe-Sín by means of a raft. Maraiṛ, elsewhere referred to, lies one kuroh south of Bagíána'h on the same side of the Abáe-Sín.

"Leaving Lád, you proceed five kuroh in the direction of east to Sher Ghaṛ,¶ and another kuroh brings you to the village of Báwar Sháh.** From thence you go on to Aojza'í or Aoga'í, the road to which is elsewhere described (page 284).

"From Manjha'h-Koṭ to Lád the road runs in a southerly direction, but, from Lád to Báwar Sháh, the direction is east, ascending a mountain range of considerable elevation."

Sixty-fourth Route. From Kúz or Lower Tahá-Koṭ to Karyah-i-Bádsháh,†† or "The Bádsháh's Village," in the territory of Buner, a distance of forty kuroh in the direction of west.

"The road from Kúz or Lower Tahá-Koṭ to Kábul-Grám has been just described. Setting out from thence, you proceed for a distance of fifteen kuroh in the direction of

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* The participle of Persian or Tájzík *giriftan*, to take, catch, seize, etc.

† A *tola'h* is over seven pennyweights troy, and less than eight. Abú-l-Fazl, in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, in his description of the Sar-kár or Province of Kash-mír says, that, "near Kargánú there is a dara'h called "Soyam. From Kamráj this dara'h adjoins Káshghar, and on the west Pakhla'í. In that dara'h gold is "found. In places where water passes they spread out the skins of long-haired goats, and place stones on "their sides to prevent the water from carrying them away. After three days they remove the skins, and "spread them out in the sun; and when they become dry they shake them, and obtain from them particles "of gold to the extent, on the average, of (about) three *tola'hs*. Another dara'h adjoins (the one mentioned "above) which they call Gilgiṭ, and this likewise adjoins Káshghar (Ḳáshḳár), and there they also obtain "gold by washing. . . . . Gold is also obtained from the Padmatí, which flows out of the country of "Dár-Dú; and on the banks of the same river there is a stone-built idol-temple, dedicated to Durgá, and "called Sárdá." In some copies of the text it is Shárdá.

Dár-Dú, the country of the race known as Dárd, although so recently "discovered," was well known three and four centuries ago.

‡ "Kara" is incorrect, as likewise is "Júbba" for Ḍúḍbá.

§ *See* note †, page 284, and page 285.

|| *See* Forty-fifth Route, page 190.

¶ This place is situated on the Hunár river, about two kuroh and a half S.S.W. of Aojza'í. It is walled, and is the frontier village, in this direction, of Muḥammad Akram Khán, the Tunawalí, chief of Anb.

** *See* page 285.

†† Sayyids are partial to such names for their villages. There is another called Kalaey-i-Bádsháh close to S'hewa'h of Kúnaṛ. *See* pages 110 and 252.

west, in the bed (following the course) of a river rising in the moûntains bounding Upper Suwád on the east, and reach Shikolí,* a large village belonging to the Ilyászí Yúsufzí Afgháns (referred to in the Sixty-second Route), situated on its banks. By the way you pass numerous villages, and meet with many ascents and descents, while lofty mountains rise up both on the right hand and on the left. The villages of this part are known as Mukhzí,† in the same manner that other *tappa'hs* or districts are called after an Afghán tribe or section of a tribe.

"Leaving the village of Shikolí, you proceed eight kuroh in the direction of west, and reach Karyah-i-Bádsháh or the "Village of the Bádsháh," which is peopled by Sayyids, the descendants of the much-venerated Sayyid, 'Alí, the Tirmizí, who is looked upon by the Afgháns of those parts as one of the greatest of their saints.

"West and south of the village are two small rivers, one of which comes from the north-west, from the Gadází Dara'h, and the other from the north-eastward, from Palhana'h Bánda'h. These two streams meet at a short distance north of the village, and, near their junction, the Mazár—Tomb and Shrine—of the Sayyid, 'Alí, is situated."‡

Sixty-fifth Route. From Gaṛhí-i-Sa'ádat Khán, the Chief Town of the Sar-kár or District of Pakhla'í, to Pes'háwar by way of Tor-bela'h.

"On the west side of Gaṛhí-i-Sa'ádat Khán § a large river flows, called the Kunhár or Khunár,‖ for it is written both ways, and also Nayan-Sukh,¶ which comes from the right hand, and, flowing towards the left, unites with the river known as the Nad or Kishan-Gangá, which, a short distance below Muẓaffar-ábád, unites with the Bihat, Wihat, or Jhilam, A great deal of cultivated land is irrigated from the water of the Kunhár river. From Gaṛhí-i-Sa'ádat Khán, four kuroh distant, in the direction of west, inclining south-west, is Phaglá,** a village of considerable size; and on the way thither is excess of ascents and descents, and great scarcity of water. From thence, distant two kuroh and a half in the direction of south-west, is Lubar-Koṭ,†† another

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* This is the same place as is reached in going the direct road from Gilgiṭ to Ḳaryah-i-Bádsháh by the Sháng Dara'h described in the Sixty-second Route, which see, and also pages 215, 249, 266, and 286.

In his first map, "the Mullah" has a river running south-east from the east side of the mountain range bounding the Dara'h of Suwád on the east, which unites with the Indus immediately below what he styles "Kúz Kábalgrám," and this he calls the "Makhozai N." This is pretty correct. Immediately above this river, farther north, he has two other rivers, coming from the same mountain range, and running in a similar direction towards the Indus. The southern one he calls the "Puran N.," and the northern one, the "Ghorban N.," which enters the Indus at a place called "Shang." Thus, including the latter, he has *three rivers* above or north of the Baranḍú of Buner, all tributaries of the Indus.

In the map accompanying his "Swát explorations," all is changed. The "Makhozai N.," the "Puran N.," and the "Ghorban N.," have disappeared; and what was the "Ghorban N.," joining the Indus immediately above a place called "Shang" (which he mistook for the name of a place instead of the Sháng Dara'h, just mentioned in the Sixty-second Route), and in his first map situated 17 miles *north* of his "Kúz Kábalgrám," is now, in his latest map, the "Itai Dara," and its river unites with the Indus two miles *south* of "Kábalgrám," at the point where the "Makhozai N.," formerly did, according to his first map.

According to the latter map, the Suwát river, immediately west of Manglawar (his "Manglor"), was 31 miles from the Indus: now it is just 21 miles.

What he first called the "Makhozai N." was the river of the Sháng Dara'h, described in my Sixty-second Route; and the river which appears in his new "Itai Dara" is the same stream which runs through the Sháng Dara'h, because he has both Sanîhala'h and Chágam in it, under the names of "Sanela" and "Chagam," as given in my account of it.

But why such utter variance between the two maps, which must be apparent to the most superficial observer, for, in both, dotted lines are given showing his route, and places said to have been actually visited by him? Such terrible discrepancies incline one to be very sceptical as to a great deal of his "explorations;" for who shall say what a third exploration might produce?

† *See* page 266.

‡ *See* pages 248 and 249.

§ Now Gaṛhí-i-Ḥabíb-Ullah. It appears in our maps as "Gurhi Hubbeboolah," and "Hubeebooluh," and in Colonel C. M. MacGregor's work as "Habíbúla" and "Habíbúlá." As it is derived from the two Arabic words "Ḥabíb," beloved, and "Allah," the Almighty, God, it is evident that neither is correct. Ḥabíb-Ullah was the name of Sa'ádat Khán's son. *See* page 279.

‖ This river cannot be written or called "Kúnhár," correctly, because the "u" is not long. The Kunhár comes from the Kohistán of Pakhla'í, from the *kol-i-áb* or lake Lolú-Sara—*sara* signifies a lake in Sanskrit—in the extreme northern point of the Kág-hán, not "Kágán," Dara'h. Except in time of flood, it is generally knee-deep. Abbot says, "it is nowhere fordable;" in the hot season he probably meant.

¶ *See* page 279.

** This place appears in the largest scale map of the Hazárah district as now constituted, under the vitiated form of "Pughluh," but in the Indian Atlas map it is "Phugra." Both places are in our own territory too.

†† "Luburkot" in the large map, but "Lubburkote" of the Indian Atlas map.

large village; and on the way thither you meet with much cultivation. Two kuroh and a half from that place, in the same direction as before, is Mán-Sihrah* or Mán-Serah, a village of considerable size on the frontier of the territory of Sa'ádat Khán, the Suwátí. From thence, two kuroh farther on, in the direction of south-west, is Sahalíá, also written Shahalíá,† a large village under the sway of Gul Sher Khán, the Tunawalí; and, close to the village, is a river called the Ichhar,‡ which comes from the left hand, and, flowing to the right, subsequently unites with the Siran river.

"A little to the west of Sahalíá is the large village of Jallú; and the river flows close past it on the right hand. From thence you have to go on for the distance of another two kuroh in the direction of south-west to Balhag,§ through a populous and well-cultivated tract of country. You then proceed another kuroh west, and reach Nanotrí,|| and then go on half a kuroh to Tháthí.¶ You then proceed for another two kuroh, in much the same direction as before, to Chhoṭián Chamaṭián,** two large villages lying contiguous to each other; and the way thither lies through a tract containing numerous ascents and descents, and scarcity of water. Another kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining west, from the last-named villages, brings you to the large village of Kangar,†† and the Siran river shows itself on the right hand.

"From thence you proceed two kuroh in the same direction as before, and reach the considerable village of Mángalí,‡‡ on the afore-mentioned river, and then go on another half a kuroh south-west to Phúhár,§§ situated on the other (left) or east side of the Siran river. This river comes from the right hand, and, flowing towards the left, unites with the Jilsí river under Koṭ 'Ísá Khán. The chiefs of these parts have caused canals to be cut from the Siran in all directions, and brought water into their lands; and, except in time of flood, it is about knee-deep.

"Leaving Phúhár, you proceed five kuroh in the direction of west, inclining south-west, to Gan-dab, but, more correctly, Ganh-daf,|||| which is a village of large size inhabited by Sayyids. On the way thither there is scarcity of water, and profusion of ascents and descents. From Gan-dab or Ganh-daf you go on to Tawwí,¶¶ a small village belonging to the Abází*** clan of the Utmánzí Mandaṛs,††† and the route leads along the bed of the Gandab or Ganhdaf River.‡‡‡ It is very rough, with many ascents and descents.

"The authority of Gul Sher Khán, chief of the tribe of Tunawal, ceases at the village of Gan-dab or Ganh-daf. The Gan-dab or Ganh-daf river passes north of Tawwí, and unites with the Abáe-Sín, or Sind-Ságar, which great river flows about a quarter kuroh farther to the west. From Tawwí you go two kuroh south-west and reach Tor-bela'h, which is a village of considerable size inhabited by the Abází clan of Afgháns above referred to, and is the place of residence of Buland Khán, the Sardár or chief of the Abází.

The Abáe-Sín lies on the west side, and below the village; and here is an established ferry known as the Guzar of Tor-bela'h, and several ferry-boats are at all times ready for use. Here, likewise, the cesses on traders and travellers are collected.

As the traders of Kábul, Kash-mír, and Pakhla'í, for the most part cross the Abáe-

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* It is now a considerable town, containing upwards of 3,000 inhabitants.

† "Sholeliya" of the large map.

‡ Not "Itchar."

§ "Balhug" of the maps.

|| This word is plainly written as above rendered in the best copy of the MSS., and in two others it is doubtful, being written apparently Nabobrí and Nabotrí or Banotrí. The place is not to be found in either of our maps, unless "Naroon" of the large scale map is meant for it.

¶ "Thuthee" of the Indian Atlas map.

** These appear in the large map referred to, under the single name, but much vitiated, of "Chumuttee," and in the Indian Atlas map as "Churmutteean."

†† "Kungoor" of the large map.

‡‡ This place is not to be found in our maps: perhaps it has gone to decay. We have the "Mangul" river, however, which unites with the Siran a little to the north of Tháthí. It is a different place from that mentioned at page 280.

§§ This place appears in the large map under the name of "Poohar," but, in the Indian Atlas map, it is "Powar."

|||| "Gandaf" of the large map, but "Gandam" of the Indian Atlas map. In a "History of Hazárah" by a native, it is also called "Gan-daf."

¶¶ "Tuvee" in the first-mentioned map, "Towie" in the latter.

*** Abá Khel Utmánzís, probably.

††† The Utmánzí here referred to are not "a tribe of Hazára," nor are they Yúsufzís, whatever the "Utmánzais" may be.

‡‡‡ *See* page 291.

Sín at this point, the Khán, above referred to, receives a small sum of money yearly from the treasury of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, the Bádsháh of Kábul, through the revenue collector of the Sar-kár or district of Aṭak, by way of a *jágír* or allowance for protecting them. The Khán also collects a small cess from them."

From Tor-bela'h another route leads to Bír. You leave the former place and proceed three kuroh in the direction of north-east, inclining north, to Ṣawábí, and then two kuroh and a half, in the same direction as before, to Kalínjar,* also written

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* "Kulinjur," and "Kulinger," respectively, of the two maps before referred to.

I have previously mentioned that a considerable number of Afgháns dwell east of the Abáe-Sín or Indus; and it will be well perhaps to notice them briefly here, as some doubts appear to exist as to there being any purely Afghán people at all located in that part. I recollect, many years ago, that an officer in civil employ in the Panj-áb, on one occasion, when a vacancy occurred in the Hazárah district, to which the tracts occupied by these Afghán people are subordinate, applied to be transferred thither from a district bordering on the Sutlaj, as he was studying the Afghán language, and wished to perfect himself in it. The reply he received from the then Chief Commissioner was, that the applicant was quite mistaken in supposing that the Afghán language was spoken in any part of the Hazárah district; and his application was refused.

The portions of tribes I have referred to are: I. Ghurghushts, including the other Parnís, as well as the Jzadúns, the Taríns, and Farmulis or Parmulís; II. Karlárnís, including the Dilazáks, Khogíánís, and Khaṭaks; III. Yúsufzís; and IV. Mandaṛs.

The Parnís, who are by no means "an inferior race of Patháns," as a Settlement Officer styles them, not including the Jzadún branch, consist of about 6,000 or 7,000 families. Their chief place is Najíb-Ullah Ghaṛ, a small town situated on a hill, an acclivity of the mountains; and they are located along the banks of the Harú or Harau river, previously mentioned at pages 30, 31, 218, and also at page 284. Najíb-Ullah is compounded of two Arabic words, and has a meaning, but "*Najíbúlá*," as it appears in official papers, is meaningless.

The Taríns (if they are not Tárarns, which I rather fancy they are) are Saṛabarns; and are descended from Tarín, son of Saṛabarn, one of the sons of Ḳais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd, Paṭán, and of pure Afghán descent, and from this same Tarín the Durránís are descended. The Tárarns, on the other hand, belong to the Ghurghusht division of the Afgháns, being descended from a Sayyid, Ṭáhir, turned into Tárarn by the Afgháns, who was adopted by Kákaṛ, intermarried with the Afgháns, and his descendants are accounted as such. *See* also page 75.

The Taríns first became partners with the Gújars, the ancient inhabitants of these parts, and subsequently supplanted them. At present the case is reversed, and the Gújars have, for the most part, supplanted the Taríns.

In 1201 H. (1786–87 A.D.), in the reign of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání, the chief of these Taríns east of the Indus was Himmat Khán (*see* page 277). He was succeeded by his son, Najíb-Ullah Khán, and the latter, subsequent to the time these surveys were made, by his son, Muḥammad Khán.

In the fifth year of the reign of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, in 1041 H. (1631-32 A.D.), Sher Khán of the Tarín tribe of Afgháns, who had been nominated chief, or headman, of the Dara'h of Khajzak—in which is the Khajzak Pass, the "Khojak" of our maps—by Sháh 'Abbás, Ṣafawí, left his native country, and took service in India. When Sháh 'Abbás died, and 'Alí Mardán Khán, son of Ganj 'Alí Khán, became governor of the province of Ḳandahár, to which the Khajzak Dara'h was subordinate, Sher Khán would not submit to his authority. While Sher Khán was absent, on a certain occasion, on a foray into Síwí and Gand-ábah, 'Alí Mardán Khán seized the opportunity, came upon Sher Khán's fort of Pushang (not "Peshin"), took it, and carried away his family prisoners to Ḳandahár, and plundered the whole of his property and effects. Sher Khán, subsequently, encountered 'Alí Mardán Khán in the field; and, although the latter was badly wounded in the fight by a bullet, Sher Khán was overthrown, and fled to Ḍogí and Chotíálí (*see* note †, page 24). Finding he could not continue to dwell in Afghánistán on account of 'Alí Mardán Khán, he made overtures to Aḥmad Beg Khán, governor of the Multán province. His offers were accepted by Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh; and, on the 2nd of Ramaẓán, in that same year, Sher Khán, the Tarín, was presented at Court, raised to the dignity of commander of 2,000 horse, nominal, and 1,000 horse, actual,—that is, with permission to keep up a contingent of 1,000 horse,—a dress of honour, 20,000 rúpís in cash for his expenses, and a *jágír* or fief in the Panj-áb. This, in all probability, was the time when these particular Taríns first came into the parts in question, and there settled; and the *jágír* granted to Sher Khán is perhaps part of what they now occupy.

The Mashwárnís, turned into "Mishwannees" in the maps, and by different writers, are of Sayyid descent, Mashwárnaey, their progenitor, being one of the four sons of the Sayyid, Muḥammad-i-Gísú Daráz, referred to in note ‡, page 218. Mashwárnaey married a grand-daughter, or a daughter, some say, of Kákaṛ, and was adopted by Dánaey, the father of Kákaṛ; and, in consequence, his descendants are accounted among the great division of the Afghán nation called Ghurghusht. The whole of the Mashwární tribe contains nine subdivisions, but the greater portion of them are not located in the Hazárah district, but in Western Afghánistán. These are again subdivided into several sections. The portion here referred to, as dwelling immediately east of the Indus, consists of about 4,000 families, who dwell in several villages in and on the northern skirts of Ghand-Ghaṛ, contained in that part of the Chhachh Hazárah district which Abú-l-Faẓl calls Hazárah of the Gújars, presently to be described, but which the Afgháns call Sama'h, and is also known as Ghand-Ghaṛ. Their chief place is Srí-Koṭ, a very old Hindú place. These constitute the whole of the Ghurghusht people dwelling in what we style Hazárah, with the exception of the Jzadún Parnís (an account of whom has been already given at page 217), and possibly of the Ṭáhir Khel Afgháns who hold the lands on the other side of Ghand-Ghaṛ, in what was known as the Ghaṛí *'iláka'h*, on the side nearest the Indus, regarding whose proper tribe I am in some doubt. They have been in possession of the tract referred to for a very long time.

In his "Central Asia," Part I., Vol. 3, page 158, I notice that Colonel C. M. MacGregor makes the "Tarkhelí," as he styles them, "*Ghubrí Swátís*," but, at page 186, he says "they are said to be of the same "race as the Útmánzai of Yúsufzai."

In Elliot's India, Vol. I., page 48, "the *Gangarias* of the Indus, one of the most turbulent tribes of the "Hazara country," are mentioned, but I fail to trace them. It is evident that the people dwelling in and around the Ghand-Ghaṛ are referred to under this name.

I was very much puzzled as to what people could possibly be referred to in the "Settlement Reports" of this district, under the strange name of "*the Tarkheli tribe*," but at length found that this was the name assigned

Kalinjar; and another three kuroh and a half brings you to Bíṛ, a large village on the banks of the Siran river, described elsewhere. On the way thither you cross a high mountain range; and by this same route you can go on to the Gaṛhí of Sa'ádat Khán, before referred to."

Tor-bela'h gives name also to the little district in which it is situated. It consists of eight *mauza'*, or villages with their lands, on the east bank of the Abáe-Sín or Indus, and three on the west bank, namely, Khubbal, Kiyá, and Sathána'h, which, in maps and public documents, is incorrectly written "Suttana," "Sitana," etc.

The lands belonging to Tor-bela'h on the west bank of the Indus are held by Afgháns, who have never yet paid revenue to any government; but the Afgháns dwelling on the Tor-bela'h side used to pay a revenue or tax to the Sikh government in the shape of what is termed *kankút*, under the computation of three fifths of the produce of the land to the cultivators, and two fifths to the Khálṣa'h government.

Much gold is obtained here by washing the sands of the Abáe-Sín or river Indus. There are several mills turned by water power near the point where the Siran and its tributaries unite with the Abáe-Sín, on each of which seven rúpís and a half used to be levied by the Sikh government, and six rúpís from each gang of gold-washers. In the year of the great flood of the Abáe-Sín, in the month of June, 1841, the gold-washers made a good thing of it, and paid a tax of thirty-six rúpís instead of six, or six times the amount, for each gang. There was scarcely a promising spot on the banks of the river that was not occupied by these gold-washers; and, according to the statements of the Harí-púr brokers, gold dust to the value of three *lákhs* of rúpís (30,000*l.*) was disposed of in the Harí-púr bázár alone. The Indus and its tributaries, as well as the rivers immediately to the west, have yielded gold from very early times.*

On the occasion of the great flood alluded to above, a Sikh force, encamped near the banks of the Indus, lost all their artillery, stores, camels, etc., the whole of which were swept away. Had it occurred in the night instead of in the daytime, the troops

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to the Ṭáhir Khel. This is a good specimen of how names of people and places are rendered unintelligible, and the utter confusion caused by rash and crude statements respecting the descent of people of whom the writers often know little or nothing, such, for example as asserting that the "*Gákars*," located on the banks of the "*Jhélám*," are "Kákar Afgháns." The writer here refers to the Gakhars on the Jhilam, which *he* spells *Gákar* to suit his theory, but *they* spell it as I have done. Another turns them into "Indo-Scythians."

The Dilazáks still remaining in these parts, already mentioned in several places, are scattered about in various places, both east and west of the Indus, but chiefly on the east, and with these we have at present to do. The tract of country held by them, when we annexed the Panj-áb, was called the Dilazák *paṭṭí*, and contained no less than twenty-one *mouza'* (villages with their lands). Ṣáliḥ Saráe, or Saráe-i-Ṣáliḥ—The Saráe of Ṣáliḥ,—a very ancient place, situated near the banks of the Ḍoṛ river, was their chief town, and contained about 3,000 inhabitants. The headman is still a Dilazák, and that people form a good proportion of its inhabitants. The number of Dilazák Afgháns inhabiting the *paṭṭí* amounted to between 4,000 and 5,000 families. *See* note *, page 35.

The Mughal Nú-yín, who invaded and reduced Kash-mír in Mangú Ḳá'án's reign, was called Sálí, also known as Sárí, *l* and *r* being exchangeable. He committed great ravages in that country. Soon after, Rájah Rám Díw died, and his brother, Lakshmaṇ Díw, succeeded by command of Mangú Ḳá'án. He is called Mang-kú in the Rájah Tarangíní. The Nú-yín, Sálí, commanded for a considerable time the Mughal forces which held the Upper Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and, subsequently, as far east as the Bíáh, when it flowed in its old bed. It was he, I have reason to believe, who gave name to this place, which name, in course of time, has been turned into the more familiar Arabic Ṣáliḥ,—"good," "fit," "sedate," etc. *See* my "Translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 844 and 862.

The Khogíání Karlárnís, previously referred to at pages 31 and 91, consist of about 2,000 or 3,000 families, and dwell in the tract of country called Chhachh Hazárah, elsewhere described.

I notice that Colonel C. M. MacGregor, in his "Central Asia," Part I., says, under the heading of "*Ghorghúst*" (the Ghurghushts are referred to), that "scarcely anything is known of any of these tribes, "though Mahamad Hyát has a meagre account of the branches of the Ghorghúsht." In one place, however, he makes "*Panjpao Dúránís*" of these Khogíání Karlární Ghurghushts, mistaking them, evidently, for Khogání, or, as they are often styled, Khagwání Durránís; but, in Part II. of the same work, page 536, he changes the name into "*Khúgíní*." Neither name is correct, and the Khogíánís of the Hazárah district are a section of a distinct tribe.

The Khaṭaks east of the Indus are quite independent of the main portion of the tribe on the west bank, and have been separated from them for some centuries past. They are located in the hill tracts south of Aṭak-Banáras, and Makhad is their chief town.

The Farmulís or Parmulís have been already mentioned, at pages 32 and 85.

The Yúsufzís, to the number of 10,000 or 12,000 families, dwell in the Kohistán to the north of the district of Hazárah. When these surveys were made, their Sardár was Muẓaffar Khán, who paid allegiance to Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání, Bádsháh of Kábul.

The Afghán history, entitled Nasab-Náma'h, says, that in the reign of Sháh-i-Zamán, Ḥasan-i-Abdál was held in fief by Muẓaffar Khán, the Yúsufzí, who was then chief of Muẓaffar-ábád, on the road to Kash-mír. He, however, did not give name to that place, as it was so called long before his time.

The Mandaṛs dwell in Tor-bela'h, on the Indus, and, like the Yúsufzís, are referred to in their different localities.

* *See* my "Notes on Káfiristán," pages 14 and 15.

would also have been engulphed. The forts of Dar-band, Anb, Tor-bela'h, Gharí, Wahí, and some others of less importance, were entirely destroyed, and nothing but the stones of which they had been built, and the rocks on which they had stood, remained to show where they had once been.

To return to the route.

"To the north of the village of Tor-bela'h is a great mountain range, running in the direction of north-east and south-west for a distance of fifteen kuroh in length, and in breadth, from south-east to north-west, eight kuroh. This mountainous tract is inhabited by Afghâns of the Abází clan, before referred to, Ghurghushts, including Parnís, and the Taríns. The river Siran, which, near Koṭ 'Ísá Khán, unites with the river of Dharam-ṭaur, also written Daram-ṭaur, and the Jalsí river, comes down to the north of the village of Tor-bela'h, and joins the Abáe-Sín. Except in time of flood, the Siran is generally not more than knee-deep, or, at farthest, waist-deep.

"Having crossed the Abáe-Sín at the Guzar or Ferry of Tor-bela'h, you proceed one kuroh west to Khubbal,* which is a village of some size, inhabited by Utmánzí Mandaṛs, and the river flows near by, on the left hand. From thence you go eight kuroh in the direction of south-west to Ṭopa'í, following the course of the great river, and passing, by the way, near some small villages, on the left hand, including Bárah,† and Pehúr,‡ a curious rocky promontory, which, in the hot season, when the river is in flood, is surrounded on three sides by water.

"Ṭopa'í is a village of some size, and is inhabited by Mandaṛs of the Utmánzí division, and lies rather more than a kuroh from the banks of the Abáe-Sín. Leaving that village, you proceed two kuroh in the direction of west to Marghol, also known as Marghoz. You then have to go on for another two kuroh in the same direction as before, but inclining south-west, to Jzeda'h, which Eastern Afghâns, who substitute 'j' and 'z' for 'jz,' call Jeda'h and Zeda'h. The Abáe-Sín lies two kuroh§ distant, on the left hand, and a lofty mountain range shows itself away in the distance, on the right. About two kuroh to the north of Jzeda'h is the large village of Panj-Pír, or 'The Five Saints,' previously referred to. Half way on the road thither, on the right hand, is a small river, which issues from the Dara'h of Manera'í, and is expended in the irrigation of the lands lower down.||

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* This is the correct mode of writing and pronouncing the name of this place, as the people write and pronounce it, but Colonel C. M. MacGregor writes it *Kabal*, and Mr. Bellew, *Kabl*, neither being much like the original.

The Sardár, Harí Singh, was defeated and left for dead in his attempt to capture Náṛa'h, a strong place belonging to the people known as Kaṛ Ál, and, as a native of the district of Hazárah writes it, Kaṛal Ál (*see* also page 292), situated at the north-eastern point of the Ghand-Ghaṛ range, in 1824. The Afghâns of this part, who aided them on that occasion, fought with great determination, and hurled down great stones from the walls upon the Sikhs, one of which missiles struck down Harí Singh, and sent him rolling into the ravine below, where he lay a long time senseless and undiscovered. In this affair the Sikhs lost 400 men, while the loss of the defenders was very trifling.

Raṇ-jít Singh moved in person to avenge this disaster, which he effected, and subsequently reached Tor-bela'h, on his way into the Afghán territory west of the Indus, which we call "Yoosoofzai," because it is peopled by Mandaṛs and Khaṭaks, and the people call "the Sama'h." Having to halt for the day, Raṇ-jít Singh mounted an elephant, and went to examine the river, the Abáe-Sín. On reaching the banks, the Afghâns of Khubbal, on the opposite side, opened fire upon him. He was very wroth, and observed that he would see to the matter next day. Early next morning the Sikh troops struck tents, marched to the river, and crossed it without the aid of a single boat or boatman. They then made a show of moving to Pehúr, while columns, previously told off for the purpose, pushed on against Khubbal and Kiyá. They succeeded in destroying both places, but the people had previously betaken themselves to the mountains with all their effects. Raṇ-jít Singh then continued his march by Pehúr, and entered the Sama'h. Compare Captain J. D. Cunningham's "History of the Sikhs," page 185.

† This place, formerly known as Bárah of Tunawal, was the scene of the overthrow of Shaikh 'Umar, Khair-ud-Dín, Núr-ud-Dín, and Jalál-ud-Dín, the sons of the notorious Pír-i-Roshán, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík, referred to at page 46, by Hamzah Khán, Chief of the Akozí Yúsufzís. The two first fled across the Abáe-Sín, towards Tor-bela'h, and were put to death by the Dilazák Afghâns; and the Muḥammadzís subsequently put the third to death likewise. The fourth, Jalál-ud-Dín, or Jalálah, who was then a mere boy, had been badly wounded, and tossed into the river. As his time was not yet come, he escaped from the water, but fell into the hands of the Ámánzí Mandaṛs. They did not slay him, on account of his tender age, and, by command of Akbar Bádsháh, he was by them set at liberty, to cause vast miseries subsequently. He is the person referred to at page 45. The females and children of the heretics were captured; the widow of Pír-i-Roshán was given to the embraces of a minstrel; and the arch-heretic's coffin, containing his bones, which his sons carried about along with them, was also taken, and broken open. Some of his bones were burnt, and some cast into the Abáe-Sín.

‡ Some enthusiasts, without taking into consideration the physical changes of over 2,000 years, when such vast ones have occurred since these surveys were written, and the description of Aornos by the Greek writers, suppose Pehúr to be its site, among very many others.

§ Jzeda'h is now about three miles from the Indus.

|| This is now known as the Badṛaey Khwaṛ, and unites with the Abáe-Sín or Indus a little to the west of Ųhanḍh. It is styled "the Badra-ikhwar" in Colonel MacGregor's book.

" From Jzeda'h you go on to Kunḍ, distant a kuroh and a half in the same direction as before, and then another three kuroh, in the direction of west, to the small village of Láhor.

" Leaving Láhor, you have to proceed for a distance of two kuroh, in the direction of west, to the large village of Jalsa'í, and on the way thither there is little or no cultivation to be met with. From the village of Khubbal up to this point the people are Mandaṛ Afgháns; and from thence you have to proceed another three kuroh farther west, and reach a second Jalsa'í,* a large village belonging to the Khaṭak Afgháns, whose territory begins here. The village of Bázár† (mentioned at page 34) is seen in the distance, on the left-hand side, distant three kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining south. Another long stage of eight kuroh brings you to another large village belonging to the Khaṭaks, called 'Alí Muḥammad, situated on the northern bank of the Lanḍaey Sín, or river of Kábul. By the way are numerous ascents and descents, and the road winds considerably. A lofty mountain range shows itself in the distance, on the right hand, with low hills near by, in the same direction, forming the Sar-i-Maira'h, or 'Crest of the Desert,' *maira'h* in Pus'hto signifying a 'desert.' The villages of Jahángírah, Mughalkí,‡ and others, belonging to the same Afghán tribe, lie near by, on the left hand.

" From the village of 'Alí Muḥammad two roads diverge. In taking the left-hand one (to Pes'háwar), you cross the Lanḍaey, or river of Kábul, to the town of Akoṛah (mentioned at page 34), while the right-hand route is as follows.

" Setting out from the village of 'Alí Muḥammad, you proceed one kuroh west, and reach the fort of Akoṛah, a brick-built fortification, founded by one of the Sulṭáns of ancient times to guard the passage, and now in the possession of Yúsuf Khán, the Khaṭak chief of that section of the tribe dwelling north of the Lanḍaey Sín or river of Kábul. To the north of the fort is a small range of hills of considerable elevation overlooking it, running east and west, almost parallel to the river; and, on the south, the walls of the fort have been carried to the banks of the Lanḍaey Sín, or river of Kábul.

" From the fort of Akoṛah you go half a kuroh west to Miṣrí Bánḍa'h, another large village belonging to the Khaṭaks; and from thence another two kuroh and a half, in the same direction as before, to Z'ṛah-Me-na'h,§ also a Khaṭak village. Leaving it, another two kuroh and a half, in much the same direction as before, brings you to the large village of Pír-i-Siwák, previously mentioned (at page 246), situated on the banks of the Lanḍaey Sín, or river of Kábul. East of the village, distant about a quarter of a kuroh, is an isolated hill, which rises abruptly from the plain to a considerable height. This hill is called Pír-i-Siwák, after some holy man among the Musalmáns, who dwelt, and is probably buried, there, and after him the village is named.|| To the north-west of the village, and distant a little over a kuroh, is the river known as the Kálá or Kála'h Pární, described in the Fifty-fourth Route. It rises in the mountain range lying distant on the right hand (north), forming the southern boundary of the Dara'h of Suwát, and, running to the left, unites with the Lanḍaey Sín, north-west of the village. On both sides of the Kála'h Pární there is much broken ground, containing many ascents and descents; and the Mandaṛ tribe of Afgháns infest the routes. The Kalaey, or Village of Sháh-báz Khán, mentioned in the First Route (page 34), shows itself on the right hand, near the river bank, on the opposite side of the Lanḍaey Sín.

" From Pír-i-Siwák you proceed three kuroh west, inclining south-west, to Noh-S'hahra'h-i-Muḥammadzí, or Noh-S'hahra'h of the Muḥammadzís, and Noh-S'hahra'h of 'Ash-Naghar, to distinguish it from the Tájzík village, known as Noh-S'hahra'h-i-Kháliṣa'h, on the opposite bank. The first-mentioned place, which is of considerable size, is one of the large villages of the 'Ash-Naghar district.

" At this point two roads branch off. The right-hand route goes to the north-west,

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* This place is called "Jabbai" in our maps.

† "Buzar" of the Indian Atlas map. It is merely the simple every-day word for a market.

‡ This is the "Moghulhai" of the Indian Atlas map, and the "Mogal Khel" of Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Central Asia," Vol. II.

§ Not "Zurumaina" as in our maps. The correct words have a meaning in Pus'hto.

|| This is a very old site. The name is written Pír Sihwák by the Khaṭaks generally, but the above appears to be the original name, signifying the Pír or Holy man with the Tooth-brush, so called from having a *siwák* or *miswák* stuck in his turban. The tooth-brush here referred to is a small piece of the wood of a particular tree used for the purpose, about the length of a black-lead pencil, but flat, not rounded. This is chewed, or bitten, at one end, to the extent of a quarter of an inch or thereabouts, in order to reduce it to fibre, and this fibrous part bent over forms the brush, which is used by Musalmáns when performing their ablutions. Recluses often carry them stuck in their turbans.

to 'Ash-Naghar, and the left-hand one is as follows. Having crossed the Landaey Sín, or river of Kábul, by means of a boat, you reach Noh-S'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h, inhabited by Tájzíks; and from this place the route to Pes'háwar has been previously described (at page 34).

"Travellers between Kash-mír and Kábul take this route, but, from Khubbal to Noh-S'hahra'h of the Muhammadzís, the road is dangerous, and contains many ascents and descents."

Sixty-sixth Route. From Ráwal-Pindí to the Dera'h-i-Gul Sher Khán, which is the seat of government of the territory of Tunawal, a distance of thirty-five kuroh north. By this route you can proceed into the Kohistán of the Yúsufzí Afgháns, and to Káshkár, and to the Tibbat-há-i-Khúrd, or Little Tibbats.

"There are two roads from Ráwal-Pindí to the Dera'h of Gul Sher Khán. The following is the right-hand one."

The road from Ráwal-Pindí to Surríyá* is so well known that it need scarcely be mentioned here.

"From that place you proceed two kuroh in the direction of north-west to Darwesh, a village of considerable size, belonging to the Gakhar tribe, but under the sway of Najíb-Ullah Khán, the Tarín Afghán. On the way thither you pass by much cultivation. The village of Surelá, which is also a large place belonging to the same tribe, and distant two kuroh south of Darwesh, shows itself at some distance on the left hand. Two kuroh north of Darwesh is Jágal, another large village of the before-mentioned tribe, and under the sway of the same chief, and west of it is a small river, called the Jalsí.† From Jágal you go on another three kuroh in the direction of north to Khalá-bat,‡ another considerable village of the Gakhars, but under the sway of the same Tarín chief. Leaving it, and proceeding two kuroh more in the direction of north, inclining north-west, you reach Kot 'Ísá Khán, which is an ancient fort,§ built of unburnt bricks. South of it the Jalsí and Dharam-taur rivers‖ unite, and on the north side the Siran river flows; and on the west side of the fort, and beneath it, that river unites with the Jalsí, and then the united streams flow on towards Tor-bela'h. From Jágal to the above-mentioned Kot you follow the course of the Jalsí river; and, west of the fort, the whole of the three rivers flow in one channel towards the Abáe-Sín. The road then branches off, and is like the dry bed of a river, contains many ups and downs, and excess of *jangal*, and is known as the Bhír-Galí. It is about one kuroh in length; and from the extremity of it (in this direction), one kuroh north-west, is the little village of Sawábí,¶ situated on an acclivity, and inhabited by Sayyids, and west of it is a considerable stream, which flows towards the south-west, and unites with the Siran river.

"From Sawábí you go on for a distance of two kuroh and a half in the direction of north, inclining north-east, to Kalínjar, also called Kalinjar,** a village of considerable size, situated under the mountains, on the north side. West of the village is a river, dependent on rain, which comes down from the mountains east of the village, and, passing it on the north and west, unites with the Siran river. Leaving Kalínjar, or Kalinjar, you proceed two kuroh and a half north-west, and descend to the bed of a little river (which you cross), and a short distance to the north of it is Gan-dab, or Ganh-daf,†† a large village inhabited by Sayyids. East of the village, and adjoining the river before mentioned as depending on rain, is a spring, and a little water flows from that spring into the afore-mentioned river bed. The river of Gan-dab, or Ganh-daf, comes from the mountains on the east, and, flowing on the south and west of the village, goes on to Tor-bela'h.‡‡

"Setting out from Gan-dab or Ganh-daf, and proceeding half a kuroh west, you reach an acclivity of the mountains, which you cross, and the Gan-dab or Ganh-daf

* "Siryuh" of the large scale map, and "Siria" of the Indian Atlas map.

† The "Sokha N." of the maps.

‡ "Kalabat" of one map, and "Khulabut" of the other.

§ Now known as Kot Bhárú.

‖ The Dharam-taur river refers to the Dor.

¶ But not called "Swábí," as in official papers. The name is derived from an 'Arabic word, which any Hindústání Dictionary will show the correct pronunciation of. West of the Indus it would be pronounced Sawába'í.

** Only called "Kalinja" by persons who cannot pronounce their "*rs*" correctly. It is "Kulinger" in the Indian Atlas map. *See* "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," note 4, page 1074.

†† "Gunduf," of the large map, but "Gándum" in the Indian Atlas map. *See* also page 289.

‡‡ The Siran, Mángal, and Dor rivers, and some minor tributaries, unite with the Abáe-Sín near Tor-bela'h.

river lies on your left hand. From thence, having gone on half a kuroh in the direction of north-west in the bed of the river, you reach a small collection of water like a lake, the water from which flows towards the left hand, and unites with the Gan-dab or Ganh-daf river. Continuing onwards from that point (the little lake), and still following the dry bed of a river, dependent on rain, for one kuroh in the direction of west, you reach, half a kuroh farther north, Khair-Koṭ,* which is a large-size village; and the before-mentioned river flows towards the left hand, and unites with the Ábáe-Sín (or Indus).

"From Khair-Koṭ you go on a kuroh and a half to the north, and reach Anorá or Anora'h,† which lies on the right hand, at the foot of the mountain range, while the Abáe-Sín lies near by on the left-hand side. Another kuroh north from Anorá brings you to Lálú-Galí, which is the name of a village at the foot of the mountains, and the great river before mentioned lies close by on the left hand. Half a kuroh farther and you reach the Dera'h‡-i-Gul Sher Khán, a large town, the seat of government, and place of residence of Gul Sher Khán, the Chief of Tunawal. This chief entertains a force of about 10,000 or 12,000 horse and foot, and rules over this part. He pays allegiance to the Bádsháh of Kábul; and the most valuable commodities of Pakhla'í, Kash-mír, and Pes'háwar, are disposed of in this place. At a short distance west of the town is a fort of unburnt brick, but of very great strength; and a little farther to the west of it the Abáe-Sín flows.

"On the road from Khair-Koṭ to this place the mountains approach close on the right hand."

It will be well to give a brief account of Tunawal here.

"Tunawal is the name of a small territory lying on the east bank of the Abáe-Sín, about twenty kuroh in length, and about the same in breadth, through which the Siran river flows from north to south, but inclining a little to the south-west. It is a very mountainous tract of country, and its inhabitants belong to different tribes, a number of whom are Afgháns; and the Pus'hto language is spoken among them all. The chieftainship lies with the Tunawalís, who account themselves to be of Mughal descent; but, at present, they are scarcely distinguishable in their appearance from the Afgháns and various other peoples of this part. Latterly, according to some accounts, they have laid claim to be descended from the tribe of Birlás—Amír Tímúr's own tribe.

"The Tunawalís number about 20,000 families, and consist of two septs or divisions, named respectively Pul Ál, and Hando or Ando Ál, the words being written both ways. The former hold the parts east of the Siran, or south-east portion of Tunawal, and the latter those on the west or north-west part. The latter tracts belong to Pá'índah Khán, and were held by his ancestors before him. Their chief places and seat of authority are Bíṛ, Púhár, and Dera'h."§

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* "Khurkot" of the large map.

† "Unoruh" of one map and "Anorah" of the other. *See* page 291.

‡ "Deyrah" of one map and "Deruh" of the other. It is precisely the same word as in the Dera'h of Ghází Khán and Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán.

§ A zamín-dár, a land-owner and petty chief, named Ṣúbah Khán, of the Pul Ál or Pul tribe, founded Bíṛ, which soon became a flourishing place. He dwelt with his family at Phúhár, a cool spot on the Siran River; and, while Bíṛ was being built and peopled, he used to ride daily to Bíṛ and return to Phúhár in the evening. These events occurred at the time of the breaking up of the Mughal empire of Dihlí, when so many adventurers and upstarts set up on their own account.

He left fourteen sons, one of whom was Gul Sher Khán, presently to be mentioned. It may also be noticed that "Khán," afterwards adopted by the Afgháns, is a purely Turkish title. No sooner had the father died than the brothers began to disagree. Two of them, who held Dera'h in their father's lifetime, expelled their brothers, Fatḥ Sher Khán and Gul Sher Khán, from Phúhár, and they had to seek shelter with the Mandaṛ Afgháns of Tor-bela'h. Of the two brothers before mentioned, one, named Muḥammad Khán, took possession of Phúhár, and was chosen ruler by the five clans or subdivisions forming the Pul Ál or tribe. He turned out a great tyrant; and the people got rid of him and recalled Fatḥ Sher Khán and Gul Sher Khán, and made the latter their chief. He proved to be a good ruler, and at his death his brother, Fatḥ Sher Khán, was chosen as his successor.

The other part of Tunawal, held by the Hando Ál, or Hando tribe, or Ando Ál, was in the possession of five zamín-dárs, the head men of their *ál* or tribe, one of whom, Haibat Khán, the Hando or Ando Ál, the great-grandfather of the celebrated Pá'índah Khán, who dwelt at Kalaey, considered himself superior to the rest, and began to claim equality with Gul Sher Khán, Chief of the Pul Ál. The latter, to convince him of the difference between them, entered his *paṭṭa'h* or district, devastated it, and reduced Kalaey to ashes. Haibat Khán fled; but, after a time, being helpless as to what else to do, he had to submit to Gul Sher Khán's yoke, on which the latter permitted him to return and to restore Kalaey.

Haibat Khán had two sons, named, respectively, Nawwáb and Háshim 'Alí; and, when their father made up his differences with Gul Sher Khán, a family alliance was formed, or what was intended as an alliance, but, like these alliances often do, it culminated in inveterate hostility. The daughter of Gul Sher Khán was betrothed to Haibat Khán's son, Háshim 'Alí, and a daughter of Haibat Khán to Gul Sher Khán's son, Aḥmad. These events happened about the time these surveys were made.

Túnawal, or Tunawal, as the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, and the people of the district itself, write the word and pronounce it—but not *Tanáwal*, as in some official documents, because there is no long *á* in the word—was overrun by the Afgháns in the latter part of Akbar Bádsháh's reign.

The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, says in his Tazkirat, and he was a contemporary writer, that, from the time of Malik Ahmad and Khán Kajú up to his own time, the most

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When Forster visited these parts, when on his travels, Gul Sher Khán was still living. Under date of 6th July, 1783, he says, "On the 6th at Inayat Saráe or N'amat Saráe, a fortified village, situated in the western "limit of Tanawal, the territory of Gul Shere Khán, a Muhammadan of the Afghan tribe. Beer is the residence "of Gul Shere." He mistook, it appears, a Tunawalí for an Afghán.

Major J. Biddulph, in his work, "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh," makes even a greater mistake, for at page 37 he informs us that "the population of Pukli is now entirely Afghán."

On the death of Gul Sher Khán, his son Ahmad succeeded him. At this time Nawwáb and Háshim 'Alí, Haibat Khán's sons, began to acquire power, which fact became a source of jealousy and anxiety to Ahmad Khán, and he feared lest the territory held by the Pul Ál of Tunawal might, in the end, fall into the possession of the Hando Ál faction, represented by Nawwáb and Háshim 'Alí, and they should become supreme over Tunawal which his family had held sway over for three generations past. Soon after, to increase Ahmad Khán's uneasiness, the clans or sections of the Hando Ál chose Háshim 'Alí as their chief or head.

He and his brother, Nawwáb, to be safe from Ahmad Khán, took refuge in the Mahá-Ban mountain range, and then sent him a message demanding possession of the villages of Dar-band and Gharí, places difficult of access, which were, of old, strongholds of the Hando Ál, but had been seized upon by Gul Sher Khán. On this, Ahmad Khán managed to entice Háshim 'Alí, his brother-in-law, to bring his wife, Ahmad's sister, along with him, and come and stay with him, promising that the two places referred to should be restored as pin money to his sister. Háshim 'Alí, much against the wishes and persuasions of Nawwáb, his brother, taking his wife with him, set out on a visit to Ahmad Khán. The upshot was that Háshim 'Alí was assassinated by four men employed by Ahmad Khán for the purpose. After much entreaty he allowed his sister to depart with the corpse of her husband. The funeral over, and the mourning ceremonies carried out, Nawwáb Khán married his brother's widow; and, by the strength of his own arm, soon obtained possession of Dar-band and Gharí; and, while he prospered in all his undertakings, Ahmad Khán failed in all his.

At this period, while the power of Nawwáb Khán, who, it will be found, was a most unscrupulous person, daily increased, Akbar 'Alí Khán, a cousin of Ahmad Khán's, went to Kash-mír to wait upon 'Atá Muhammad Khán, Bárakzí, Durrání, Governor of Kash-mír and its dependencies, to which province Tunawal was nominally subordinate, in order to seek justice against Ahmad Khán, who had refused to restore to him his father's heritage to which he was heir. 'Atá Muhammad Khán, on becoming acquainted with the facts, detached a force under an officer named Kash-mírí Khán, to put Akbar 'Alí in possession. Ahmad Khán hearing of this, at a loss what to do, now agreed to bestow a daughter in marriage upon the Sayyid, A'zam Sháh, brother of the Sayyid, Akbar Sháh, mentioned in note ‡, page 253, of Sathána'h, a demand of whose hand he had previously rejected; and sent all his household property and valuable effects, to the value of a lakh of rúpís, to the Sayyid, A'zam Sháh, his new son-in-law, to take charge of, intending, in case he should be stripped of his territory and authority by the Durránís, to take up his residence at Sathána'h, on the other side of the Abáe-Sín.

When the Durrání force appeared, Ahmad Khán fled across the river towards the Mahá-Ban mountain range, and took up his residence among the Afgháns at the village of Pharús-hah—the "Parosa" and "Paroosa" of the maps—for, had he gone to Sathána'h, the Sayyids would have put him to death for the sake of his property.

Akbar 'Alí Khán was put in possession of Phúhár and afterwards of Bír by the Durránís, and Dera'h, Ahmad Khán's place of residence, was burnt. After this the Kash-mír force retired, but the Durránís had scarcely passed Muzaffar-ábád before Ahmad Khán left his retreat in the Mahá-Ban mountain, with his adherents, and took up his quarters at Lálú-Galí (mentioned at page 275), and the clans of the Pul Ál at once joined him. The Sayyid, A'zam Sháh was much disappointed: he wished to get him into his power, and secure his property for himself. He now resolved to make an attempt to do so, lest Ahmad Khán might escape him altogether. With this intent, the Sayyid, A'zam Sháh, consulted with his brother, the Sayyid, Akbar Sháh, and they agreed to invite Ahmad Khán to Sathána'h to a *jirga'h*, or council, promising to help him to recover his authority.

Ahmad Khán, placing reliance on the good faith of his son-in-law, crossed the Abáe-Sín in a boat, and attended the *jirga'h*. Towards the close of the debate, the movements of the Sayyid brothers rendered him suspicious; and he noticed them stealthily preparing to attack him. He got up, pretending he wanted to obey a call of nature, and withdrew a few paces leisurely, and then fled, making towards the river. The Sayyids pursued him. The boat in which he had crossed was some distance from the shore, the men in charge had purposely, it would seem, kept her at a little distance from it. Ahmad Khán rushed into the water, followed by the Sayyids as far as was within their depths, during which time they inflicted eleven wounds on the head, arms, and back of Ahmad Khán.

His time, however, was not come: he did not fall, but took to swimming, and was taken into the boat by the boatmen, and landed on the other side. His property remained in the hands of the Sayyids, and they never restored it.

Ahmad Khán recovered from his wounds, and took up his residence at Dera'h, but he was subsequently assassinated by an uncle, Sar-Buland Khán by name, son of Subá Khán, Ahmad Khán's grandfather, in the *masjid* at Kotyál, while in the very act of saying his prayers. Sar-Buland Khán then assumed authority over the Pul Ál portion of the Tunawal territory, and fixed his residence at Shunkri—the "Shúnglí" and "Shinguree" of the maps and gazetteers—situated in a glen among the mountains, about fourteen miles south-west from Dharam-taur.

Nawwáb Khán, the Hando or Ando Ál, had, during these events, been gaining power by degrees, but he was greatly impeded in his ambitious designs by Muhammad Khán, son of Najíb-Ullah Khán, the chief of the Tarín Afgháns of this part (who have now been nearly supplanted by the Gújars), of Kal-dharí, one of the petty independent chiefs of the Hazárah territory, who, subsequently, for a long period, successfully resisted the Sikhs, and defeated them upon several occasions. But the insolence of Nawwáb Khán was as great as his unscrupulousness, and, having displayed it once too often, he perished in consequence, as I shall relate farther on.

powerful chief among the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs was 'Alí Aṣghar, and the most successful in his enterprises. No chief among them had reduced the Kohistán of Túnawal, but he accomplished it, with the aid of other headmen of the subdivisions of the two tribes, such as Malik Hindál, the Akozí; Malik Bábá, Malízí; Matah Khán, and Mullá Ibráhím, Ilyászí; Malik Tarkí, Mandaṛ; and others. 'Alí Aṣghar completely reduced that tract, and expelled its former inhabitants. From that time portions of Afghán tribes have been settled on the Indus, in parts formerly included in Túnawal.

"By the left-hand route from Ráwal-Pindí to this town, you proceed twelve kuroh towards the north-west, and reach the Harú river; and by the way are lofty defiles and towering mountains, and several villages named Khaṭar* or Kháṭar, the largest of which they call 'Uṣmán-Khaṭar. From the Harú river you proceed three kuroh north-east to Najíb-Ullah Ghaṛ, the name of a large village, and a strong fort, on the slope of a mountain. This is the place of residence of Najíb-Ullah Khán,† son of Himmat Khán, the Afghán chief of the tribe of Tarín; and three kuroh east of it is the village of Darwesh, already mentioned in the previous route, both routes uniting here. Najíb-Ullah Ghaṛ is named after him."

Sixty-seventh Route. From Ghaṛí-i-Sa'ádat Khán to Taha'h-Koṭ or Tahá-Koṭ, which lies on the extreme northern boundary of the Pakhla'í territory, a distance of forty kuroh to the north-west. This Route also leads into the two Tibbats, and into Káshkár, Badakhshán, and Yár-kand.

Before giving the details of this route it will be well to give a brief account of Pakhal or Pakhala'í, now known as Pakhla'í.

"It lies east of Tunawal, and is about fifty kuroh in length, by some forty in breadth. It is inhabited by a race of people who are styled Suwádís, Suwátís, or, more correctly, Suwáthís. They now speak the Pus'hto language, but they are neither of the Afghán race, nor are they of Afghán descent, and came originally from Bájawṛ, and Suwád, Suwát, or Suwáth."

When the Khas'hí sept of Afgháns acquired predominance in Bájawṛ, Suwád, and Buner, and parts adjacent, and Bábar Bádsháh overcame Ḥaidar 'Alí, the Gibarí Sulṭán of Bájawṛ, and occupied his stronghold, and Sulṭán Awes, son of Sulṭán Pakhal, the last Sulṭán of Suwád, also of the Gibarí tribe, had to abandon his kingdom, and take shelter in the Dara'h of Nihák, Níáka'h, or Ní'ák,‡ farther north, the people of the territories in question, consisting of tribes of the Tájzík race, also known as Dikkáns and Dihgáns, were either wholly expelled from them, or, with few exceptions, abandoned their old seats to find new homes where they might dwell in safety from Afghán invaders from the westward. As the tracts immediately west of the Indus and north of Buner, extending from the eastern boundary of the Káshkár or Chitrál state to Taha'h-Koṭ or Tahá-Koṭ, belonged to, and were still inhabited by, people of their own race, who had not been interfered with (and have not, to this day, to any considerable extent), they were, of necessity, forced to cross the Indus to find a new country, those of their own race not having room for them to dwell with them.

"They began to cross the great river in the direction of Taha'h-Koṭ, presently to be referred to, and, following the example of the Afghán invaders of their own country, they overcame the tribes of Khakhah and Banbhah, whose chiefs had been the ancient rulers of these parts east of the Abáe-Sín, forced them back, and took possession of the territory of Pakhal for themselves.§ Having, for the most part, come from Suwád, they were styled Suwádís or Suwáthís by their immediate neighbours; but they consisted chiefly of the tribes referred to at pages 117 and 237."‖

The advent of a great part of the Dilazák Afgháns—first expelled by the Khas'his

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* Khaṭar or Kháṭar is the name of a non-Afghán tribe now dwelling farther south, about Níl-Áb, below Aṭak-Banáras. They were formerly more numerous than they are at present, and extended farther north.

† Najíb-Ullah Khán of Chhachh Hazárah acknowledged fealty to the Durrání sovereigns, and furnished a contingent to the Sháh-i-Zamán's army when that monarch entered the Panj-áb and occupied Láhor in 1211 H. (1796–97, A.D.), and for a time kept the encroaching Sikhs in check.

‡ *See* page 231.

§ The Jahángírían Sulṭáns, in ancient times, possessed an empire extending from Nangrahár to the Jhilam; but, at the time when the Khas'hís overran Suwát, their sway did not extend beyond the Indus on the east, except over Taha'h-Koṭ, and some smaller tracts near it. Pakhal is evidently named after the Gibarí Sulṭán of that name.

‖ *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note 1, pages 1043–44.

from the whole of their territory north of the river of Kábul, and subsequently overthrown by the Ghwarís or Ghwaríah Khel, and expelled from the whole of their remaining territories west of the Indus and south of the river of Kábul, extending from the Khaibar defile to Khair-ábád, opposite Aṭak-Banáras—prevented these Tájzík tribes from extending east and south; while other non-Afghán tribes of the Sind-Ságar Do-Ábah, and from west of the Indus, but farther south, were themselves being thrust forward by other Afghán tribes, such as the Áfrídís, Khaṭaks, and some others, who were likewise moving towards the east and north.

The Tájzík tribes referred to are the Gibarí, Mutráwí, and Mumíálí, which contain several ramifications, such as the Dúd Ál, Jahángírí, Beg Ál, etc.; and among which may also be included all those people, previously referred to, extending from Ḳáshkár or Chitrál into Taha'h-Koṭ or Tahá-Koṭ, including those of the Kohistán of Suwád previously mentioned.* It must be remembered that the tribes of Bájawṛ and Suwád, and, in all likelihood, many of those people mentioned in these pages under the name of Kohistánís, were orthodox Musalmáns some centuries before the appearance of the Afgháns in their territories. It is also probable that these latter were merely called Kohistánís by the Afgháns themselves, to distinguish them from the race of people mentioned in these pages under the name of Spín Káfirís, or White-clad Unbelievers; and it is evident, from the termination "Ál" affixed to the names of the Pul Ál and Hando or Ando Ál of Tunawul, that they were of the same stock. They, however, claim to be of Mughal descent. The Ḳárlúghs or Ḳárlúḳs, mentioned farther on, were Turks, but not Mughals, it must be remembered—nor were they "Indo-Scythians," as some people incorrectly style them—and some of these same Turks still hold a number of villages in what we call the Hazárah district of the Panj-áb.†

The latest inroad of Suwáthís into these parts, in any numbers, appears to have taken place early in the seventeenth century, when a Sayyid, Jalál by name, a descendant of the Sayyid, 'Alí, the Tirmizí, the Pír Bábá, referred to at page 268, came into them from beyond the Indus, accompanied by a considerable body of his disciples and their families and belongings.

The Gibarís, who, in their native country, were the ruling race, spoke a dialect different from the other tribes. The Khas'hí historian, in his work previously quoted, also mentions that this race of people, with whom the Afgháns first came in contact, only spoke two languages or dialects, the Gibarí and the Darí,‡ the former being spoken by the tribe of that name, and the latter by the other two tribes of Mutráwí and Mumíálí.

At the present time, the upper or northern parts of the Pakhal or Pakhla'í district here referred to, including the Kág-hán Dara'h, are inhabited by the Gibarís, and the lower or southern parts by the others. Some districts of Pakhal or Pakhla'í have come under British rule, and some are still independent.

These people, however, are scarcely recognizable under the vitiated names of "Ghubrí," "Momialí," and "Mobrawí," as they appear in gazetteers and official documents.

To return to the author's account of them.

"These people, with the help of any others who would aid them, and without being led by, or subject to the control of, a single chief, possessed themselves of this tract.§ In consequence of this, no chief or malik, from that time, had any claim to rule over

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* *See* page 237.

† The people of India and the Panj-áb call all people from the westward, who are not Afgháns, Mughals, and make no distinction between them and purely Turkish people; and all Afgháns are, in the same way, called Paṭháns by them.

At the time of the annexation of the Panj-áb the Turks held twenty-one *mouẓa'*—villages with their lands. The Hazárah territory, at the period referred to, was known at times as Chaurásí Hazárah, because it contained *chaurásí*—eighty-four—*mouẓa'*, of which *paṭṭí* Turkí contained twenty-one; *paṭṭí* Dilazák, twenty-one; *paṭṭí* Tarín and Gújarí, twenty-one; and the *khálişa'h paṭṭí*, twenty-one.

Sháh Mír, afterwards Sulṯán Shams-ud-Dín, who ruled over Kash-mír and its dependencies from 742 H. to 746 H. (1341-42 to 1345-46 A.D.)—some say from 743 H. to 747 H.,—and who introduced the Muḥammadan religion into Kash-mír, was a Gibarí from Suwát. According to some accounts, however, he is said to have traced his descent from Arjun, the third son of Páṇḍu. First he became Wazír to Rájah Raṇ-jíw, who is erroneously styled Raṇ-jan and Rínjá by some native authors; and subsequently, after the decease of Údan Díw, who is also styled Údíṇ and Údhí Díw, who married Koṭah Ratan, also called Kotah Zain, widow of the former Rájah, Sháh Mír usurped the power, assumed the title of Sulṯán Shams-ud-Dín, and compelled the twice-widowed Kotah Ratan or Kotah Zain to marry him.

‡ Also called, at times, and by some writers, the Dihḳán or Dihgán language, which, doubtless, contained many dialects. The Darí Ál still dwell in the Kohistán of Suwát, in a dara'h called after them.

§ The writer appears to refer to the Sayyid, Jalál, and his followers here.

them. Having possessed themselves of the Pakhal or the Pakhla'í territory, they divided it equally among themselves and their confederates according to the number of their families.

"Some years ago, they chose Sa'ádat Khán, one of their own people, a person greatly respected among them, who was wealthy, and had a goodly following, to conduct their affairs at the court of the sovereign under whose sway they lived, and to whom they paid allegiance. Sa'ádat Khán dwells at present [when the author wrote] at the Gharí, or small fort, which he himself founded, around which a town has sprung up, and is called, after him, the Gharí of Sa'ádat Khán.

"His territory is a dependency of the *súbah* or province of Kash-mír, in which he holds a small *jágír* or fief.*

"Sa'ádat Khán is much respected by his neighbours, as well as by his own people, and, like the latter, the chiefs of Tunawal or Túnawal, and the chiefs of the Jzadún Afgháns, refer their quarrels and disputes to him to settle."

This worthy chief was succeeded, at his death, by his son, Najíb-Ullah Khán, who lived in concord with his brother, Ḥabíb-Ullah Ḳhán.† To continue.

"Pakhla'í pays *nazaránaʹh* (offerings presented when chiefs pay their visits of ceremony to a prince, governor, or other high official) to the representative of the Durrání sovereign; and, in time of war, it has to furnish a small contingent of troops.

"The land in Pakhla'í is chiefly *lalmí*, or dependent on rain for irrigation, and has but little *rúdí*, or land artificially irrigated; and the assessment is one tenth of the produce. Out of every valley within it, streams of greater or less extent issue, some of which unite with the Abáe-Sín, while others join the Wihat, Bihat, or Jhilam river."

Pakhla'í, as constituted since the annexation of the Panj-áb, in 1849, is very different from the Sar-kár of Pakhla'í here referred to. At the period these surveys were made, and up to the time of annexation, it consisted of three districts or divisions, namely, Mán-Sihrah, forming the southern and south-east portion; Chhinkárí,‡ constituting its north-east portion, subdivided into two lesser divisions, Kandhí and Maidán; and Bhír-kand, its central part. There were likewise three dependent dara'hs in the Kohistán to the north, namely Kág-hán,§ which is narrow, but of considerable length, through which the Kunhár, Nayan-Sukh, or Nain-Sukh‖ river flows; Phokar-mang,¶ through which the Siran river runs; and Agroṛ, through which the Hunár river flows. A smaller stream, the Ichhar, flows through the lower part of Pakhla'í.

Abú-l-Fazl, in his Á'ín-i-Akbarí, says, that "Pakla'í" [he often rejects the "kh" and substitutes "k"], "the names of places in which are not defined" [the columns for them in his work are left blank], "is 35 kuroh in length and 25 in breadth [according to the standard kuroh of Akbar Bádsháh's reign]. "It is bounded east by Kash-mír, "west by Aṭak-Banáras, north by Kaṭor, and south by the tract of country in which "the Gakhar tribe dwells. The Sáhib-i-Ḳirán, Amír Tímúr-i-Gúrgán, left a number of "his soldiery therein [when he retired from Hind], to hold possession of it, and their

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* Azád Khán, youngest son of the Ḥájí, Karím-Dád Khán, Bámízí, Durrání, one of Aḥmad Sháh's great nobles, and governor of Kash-mír in Tímúr Sháh's reign, who, on the death of his father, seized upon the government of Kash-mír, and defied all authority, was son-in-law of this same Sa'ádat Khán, the Pakhal Chief. He defeated two armies sent against him, and, at last, the Sardár, Madad Khán, had to be sent to quell him. The Sardár's force, of 30,000 horse, mustered near the fort of Pakhla'í, which Sa'ádat Khán, Suwáthí, had founded. It lies four kuroh from Muẓaffar-ábád, and is the Ghaṛí-i-Sa'ádat Khán of these routes.

Azád Khán's rebellion took place just before Forster, then on his travels, reached these parts. He makes a mistake in saying that Azád Khán "succeeded his father." He adds that he was "a great tyrant," and wonders "that he is not punished or restrained by the government." The reason is obvious: the rebel had not, as yet, been reduced by the Sardár, Madad Khán.

† In after years, in 1824 or 1825, when Mahán Singh was governor of the Hazárah district, he farmed out the territory of the Dara'hs of Kahtár, Phokar-mang, Agroṛ, Takrai, and Nandi-hár, to this same Ḥabíb-Ullah Khán for the sum of 30,000 rúpís a year. Ḥabíb-Ullah only paid 19,000, leaving a balance of 11,000, on which Mahán Singh seized Ṣúbah Khán, Ḥabíb-Ullah's brother, as security for the payment, and also Zamán, son of Pá'índah Khán, Ḥabíb-Ullah's uncle, and marched them off to Har-kishan Ghaṛ. Pá'índah Khán paid half of this balance to obtain his son's release, but Ṣúbah Khán remained in durance. The following year, the balance still not being forthcoming, Amín Khán, who, about the time of the annexation of the Panj-áb, was the chief and successor of Ḥabíb-Ullah Khán, took the place of Ṣúbah Khán, his father's brother, as security for the money.

‡ Not "Shinkari."

§ The people of Kág-hán are chiefly of the Gibarí tribe, many times referred to in these pages. *See also* pages 117 and 128.

The Kunhár, or, as it is also written, the Kuhnár, river comes down from the Dara'h of Kág-hán, and passes Bálá-Koṭ, between which place and Maṭí Koṭ, the Waḥabí, the Sayyid, Aḥmad, was killed in battle (but he was not "surprised") with the Sikh forces under the Kuṇwar, Sher Singh, son of Raṇ-jít Singh, in May, 1831.

‖ A compound word from the Sanskrit, signifying the eyes' delighter, tranquilizer, etc., also ease, content.

¶ This, it will be observed, is the same termination as in Chhár-mang of Bájawṛ.

"descendants still dwell in the Pakla'í territory. Snow constantly falls, and sometimes "heavily. The rivers watering the Pakla'í district are the Kishan-Gangá, the Bihat, "or Wihat, or Jhilam, and the Sindh. The language spoken in this country bears no "similiarity to the Kash-mírí, nor to that of Hindústán, nor Zábulistán. Its chiefs "used to pay obedience to Kash-mír."*

Jahán-gír Bádsháh refers to Pakhla'í in his Wáḳi'át, when giving an account of his journey into Kash-mír. After reaching Ruhtás, he says :—

"As the road was difficult, I directed that my mother, the Maryam of the Time,† and the other ladies of the *ḥaram*, should remain for a few days, and then follow by easy stages. I then proceeded to Sulṭán-púr, and from thence moved four kos and a half to Yahyá, at which point the Hazárah-i-Ḳárlúgh‡ is entered. I then proceeded to Noh-shahrah, a distance of three kos and three quarters, and entered Dham-ṭaur (district). . . . . I next went on to Salhar, and from thence to Mángalí.§ . . . . Sulṭán Ḥusain, the zamíndár [chief] of Pakhla'í, came to present himself, for here you enter the Pakhla'í district. . . . . From this place we went into Siwád-gaṛ‖ (distant ten kos and a half from Noh-shahrah) and there encamped. . . . We then proceeded near upon three kos and a half, and came in sight of Pakhla'í, where we again encamped. . . . .

"The Sar-kár or province of Pakhla'í is 35 kos long, and 25 broad. It has the mountains of Kash-mír on the east, Aṭak-Banáras on the west, the mountain range of Kaṭor on the north [north-west], and the country of the Gakhars on the south [south-east]. When Amír Tímúr, Ṣáḥib-i-Ḳirán, had conquered Hindústán, and was on his way back into Túrán Zamín, he left this people [that is, the Ḳárlúgh Turks], who were in his army, here, and assigned them this territory as their *yúrat*, or dwelling-place. They themselves say that they are of the race of Ḳárlúgh,¶ but do not know, for certain, what names their chief men then bore, or who they were. At present, they are Láhorís [the Bádsháh must mean by this, natives of the Ṣúbah of Láhor], and speak the language of the Jaṭs. I am likewise of the same opinion respecting the descent of the people of Dham-ṭaur."**

There can be no doubt from these two statements, which Bábar Bádsháh also confirms, that one of the *míngs* of Amír Tímúr's army was composed of Ḳarlughs or Ḳárlúghs, and that they, or a large portion of them, were left behind by him to settle in and hold the territory which we incorrectly call Hazárah. As I have said before, Hazárah meant a body of soldiers, a thousand in number, from the Tájzík word *hazár*, a thousand, and is not a proper name, but merely the translation of the Turkish word *míng*, by the Tájzík people, into their own language.†† This word, like many others, we have applied to the country, instead of styling it, as the inhabitants probably did, and foreigners in particular, the *yúrat* or the country *of* the Ḳárlúgh *míng*, *hazárah*, or regiment; and it was always called the Ḳárlúgh or Ḳárlúḳ Hazárah to distinguish it from the Chhachh Hazárah mentioned at page 292.

The boundaries of the Ḳárlúgh or Ḳárlúḳ territory were described by a native writer, just before the annexation of the Panj-áb, in the following manner. "It extends "on the west as far as Srí-Koṭ, the territory dependent on which extends as far west "as the banks of the Abáe-Sín or Sind-Ságar. Its eastern boundary extends as far as "the villages and dependent lands of Noh-Shahra'h, Chanba'h, and Bagṛah,‡‡ which

* The historians of Kash-mír mention that Pakhla'í, Dharam-ṭaur, and Dár-Dú—Dárdistán or country of the Dárds, not the newly "discovered" Dardistan,—were three of twelve *maḥalls*, which were not included in the regular assessment like those of the Kash-mír valley, and that Tibbat and Hrad were separate territories, but dependent.

† The Maryam, that is the Mary, of the Time or Age, refers to the Bádsháh's mother, and not to one of his "*begams*." *See* Elliot's "Historians of India," page 367.

‡ In Elliot's "Historians of India," edited by Mr. J. Dowson, which contains some extracts taken from a single copy apparently, of the Wáḳi'át, this passage occurs, at page 366, Vol. VI., and is made *Hazára Fárigh* for Hazárah-i-Ḳárlúgh.

§ When Forster was on his travels he visited this place on his way from Muẕaffar-ábád. He says: "On "the 30th to Manghellee, six cosses, a small town, the residence of Shadee Khan, the chief of Jadún, then to "Kotillee, a fort in the possession of Maimúm Khán, a brother and vassal of the chief of Tunawal."

‖ Neither Yahyá, Salhar, or Siwád-gaṛ is to be found at present in our maps, but the other places are well known. The first name is somewhat doubtful, and varies in different copies of the Waḳi'át.

¶ *Sic* in the MSS. copies of the Wáḳi'-át, which I have made extracts from, but, in Elliot (page 370), it is "Farsis."

** The Jzadún Afgháns, as yet, had not acquired possession.

†† In a note to the extract previously referred to, page 368, Mr. Dowson tells us that "Hazára is not so "called from the *famous Mughal tribe*, as there are none of them in it," which is certainly correct, but he does not tell us what it is called "Hazára" for. It would require endless research to find the "*famous* "*Mughal tribe of Hazára.*"

‡‡ "Chumbuh," and "Bugruh," of the large scale map.

"are villages on the boundary of the Jzadún territory, and adjoins the *tappa'h* of "Rujú'iya'h.* On the south it reaches as far as Khán-púr of the Gakhars, and to "Darelah, Khad, Pinchú, and Kálí Tarár. The northern boundary extends to Koh "Danhah of Tunawal, and the villages of 'Ulwí, Tír, and Pind-i-Háshim Khán, after "which comes the Tunawal territory."

The Kárlúghs, Kárlúks, Karlughs, or Karluks, as their name is variously written, and each correct, the *k* in the middle of the word being interchangeable with guttural *gh*, are a well known Turk tribe, an account of whom I have given in my "Translation "of the Tabakát-i-Náṣirí," on the descent of the Turks, Tattárs, and Mughals (*see* the note at pages 877 and 878), whose name of Kár-lúgh or Kár-lúk signifies "the father of snow," or "pertaining to snow." I think I can also account for these Kárlúghs having been left behind by Amír Tímúr.

We constantly read of Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Hasan, the Kárlúgh, in the accounts of the Mughal invasions of the territories on the Indus, between the years 618 H. (1221–22 A.D.) and 658 H. (1260 A.D.)—in which latter year the Tabakát-i-Náṣirí, the sole authority for the events of this period from the pen of a contemporary writer, ceases—and also of his son, Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muhammad, the Kárlúgh. The territories of the father consisted of Ghaznín, Karmán, and Banián. Kújah or Gújah is often mentioned in connection with the latter, and with Nandanah, as though adjoining or not far from each other; and Banián is always mentioned in connection with the two former territories, but nowhere is the situation of Banián specifically indicated, and I have been hitherto unable, after considerable research, to fix it satisfactorily. It was evidently situated between Karmán—the Kurma'h (*vul.* Kurram) district of the present—or late—Afghánistán, and the Jhilam, and not far from the banks of the Abáe-Sín or Indus.

When the author of the Tabakát-i-Náṣirí first came into Hind from the neighbourhood of Hirát, he came by Ghaznín to or into Banián (by the usual route, *see* pages 541 and 612 of my "Translation"), and from thence, by boat, went down the river Indus to Úchchah.

When Sultán Shams-ud-Dín, I-yal-timish, was taken ill, and had to return to Dihlí in 633 H. (1235–36 A.D.), where he soon after died, he was marching towards "the river Sind and Banián" from the Chin-hat† Do-Ábah.

When Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Hasan, the Kárlúgh, had to abandon Ghaznín and Karmán, he retired to Banián; and when obliged, temporarily, to abandon that likewise, he retired towards Multán and Sindh through the Sindh-Ságar Do-ábah, and obtained possession of the former stronghold. Subsequently, his son, Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muhammad, who (in 636 H.,—1237–38 A.D.), had taken shelter in the Dihlí territory, rejoined his father, who was able to hold Banián; and, after his father was killed in a battle before Multán in 646–47 H. (1248–49 A.D.) with Malik Balban-i-Kashlú Khán, the feudatory of the province, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muhammad, became a vassal of the Mughals, and was allowed to retain a portion of his father's territories, including the *khitta'h* of Banián.

Náṣir-ud-Dín, Mahmúd Sháh, Sultán of Dihlí, as soon as he came to the throne, in 644 H. (1246–47 A.D.), set out for "the banks of the river Sindh and Banián, and "the destruction of the infidels of Chín [the Mughals], and moved by successive "marches. On Sunday, the 1st of Zí-Ka'dah—the eleventh month—in that year, he "crossed the Ráwí, and then moved to the Súdhará, and encamped at the town of that "name [two kuroh and a half north-west of the present Wazír-ábád]. He then despatched "the Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam, the Amír-i-Hájib, at the head of the bulk of the army, to "ravage the Júd hills and around Nandanah. . . . . He ravaged the Júd hills, "and Jílam [Jhilam], and the Khokhars [not the Gakhars], and other contumacious "infidels, and pushed on as far as the banks of the river Sindh, ravaged and plundered "those parts, and returned again from thence on account of the difficulties of obtaining "subsistence and necessaries for his troops," occasioned, apparently, by the previous invasions of the Mughals. As he went no farther than the banks of the Sindh, and Banián was the part to be assailed, it would appear from this passage to be situated on the east, and not on the west bank of the Indus as I was inclined to think.

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* In the large scale map, this *tappa'h* is called "Rajooia," but the town is styled "Rujoeeuh," while it is this that gives name to the *tappa'h* or district. It is the "Rajúiá" of Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Central Asia."

† The tract lying between the Chin-áb and the Bihat, Wihat, or Jhilam, is called the Chin-hat Do-Ábah, which name is formed from the first syllable of Chin-áb and last syllable of Bi-hat or Wi-hat. The names of some of the other *do-ábahs* of the Panj-áb are formed in much the same manner.

From the somewhat meagre indications here given, Banián appears to have been situated in or near the tract of territory comprised within, or bordering on, what the early Musalmán writers called the Koh-i-Júd, the northern part of the Sindh-Ságar Do-ábah, the Banián *khittah*, or what was dependent on it, extending, probably, as far north as Pakhla'í and its three dependent dara'hs, already mentioned, and in which, consequently, the Ḳárlúgh Turks, as vassals of the Mughal rulers, would have been the dominant race. In this tract, moreover, there are ruins of several considerable towns or cities; and some formerly large and important places, which have declined, and have now become mere villages, still retain their former names, and among them, situated nine miles south-east of Khán-púr of the Gakhars, is a Banián,* and, five miles and a half south-west of the modern Harí-púr, is a Panián. As in MSS. the points of the letters ب and پ are constantly liable to be written the one for the other, or the three points run into one by quick or careless writers, and *b* being often changeable with *p* in Persian or Tájzík, I am inclined to think, and to this opinion I have for some time inclined, that one of these places, the latter most probably, is no other than the identical Banián or Panián of the Ḳárlúgh Turks, and which gave name to the *khittah* or territory.†

If this be so, the reason why Amír Tímúr's Ḳárlúgh *míng* or *hazárah* was directed or allowed to take up its *yúrat* therein, to dwell with or strengthen their kinsmen already dwelling there, is sufficiently accounted for. It is not probable that there were any Afgháns permanently settled east of the Indus at this period, so far north, at least, as this, or, if any, a portion of the Dilazáks only,‡ but I think they could scarcely have crossed the Indus so early as this, although they were forced to do so soon after. Several of the non-Afghán tribes of this part, such, for example, as the Awán-Kárs, have been thrust onwards from the west, across the Indus (some of the Awán-Kárs still dwell in the Dara'h of Shalúzán§), at different times, by Afghán tribes from the farther west, who themselves were thrust onward by some other wave of people,—the Mughals, Tattárs, and Turks—who now inhabit the extensive tract of territory west of Ghaznín and Kábul, which we miscall Hazárah, after the same fashion that we miscall the other, east of the Indus, but which, correctly, should be called Ghúr.

As the Afgháns increased east of the Indus, the Ḳárlúghs declined, for, when the Dilazáks had been for the most part removed from the country by command of Jahán-gír Bádsháh, other Afgháns began to take their place, and, subsequently, the northern parts of this territory were invaded by Suwátís or Suwáthís. Such changes have been going on for centuries past.

In 1201 H. (1786–87 A.D.), when Tímúr Sháh, Durrání, came from Kábul into the provinces east of the Indus, the remaining Turk chiefs, and headmen, namely, Malúl Khán and Muhammad Khán, who were the heirs to the Turkí *patti* and to Mánakráe, complained to that monarch that they had been ousted from their hereditary rights by rivals, and the Ghurghust Afgháns, who had appropriated the latter place and its dependencies. The Ghurghusts were speedily ousted from Mánakráe, which was restored to the two Turkish chiefs, as well as the villages of the Turkí *patti*. At the annexation of the Panj-áb, a mere handful of these Turkish people—I do not include Tunawalís among them—remained, located in the sub-district of Mánakráe,|| a little to the east and south of the modern Harí-púr, and a few in Agror.

I need scarcely remark what an advantage it would have been, and will be, to our surveyors and settlement officers, if they had been, and should be in future, furnished with correct and authentic historical and ethnographical data (eschewing Herodotus and the Πάκτυες, the "Aparytæ" and the "Sattagyddæ," and mere theories liable to change with every political breath of wind, and changed as often as the theorist takes up the pen) when about to explore and survey a country, or settle a district, but, for such a purpose, the histories of India and of Afghánistán have yet to be written. If "time" permit, I may yet make an attempt to write the former: the latter I am writing.

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* Lat. 73° 5′ 30″, long. 33° 43′ 15″.

† *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 374, note 5, 534, note 1, page 541, and note 7, pages 623, 677, and note 6, 678, 727, 730, 750, 782, 792, 814, 815, 859, 877, 1004, 1119, 1129, and 1153.

‡ There were Lúdís at Multán, it is said, as early as the invasions of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghaznín, but this does not prove that there were any of the Lúdí tribe settled permanently therein. The Multán territory extended at that period to the Indus, or to the foot of the hills beyond, in which, in the Koh-i-Sulímán, the Lúdís dwelt.

§ *See* page 81.

|| The "Mapuhrae" and "Manukrai" of the maps.

To return to Pakhla'í and its routes after this digression. Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, the Khaṭak chief, grandson of the famous Khush-ḥál Khán, says, in his History, that, "before the Sháh-zádah Mu'aẓẓam, entitled Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, became "Ṣúba'h-dár of Kábul and its dependencies, during the absence of his father "(Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír) in the Dakhan, the *parganah* of Pakhla'í, the chief place in "which is Pot-hár, and which ought to have yielded nine *lakhs* of revenue, had, "previous to the year 1113 H. (1701–2 A.D.), been overrun and desolated by bodies "of Afgháns of Suwát, and Gibarís from beyond the Indus," the inroad referred to at page 277, "but Iṣálat Khán, the Gakhar, who was then Fowj-dár of Pakhla'í, had "continued to retain firm possession of it while he held that office, and it had conse- "quently begun to assume somewhat of its former prosperity. He was, unfortunately, "about this time summoned in all haste, and directed by the Sháh-zádah to assume "the Fowj-dárí of Bannú, then in a very disturbed state; and he left to proceed to "Bannú to take up his new appointment, without waiting for a successor to take "charge of Pakhla'í."

According to the histories of Hindústán of the period in question, however, in 1116 H. (1704 A.D.) Raḥím-dád Khán, who appears to have succeeded Iṣálat Khán, was removed from Pakhla'í and Dharam-ṭaur, and Ya'ḳúb Khán was nominated. Whether either of them actually went thither is rather doubtful, for at this period the Dihlí empire was in convulsion, and hastening rapidly to decay. Muḥammad Afẓal Khán further states that, "from 1113 H. (1701–2 A.D.) up to the year 1123 H. (1711–12 "A.D.), Pakhla'í remained without a Fowj-dár, and what was left from previous "devastations was again plundered by the same people, and it has thus remained in "the hands of the Suwátí Afgháns and Gibarís up to this time." He here refers to the last inroad, apparently, under the Sayyid, Jalál Sháh, mentioned at page 278, which see. The invasion of Nádir Sháh, the Ḳarḳalú Afshár Turk-mán, followed soon after (in 1151 H.—1738 A.D.), from which time, up to the period that Aḥmad Sháh, Durrání, ten years after, acquired predominance over these parts (in 1161 H.—1748 A.D.), the petty chiefs were left to do just as they felt inclined, and many had become quite independent.

After the decease of that monarch further convulsions arose, especially after the death of his son and successor, Tímúr Sháh, in Shawwál, 1207 H. (May, 1793 A.D.), and accession of the latter's son, Sháh-i-Zamán; and this civil strife continued without intermission until the Sadozí dynasty finally succumbed to the rebel Bárakzís. As the Afgháns thus wasted their strength, the Sikhs acquired power, until they became predominant over the whole of the Panj-áb, and parts immediately west of the Indus.

I now return to the description of the route.

"Setting out from the Gharí of Sa'ádat Khán, the chief place in the Pakhla'í territory, you proceed a short distance to the west, and cross the river Kunhár or Nayan-Sukh, above its junction with the Kishan-Gangá, the water being on ordinary occasions just knee-deep, and proceed six kuroh west to Pírí Bánḍa'h,* a village of considerable size on the Siran river, which comes from the mountain tracts on the right hand, and passes north of this village. On the way you pass through a lofty defile. From Pírí Bánḍa'h you go one kuroh west to Bapphá,† which is also a good-size village on the same river. From thence you proceed another kuroh to the west and reach Trang-ṛai,‡ which lies on the right hand, on the other side of the before-mentioned river. Another kuroh in the same direction as before brings you to Malik-púr,§ on the banks of the river, which place, in former times, was the seat of government in this territory. At present it is but partially inhabited. Leaving it, you proceed four kuroh in the same direction as before to Khákí, which is a town of some size, on the banks of the Siran river. This you have to cross,|| and, having done so, a lofty defile lies before you called the Ḍhakí-i-Arborá, and also the Ḍhakí-i-Susul¶ or Súsul. The ascent of this defile is about two

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* This appears in our maps under the name of "*Peer ke bandee*," and "Peer da Banduh."

† This name is changed into "*Buffur*" and "Buffuh" in the maps, and "Bafa" in Settlement Reports, neither of the three forms being correct.

‡ Turned into "*Turungune*" in the maps.

§ It is probable that this is the place which Turtí, the Mughal leader, plundered after the capture of Nandanah mentioned in the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí. *See* my Translation, page 534, and note 1.

|| Not according to our maps, unless a branch only is referred to, as is probably meant here, or, that in coming from Malik-púr you cross the Siran, and move along the south bank, where the country is more open and level.

¶ Since the British annexed the Panj-áb, roads have been made in all directions, and among them is one good one through this very Ḍhakí or Pass.

kuroh, and its descent much about the same distance. The crest of the mountains over which it leads marks the boundary of Sa'ádat Khán's territory on one side, and, on the other, the Dara'h of Agroṛ, which dara'h itself is a ramification of the Pakhla'í territory. It is in the possession of 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán, the Suwátí, son of Sa'd-ud-Dín.*

"Having crossed the mountains by the Aṛborá Ḍhakí or defile and cleared it, another kuroh farther, in the direction of west, brings you to Aojza'í, which eastern Afgháns, who use *g* for *jz*, call Aoga'í,† a large village, situated on a hill, the place of residence of 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán above-mentioned. The Hunár river‡ flows past the village on the west and northern sides, and, just below the village, the Sarúr stream, from the east, unites with it. The Hunár river comes from the north, and flowing towards the left hand as you proceed, in the direction of south-west, finally unites with the Abáe-Sín below the village of Hautar, and above Dar-band.

"Leaving Aojza'í, and proceeding in the direction of north for a distance of two kuroh and a half, ascending the acclivity of the mountains, you reach Tikṛai. From thence you have to proceed for another five kuroh, in the direction of north-east, still ascending the acclivity of the mountain range, and reach Dahár, which is a large village under the sway of the Rájah of Taha'h-Koṭ, as he is styled, who belongs to the race of people known as Suwátís.§ According to some statements, he is wholly independent, but, according to others, he acknowledges allegiance to 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán, the Wálí of Agroṛ. His allegiance probably depends much on circumstances, and the power of the other to enforce it.‖

"From Dahár you proceed eight kuroh in the direction of north to Bar or Upper Taha'h-Koṭ or Tahá-Koṭ,¶ a village of considerable size belonging to the race of people styled Kohistání,** and by the way you have to cross over the mountain range by a lofty defile. These mountains are clothed with vast forests of pine, and other forest trees and shrubs, and dense *jangals* of the jujube. The air is very keen, and to such degree that, even in summer, you cannot dispense with a fire and a *postín* (wool or fur pelisse). From every part of the mountains around streams of water gush out, which, having united, pass to the south of this village, and take a westerly course, and subsequently unite with the Abáe-Sín (or Indus).

"From Bar or Upper Taha'h-Koṭ, you proceed for the distance of ten kuroh west, inclining north-west, and reach Kúz or Lower Taha'h-Koṭ, which is also a village of considerable size. By the way you pass through a well-cultivated and populous tract of country, and the route lies along the course of the bed of the river before mentioned as flowing south of Bar Taha'h-Koṭ. This river passes Kúz or Lower Taha'h-Koṭ also on the south side, and unites with the Abáe-Sín. The great river flows to the west of and below Kúz Taha'h-Koṭ, where the mountains rise abruptly from the river side. It rushes by with great velocity, violence, and noise. There is an established ferry near this village, and the passage is effected by means of a raft, for a boat would not live. You cross to the other side in order to enter Buner."

Sixty-eighth Route. From Ghaṛí-i-Sa'ádat Khán to Kogá, or Koga'h, one of the chief villages in the Dara'h of Chamla'h, belonging to the Mandaṛ tribe of Afgháns, a distance of fifty kuroh west towards the Abáe-Sín (or Indus). This Route likewise leads into Buner, 'Ash-Naghar, Pes'háwar, Bájawṛ, and Kábul.

"The route from the Ghaṛí-i-Sa'ádat Khán to Aojza'í, or Aoga'í, the seat of government of the Dara'h of Agroṛ, has been already described. Leaving the last-

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* Previous to the invasion of the Suwáthís, before referred to, Agroṛ was held by the Turks. *See* page 282.

'Aṭá Muḥammad Khán, the present chief of Agroṛ, who gave us great trouble during the first years of the annexation of the Panj-áb, and until within the last few years, is the grandson of 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán, and his father's name was Ghafúr Khán.

† The sections of western tribes dwelling in these parts call it Aojza'í, as above, but "Ogee," "Oogee," "Oghi," and the like, are quite impossible names out of the original word. *See* pages 267, 284, and 290.

‡ Here is another specimen of the vitiation of names. One calls it the "Únár," and another the "Oonar," leaving out the "h" altogether, while in the maps it is "Onar," and even "Oohnar," with "h" in the wrong place.

§ *See* page 278.

‖ At the present time the Agroṛ chief, 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán's grandson, is connected with the Taha'h-Koṭ family by marriage, and, indeed, in the same way, with most of the chief families of the parts around.

¶ It is spelt and pronounced as above, and not "Tákot."

** *See* pages 186, 234, and 235.

named place, and proceeding five kuroh in the direction of west, you reach Challí, a village of considerable size, belonging to the Suwátís. In going thither you proceed along the bed of the Hunár river, and, by the way, pass through a populous and well-cultivated tract of country. From Challí, you go another four kuroh in the direction of west, inclining south-west, ascending the mountain range to the small village of Kárún, situated on the brow of the mountains, at which point the jurisdiction of 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán, the Suwátí, Wálí of Agroṛ, ceases. From thence, descending the range on the other side for another two kuroh in the direction of west, you come to the small village of Báwar Sháh, belonging to the Yúsufzí Afgháns of the Ḥasanzí section of the 'Ísází division* of that tribe, sprung from 'Ísá, one of Yúsuf's five sons. At this point two roads diverge, and the left-hand one is as follows.

"Setting out from the above-mentioned Báwár Sháh, and proceeding for a distance of five kuroh in the direction of west, still descending from the mountain range, you reach another Báwar Sháh.† This is a large village, belonging to the same clan of the 'Ísází Yúsufzís; and the pass through which the route from Kárún to this place lies is known as the Báwar Sháh Ghás'haey, and it is very difficult.‡ You then proceed a short distance farther west from the last-mentioned Báwar Sháh, and reach the banks of the Abáe-Sín, where there is an established ferry, known as the Guẕar of Maṛaiṛ,§ and you cross the great river by means of a raft. On both sides of the river are mountain ranges towering to the skies.

"Having crossed the Abáe-Sín and reached the west bank, you go on for a short distance west, and arrive at the large village of Maṛaiṛ, situated on a spur or bluff, belonging to the Ḥasanzí 'Ísází Yúsufzís, before referred to.

"At this point, likewise, two roads diverge. By the left-hand route you proceed by a very mountainous road, exceedingly rough, and containing numerous ascents and descents, for a distance of two kuroh west, inclining south-west, and reach Manjhá-Koṭ,‖ which large village, perched on a mountain height, belongs to the Madaḥ Khel section of the 'Ísází Yúsufzís. The Abáe-Sín lies on the left hand as you proceed, and shows itself at a distance, flowing in a mighty hollow between two ranges of mountains; and south of this village is a small river which comes from the west. Having ascended from thence for the distance of one kuroh and a half, you reach Shíní Bánḍa'h,¶ a small village belonging to the same tribe of Afgháns, and built upon a crag. Leaving this village, after proceeding half a kuroh west, you reach the crest of the mountain range, and here there are several Musalmán graves. From this elevated position the Abáe-Sín appears away in the east, like unto a thin shining line, and in a vast depression of the mountains, while in the west Kogá and other villages of Chamla'h show themselves at a great distance.

"In coming from Maṛaiṛ to this place every step you take is up the mountains; and, having reached the crest of the range,** you descend from thence on the other side for the distance of half a kuroh west, and reach Abú Bánḍa'h,†† a small village, situated on an acclivity of the mountains, belonging to the previously mentioned Afghán tribe of Yúsufzí, of the Chagharzí branch of the Malízís.‡‡

"Setting out from this village, and descending for the distance of half a kuroh, still keeping west, you reach a small river, which issues from the mountains on the right hand, and, flowing towards the left, unites with the river of the Chamla'h Dara'h.§§ The road is exceedingly rough and difficult. After this, you have to proceed along the bed of this river for a distance of one kuroh and a half in the

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* The 'Ísází division of the Yúsufzís, although not so numerous as others, are well known, and the name is as much used as that of others in their own locality.

† *See* pages 267 and 290.

‡ This route crosses what we call the Black Mountain range.

§ The name of this well known place is as above, and not "Muryer," as it appears in official reports.

‖ The name of this well known place has also been vitiated into "Manjakot," "Maja Kot," "Moonjakot," "Múnjakót," "Múnjá Kot," and the like, in the maps, gazetteers, and official records, not one being correct. In our maps it is placed too near the banks of the Indus. It belongs to the Madaḥ Khel section of the 'Ísází Yúsufzís, who are descended from Ya'ḳúb, one of the three sons of 'Ísá, son of Yúsuf. The other two sons were Aká and Ḥasan, the progenitors of the Akázís and Ḥasanzís. A few Dilazáks dwell among the Madaḥ Khel to this day. *See* page 267.

¶ In one or two places written "Síní" and "Stlí" Bánḍá, the point of the ; being separated and made ; of in the first instance, and in the other case the three points of ش being left out and made س of.

** Sometimes called the Dúma'h range.

†† *See* page 267.

‡‡ Not connected with the Molízís of Panj-Korah, who are totally distinct. *See* note ‖, page 192.

§§ This river is not noticed in the Indian Atlas map, No. 41, nor in others. The "Mullah's" first map is all blank here. This river might be styled the river of the Chagharzís. The last map of the "Mullah's" travels contains a dotted indication of this river, which is tolerably correct.

direction of west, and then for another half a kuroh south, when you come to a short defile on the right-hand side. This having ascended, you reach Adam Báṇḍa'h, a little hamlet perched on a crag, and inhabited by the same Yúsufzís. There is another road from Abú Báṇḍa'h to this place, on the left hand, which leads through dense *jangal*.

"South of Adam Báṇḍa'h, beneath the mountains, there is a considerable river, known as the Daulatzí Khwaṛ, which comes from the westward, and, to the east of this point, having united with the river afore-mentioned, receives the name of Baranḍú,* which, four kuroh lower down than Maraiṛ,† falls into the Abáe-Sín, the latter part of its course being in a rocky bed, with very high cliffs on either side.

"Setting out from Adam Báṇḍa'h, and having descended for the distance of half a kuroh in the direction of west, the road being very difficult, you reach the Daulatzí river, or Daulatzí Khwaṛ,‡ as it is also called. Continuing onwards for another half a kuroh in the same direction you come to a dara'h which lies on the left hand, known as the Daulatzí Dara'h, forming part of Buner, and so called from the name of the sub-tribe of the Malízí Yúsufzís§ who inhabit it. Out of it flows a volume of water sufficient to turn from ten to twelve water-mills, which unite with the afore-mentioned river, and which, lower down, unites with the stream issuing from the Dara'h of Chamla'h. Proceeding another half a kuroh in the direction of west, and south-west, from this point, you reach the entrance to another Dara'h, known as Nagara'í, and this also is the name of a village belonging to a section of the Amánzí 'Uṣmánzís of the Mandaṛ tribe.|| From this dara'h, likewise, about a similar volume of water issues, and unites with the river of the Chamla'h Dara'h.¶ After reaching the point where the Nagara'í Dara'h commences, you proceed another kuroh in the direction of north, and reach Kaha'í, a small village situated on the west bank of the Chamla'h river, also belonging to the Mandaṛ tribe of Afghâns.

"From Maraiṛ to this place, as before noticed, the 'Ísází and Daulatzí divisions of the Yúsufzí tribe** dwell; and the mountain tract to the south of them again is inhabited by the Jzadúns or Gadúns, a tribe of the Ghurghusht division of the Afghán nation, an account of whom has been already given.†† Their country is very rough and difficult, with scarcely any level spots in it; and the climate is severe, the air being very sharp and keen even in the height of summer.

"To continue the route. Setting out from Kaha'í, and proceeding in the direction of north, for a short distance, you reach Ḍahánḍa'h,‡‡ also written Ḍahánḍá, a small hamlet consisting of a few houses only, belonging to the Mandaṛs, situated on a mountain crag, and the before-mentioned river (of the Chamla'h Dara'h) flows near by on the right hand. From this point you proceed for a distance of two kuroh in the direction of south-west, and reach Bas Ḍera'í,§§ which they also call Bud-Sera'í. It is a large village, situated on the crest of the mountains, and belongs to the Mandaṛ tribe of Afghâns, who have enclosed it with a stone wall. The river before named flows near by it on the right hand.

"From the village of Adam Báṇḍa'h, as far as Kaha'í and Ḍahánḍa'h or Ḍahánḍá, you wend your way in and along the beds, of the rivers before referred to, while close by, on either hand, are mountains towering to the skies.|||| From this place (Adam

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* Neither "Barandoh," "Bárándoh," nor "Barhando." *See* page 291. The Baranḍú river, consequently, neither "rises in the south slopes of the Dosara mountains," nor "in the east slopes of Illam," nor "in the "north slopes of Sínawar," although some of its affluents do; and it is only after the junction of the stream from the side of Adam Báṇḍa'h with the Daulatzí river, into which the other affluents, already named in the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-eighth Routes, fall, that it obtains the name of Baranḍú.

† *See* page 285.

‡ *See* the account of the Buner Dara'h at page 214.

§ Descended from Daulat, son of Malaey, son of Yúsuf.

|| There is no section or sub-tribe of the Yúsufzís called "Amázáí Ŭsmánzaí," as stated in Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I., Vol. I., page 94, but there is of the Amánzí 'Uṣmánzí of the Mandaṛ tribe, as stated above. One has been mistaken for the other.

¶ The Indian Atlas map, No. 14, is very much out here, as in many other places hereabouts.

** As before stated, the Daulatzís spring from Daulat, son of Malaey, son of Yúsuf, and the 'Ísázís from 'Ísá, son of Yúsuf.

†† *See* page 217.

‡‡ This place appears as "Dundar" and "Dandar" in the maps previously referred to.

§§ This appears in the map as "Bootserai."

|||| To judge from the map, however, these rivers flow in open valleys, or, at least, open to a considerable extent. It is but fair to state that, in the Military Survey map by Lieutenant (now Major-General) J. T. Walker, Bombay Engineers, the positions of most places in Buner, Chamla'h, and other parts Trans-Indus and beyond our frontier, are marked as doubtful, but are not so indicated in the Indian Atlas map which is taken from it.

Bánḍa'h), the village of Nagara'í lies thirteen kuroh to the south, as is well known; and the mountainous tract held by the Jzadún Afghâns shows itself in the east. In their territory there is a great mountain* from which slabs of stone are procured, and taken into Hindústán and Í-rán as presents and curiosities. The stone is white in colour, and is known as Sang-i-Ḳáshḳár, or Ḳáshḳár stone; and the like of it, for sharpening daggers, knives, and swords, is nowhere else to be found.

"To continue the route. Setting out from Bas-Ḍera'í or Buḍ-Sera'í, you descend the mountains towards the west, and reach a considerable river previously referred to, which comes from the left hand, out of the Dara'h of Chamla'h, and is known as the Chamla'h river, or river of the Chamla'h Dara'h, and, sometimes, the Chamla'h Khwaṛ. It flows towards the right, and, near Kaha'í, unites with the river of Daulatzí, otherwise the Baranḍú. You then cross this river, the banks of which so far are very high, particularly on the left-hand side, and, after going onwards for one kuroh and a half in the direction of south-west, reach the small village of Kuriyyá,† on the left-hand side, close to the line of route. From thence you proceed, still keeping along in the bed of the river, for a distance of two kuroh in the direction of west, inclining south-west, to Náwa'h-ga'í, another small village on the right hand as you go along, with the river of the Chamla'h Dara'h, as before, flowing near on the left hand. Another kuroh and a half, in the direction of south-west, brings you to the village of Surhah,‡ which lies near the line of route on the left hand, the road still continuing along the bed of the river. From thence you go on rather more than half a kuroh farther west, and reach Agáṛa'í, a village lying at some distance on the left-hand side of the road. Leaving this place, you continue onwards for another kuroh and a half, still following the bed of the river, and reach Kogá or Koga'h,§ a village of considerable size, the chief place, and seat of authority, of the Dara'h of Chamla'h,‖ belonging to the Mandaṛ tribe of Afghâns. South and west of it, at a little distance, are lofty mountain ranges; and to the north likewise, at a short distance, there is another high range. The territory to the north of this latter range they call Buner.

"The whole way from Maṛaiṛ to Kuriyyá the country is very mountainous, and the road very crooked and winding, but, after issuing forth from Kuriyyá, the ranges of hills recede on either hand, and the country becomes more open. Such a tract the Afághinah of this part call by the name of Sama'h."

Sixty-ninth Route. From Dharam-ṭaur or Daram-ṭaur to Koga'h of Chamla'h, a distance of fifty kuroh west.

"Before describing the route it will be well to give a brief account of Dharam-ṭaur, or Daram-ṭaur, as it is also written.¶ It is a small dara'h enclosed between mountain ranges, and likewise the name of a large village situated on a hill, belonging to, and in the possession of, the Jzadún Afghâns, or Gadún, as they are called by the eastern Afghâns,** being descended from Jzadún, one of Parṉaey's sons.†† The valley is about ten or twelve kuroh in length, and about the same in breadth in its widest parts, and has mountains on all sides of it. West of the village, two small rivers, coming from the north-east and north respectively, meet, one of which, the Ḍoṛ,

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* What is known as Mount Mahá-Baṇ—which compound word (but not "Máhábán") is Sanskrit, and means a great forest. The range, from this meaning, would be, more correctly, styled "The Range of the "Great Forest," or "The Great Forest Range."

† Neither "Kuriah," "Kúriá," "Kúra," nor "Kooria."

‡ Not "Súrha," with long *ú*, nor "Soorah," nor "Suráhah," as it appears in maps and official papers.

§ *See* pages 253, 254, and 256.

‖ Described previously at page 216.

¶ The first *r* in these words is sometimes left out, but this tract is never called "Dhamtaor," "Dhamtáwar," "Damtáwar," "Dumtaur," or "Dhumtour," by its inhabitants, or other people of these parts.

** They call themselves Jzadúns, but Eastern Afghâns, who change the letter *s'h* into *k'h*, and *jz* into *g*, style them Gadúns.

†† I was not a little surprised to read, at page 603, Vol. I., Part I., of Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Central Asia," that "the Jadúns who occupy the *Arash* plain are *not Afgháns*,"—but on whose authority this statement is made does not appear—because, at page 16 of Vol. II., he says that they are "*a tribe of Patháns*," and "supposed to be a branch of the Kákar tribe" (which is a mistake: they are Parṉis. *See* page 218. A little farther on he adds that "those of Hazára are settled on the banks of the Dorh (Ḍoṛ?) as far as the "*Urash* plain."

Mr. Bellew, on the other hand, makes these Afghâns out to be "a foreign tribe ('Report on Yusufzais,' p. 171)," and assures us that they are "a branch of the Kakar or Gakkar tribe." The Kákaṛ Afghâns and the Panj-áb Gakhars are one and the same tribe perhaps? Lately they have been turned into "Dadicæ," while Captain Wace, in a "Settlement Report," tells us that they belong to a "splendid Hindú line." All confound the Gakhars with Khokhars, and Khokhars with Kákaṛ Afghâns, and apparently know not the difference between them.

flows south of the village, and the other, the Dargun, on the north side. The former comes from the direction of the Wairan Galí, also called the Bairan Galí, *b* and *w* being interchangeable in Hindí words, and the latter from the Kohistán of Mángalí. After their junction the united streams are known as the river of Dharam-ṭaur, which, flowing towards the west, after joining the Siran river near Koṭ 'Ísá Khán, unites with the Abáe-Sín (or Indus) under Torbela'h."

The lands or three *tappa'hs* dependent on Dharam-ṭaur or Daram-ṭaur, or Dharam-ṭaur Rujú'iya'h, as it is also called, Nawán-Shahr, also called Nawá Giráwn, and Mángal, in the open part of the dara'h, are known as the Zamín-i-Rash or Arash—the "Rush" of the map. This name is probably derived from the Tájzík word *rash*, signifying full of ups and downs, hills and ravines, or possibly from the Arabic *rashsh*, which means, gently trickling, as water, or flowing gently; for this Zamín-i-Rash, or—if the latter be the correct derivation—Zamín-i-Rashsh, is very marshy.

The Jzadúns of this Kohistán or mountain tract of country, number about 12,000 families, but, according to some accounts, they are supposed to amount to near upon 15,000, and dwell in thirty-eight villages. They consist of three clans or divisions, the Sálárzí, Manṣúrzí, and Hasází. These again contain several ramifications, whose names it is not necessary to mention here.

When this portion of the Jzadún Afgháns first came into this part from beyond the Abáe-Sín,* and dispossessed the occupants, who were people of Turkish descent and Dilazák Afgháns chiefly, they were not under the authority of any particular chief of their own. In any matter of consequence or emergency, the three clans would choose one from among their grey-beards, temporarily, to conduct their affairs, and decide disputes. Subsequently, they elected a person of the Hasází clan of Dharam-ṭaur to this office, and it continued in his family down to the time of the Sikhs obtaining a footing in these parts. At this period, Bar-khurdár Khán, of Dharam-ṭaur, was chosen Khán of all the *tappa'hs* or districts belonging to the tribe east of the Abáe-Sín. He was succeeded by his son, 'Ináyat Khán; and the turban of khán-ship still continues in his family. They acknowledged fealty to the Durrání sovereigns.

"The tribute paid by the Jzadúns of this part to the Durrání rulers was nominal only, and consisted of a horse, a falcon or two, and a small sum in ready money.

"Setting out from the village of Dharam-ṭaur, you proceed for a distance of four kuroh in the direction of north, along the bed of the Dargun river, and reach Nawá-Giráwn,† also known as Jogan, situated on the banks of that river, and inhabited by

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* For the antecedents of the Jzadúns, *see* pages 217 and 224.

† This is the place also called Nawáṇ Shahr at present, the "Nuwanshuhur" of the maps. The village of Mángal or Mángalí, the "Manghul" of the Indian Atlas map, and "Mangul" of the other, is five miles to the north of Nawáṇ Giráwn, and the same distance south, inclining south-east, from Mán-Sihrah.

When Akbar Bádsháh was returning from Kash-mír in the latter part of the year 996 H. (1588–89 A.D.), having crossed the Nayan-Sukhh or Kunhár river, "his next camp was pitched at Ganí or Kaní, in Pakhla'í. "From thence he went to the residence of Sulṭán Ḥusain, the chief of Pakhla'í, The next day he marched "to Dhádál or Dádhál (the Dhoodyal of the maps); and the next stage was to Kadá or Gadá [which I cannot "identify]; and at this place Sháh Rukh, the chief of Dharam-ṭaur, presented himself, and made obeisance. "Here the Ḥakím, Abú-l-Fatḥ, the Gilání (referred to at page 265), died, and was taken to Ḥasan-i-Abdál to "be buried. The next day the Bádsháh had to go by a narrow and watery road to Dhangarí, and then a "quarter less four *kos* to Khaurá, and Mánikrá (Mánikráe), the country inhabited by the Dilazáks. Another "four *kos* and the camp was pitched near Sher-khán, and subsequently at Pír Sabá and Ḥasan-i-Abdál."

When the same Bádsháh was returning from Kash-mír, in 1001 H. (1592–93 A.D.), in coming from Bárhamúlah, and his next camp was pitched beyond Pakhla'í, it came on to snow and rain to such degree, and continued to do so all night so violently, that it was impossible to send on the Bádsháh's tents for himself and attendants. Akbar Bádsháh got on horseback, and set out himself to look for a suitable place for the next encampment, but could find none; and the rain continued to pour with such violence, that he and his small party were obliged to take shelter in the little town of Mángalí, which belongs to Pakhla'í. After the rain cleared off, he again set out on his journey; and, by the way, at the request of the Mírzá, the son of the late Sháh Rukh, the chief of Dharam-ṭaur, a Turk from his name, he went to see the town of Munawur, which was part of his possession. After this the Bádsháh pushed on to Ruhtás. Munawur is still a considerable place, containing upwards of 2,000 inhabitants, consisting of Turks, incorrectly called "Mogals" in official documents, Suwáthís, Gújars, and others.

Mángal was the scene of a severe struggle in 1821 between the Sardár, Harí Singh, who was on his way from Kash-mír, having been ordered to join his master, Raṇ-jít Singh, as speedily as possible, he being then on the way to attack Mankerah. The Jzadúns, Muḥammad Khán, Tarín, the Tunawalis, and others, collected close to Mángal, in a strong position, narrow and difficult, which they secured and strengthened with *sangars* or breastworks. Harí Singh had 8,000 infantry with him, and he wished to get along without delay. The tribes demanded "their dues from him on pashminah, shawls, and the countless wealth which he was bringing along "with him from Kash-mír." Harí Singh tried diplomacy, but, finding that of no avail, he attacked, and stormed their position, and set Mángal on fire. Some 2,000 persons perished in the fight, including those burnt within the place, and others who threw themselves from the walls.

After this affair Harí Singh imposed a fine or cess of eight rúpís upon every house in the parts inhabited by the tribes who had thus gathered against him, and sent out his people to collect it. They succeeded in col-

Jzadúns. From thence you go on to Mír-púr, distant three kuroh to the west, which village also belongs to the same people, and is situated on the same river. Leaving it, you proceed seven kuroh north and reach Rachan, a village of some size, in the possession of Gul Sher Khán, the Tunawalí. The road leads over a very hilly and difficult tract, and the Tunawalís and Jzadúns infest the roads and plunder travellers. From the last-named place you proceed for a distance of three kuroh in the direction of north-west to Gadda'h, and, by the way, have to cross a lofty mountain range. You then continue onwards in the direction of south-west for three kuroh to Jaral,* and from thence another three kuroh west, inclining south-west, to Súhah.† Another two kuroh in the direction of west brings you to Bír,‡ which is a town of considerable size, situated on the Siran river, which flows on the west side of it. Crossing the river, and proceeding three kuroh west, inclining north-west, you reach Kaháran,§ then continuing onwards for another five kuroh in the direction of west you arrive at Khairí. Leaving this village, you proceed four kuroh in the direction of west, inclining north-west, to Gan-dab or Ganh-daf, a large village peopled by Sayyids, and previously referred to (at page 274). From this place to the Dera'h-i-Gul Sher Khán, the route has also been described.

"Setting out from the latter place, you proceed by the large village of Kirpalíán,‖ situated on the left-hand side of the road, three kuroh in the direction of north to the Dar-band, or Dar-baud,¶ an ancient town, inhabited by the Tunawalí tribe, and situated on the east bank of the Abáe-Sín.** Immediately east of it is a

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lecting between five and six rúpís from each. Some time subsequently, the Afgháns and others assembled, and closely invested a fort which the Sikhs had founded close to Nawáṇ Giráwn. Harí Singh sent a force to relieve it, under Mahán Singh, who also attacked and took Nawáṇ-Giráwn itself, in which the Afgháns were assembled, and inflicted great loss upon them and their allies.

* "Jurral" of one map, and "Jural" of the other.

† "So-ah" and "Soar" of the maps.

‡ "Bheer" of one map, and "Beer" of the other. Púhár was the seat of government in the time of the first Tunawalí chiefs, and, subsequently, Bíṛ became so. During the Sikh rule Sherwán was the seat of authority. It is styled "Shurwan" in the large scale map, but is correct in the other.

§ "Kharum" of the large map, but called "Kurm" in the other.

‖ This place appears as "Kirplee," "Karbli," and "Karpilyan," in the maps, and in official documents.

¶ "Derbund" of the maps.

** I referred to the insolence of Nawwáb Khán, the Tunawalí, as costing him his life, in note §, page 275. The circumstance is as follows:—

On one occasion he had to set out from Kalaey, his place of residence, to meet and escort, as a vassal of the Durrání kingdom, the mother of the great Bárakzí Sardárs, A'ẓím Khán (full brother of Fatḥ Khán), and his brother, 'Aṭá Muḥammad Khán, the former of whom was the governor of Kash-mír, from which province she was returning, and on her way to Kábul, after visiting her son.

Nawwáb Khán paid her all outward respect at first, but, when the time arrived for her to resume her journey, he, instigated, it is said, by some blockhead, preferred a request, through a second party, to the old lady, saying, that her humble servant had been informed that the fastening of the drawers of the august Malika'h was of great value, and trusted that she would make him a present of it. The old lady, as may be imagined, was shocked at this deadly insult, and all sorts of stratagems and excuses were adopted to elude the insolent demand. Nawwáb Khán, however, was urgent; and she, knowing that she was, in a measure, in his power in that difficult tract of country, and that he had it in his power to starve her followers and carriage animals, had to comply with his demand, and give up the ornament in question. By this means she succeeded in getting clear of the hills.

She demanded a terrible revenge at the hands of her sons; but, at this particular time, the Sardár, then in Kash-mír, could not get at Nawwáb Khán conveniently, on account of the state of the Durrání kingdom at that period, and so nothing was attempted then. This delay, probably, tended to put the insolent Tunawalí off his guard. Some time after, in 1818, the Sardár, A'ẓím Khán, on his way back from Kash-mír to Kábul, soon after his elder brother, Fatḥ Khán, had been put to death by Prince Kámrán, proposed to pass through Pakhla'í, and proceed by way of Kalaey, Nawwáb Khán's place of residence, to Dar-band, and cross the Abáe-Sín at the Dar-band ferry. The Sardár was well aware that if he manifested the least symptom of hostility, Nawwáb Khán would take to the hills, where he would not be able to get at him. A'ẓím Khán, therefore, had recourse to a Sayyid, Waḥíd Sháh by name, of Nau-Koṭ, in the Pakhla'í territory, who had great influence with him; and the Sayyid induced Nawwáb Khán not only to visit the Sardár's camp himself, but also to take his son, Pá'índah Khán, along with him. He was well received at first; but, when the Sardár, next day, crossed the Abáe-Sín near Anb, and marched down the west bank of the river towards Khubbal, on his way into the Sama'h, *en route* to Pes'háwar, a detachment of his body-guard was left behind to bring o[n] Nawwáb Khán and his son; and they conducted them to Pehúr (*see* page 272), where the Sardár's camp wa[s] pitched. *See* Captain E. Conolly's account of this in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1840, in which h[e] has fallen into error.

Nawwáb Khán now gave himself up for lost, but he adoped a stratagem whereby his son, Pá'índah, escaped. I have not space for all the details here, which I must leave for my history of the Afgháns. A'ẓím Khán, on becoming aware of the son's escape, determined that the father should not get off; and he had him enclosed in a raw hide, and thrown into the Landaey-Sín or river of Kábul, near which he happened to be encamped at the time.

Pá'índah Khán made a considerable figure in the history of these parts for many years, and energetically resisted the Sikhs. He died of a broken heart (after breaking many hearts himself), stripped of all his territory, except the small tract around Anb, on the western bank of the Indus, in September, 1840. His son, Jahán-dád Khán, succeeded him, and recovered some of the territory his father had held, through the favour of

lofty mountain range; and, on the opposite side of the Abáe-Sín, there is a fortress of unburnt bricks, belonging also to the Tunawalís, and known as Párlí Gharí. From Dar-band you go one kuroh north-west, up the river, to Hautar, a small village belonging to the same tribe, near the banks of the Abáe-Sín. The Hunár river,* which issues from the Kohistán of Agror, which is the name of one of the difficult mountain tracts belonging to Pakhla'í, from the direction of north-east, unites with the Abáe-Sín south of this village. On ordinary occasions it is about knee-deep.

"At Hautar two roads diverge. The right-hand route, which follows the course of the Hunár river, goes on to Aojza'í, also called Aoga'í,† a distance of thirteen kuroh, by a route well known, and lying through a tract of country populous and well cultivated, and containing many villages. Setting out from Hautar, you go two kuroh in the direction of north-west to Bhattí, another ancient village, belonging to the Tunawalís, on the banks of the Abáe-Sín. On the other or west side of the river, on the east side of the mountain territory belonging to the Jzadún tribe of Afgháns, is a village called the Kalaey or 'Village' of Akbar Sháh, but it is peopled by Sayyids who are dependent on Tunawal. From Bhattí you go on for a distance of six kuroh to the north, to Gumbaz-i-Pukhtah,‡ signifying, The Brick or Stone-built Dome, or Cupola, which is surrounded by a brick wall. Within this dome is the grave and shrine of one who sleeps his last repose, and round it are also several graves.

"From this spot, proceeding two kuroh farther north, you reach Kot Báwar Sháh, a large village of the Hasanzí 'Ísází Yúsufzís, at the foot of the mountains on the banks of the Abáe-Sín. The route from this place to Koga'h has been described in the Sixty-eighth Route (page 284).

"On the way from the Dera'h of Gul Sher Khán to Kot Báwar Sháh, a lofty range of mountains rises on the right hand, and the Abáe-Sín flows close by on the left. From Bhattí as far as the grave-yard of Gumbaz-i-Pukhtah, the river approaches close to the mountains, and flows at their feet, in such wise that you have to keep along the slope of the mountains in order to reach the latter place. The united rivers of the Daulatzí, 'Ísází, and Chamla'h Dara'hs—the Barandú—fall into the Abáe-Sín opposite this shrine and grave-yard."§

Seventieth Route. From the Fort of Atak-Banáras to Marair on the west bank of the Abáe-Sín, a distance of fifty kuroh in the direction of north.

"The route between Hazrau‖ and Atak has been already described (at page 31). From thence you go a quarter kuroh to Malik, also a large village belonging to some of the Ghurghust division of the Afghán people.¶ You then proceed three kuroh in the direction of north-east to Nakkárchí,** a village belonging to the Sarkarní Afgháns, situated on the banks of the Abáe-Sín. A great mountain range rises on the right hand, known as Ghand-Ghar.†† Leaving Nakkárchí, you proceed a little over two kuroh, still keeping north-east, to Jammú,‡‡ a village belonging to the Yúsufzís, also situated on the banks of the Abáe-Sín. Two kuroh and a half more brings you to Ghází, another village on the river's banks. From this place you go on another five kuroh and a half to Muhit or Múhit, a village§§ of considerable size, belonging to the same Afghán tribe, and from it, a little over four kuroh more, to Tor-bela'h, previously described. The same great range of mountains rises on the right hand of the route, and the Abáe-Sín flows near by on the left.

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the late Guláb Singh, of Kash-mír, and the British Government. The present chief, Muhammad Akram Khán, is his son; and, through the further favour of the Government, he now enjoys the territory formerly held by his Hando Ál or Ando Ál ancestors, has received the title of Nawwáb, and is a C.S.I.

* *See* note ‡, page 284.

† *See* note †, page 284, and page 267.

‡ This place is not noticed in any of our maps.

§ This place is not noticed by the "Mullah," although he is said to have followed the river bank from Gilgit and Suwát, as far down as Dar-band, neither is it given in the two Survey maps previously referred to. Several other places in this route, which must have lain in the Mullah's way, are likewise not mentioned in his maps.

‖ Also written Hezraun, the final *n* being nasal.

This route can be reversed, thus making it a route from Marair to Atak-Banáras.

¶ *See* note *, page 270.

** "Nagarchi" of one map, and "Nugarchiyan" of the other. At the time these surveys were made the chief holding Máler Kotla'h, in the Sirhind district east of the Sutlaj, was a Sarkární Afghán, named 'Alá-Ullah Khán, who had held it for a long time previously.

†† "Gandgar" is not correct.

‡‡ "Jumoo" in one map, "Jummoon" in the other.

§§ "Mohut" of the maps.

"From Tor-bela'h two roads diverge. The right-hand route goes to Tawwí,* distant four kuroh in the direction of north, which, having reached, you then proceed up stream in the same direction as before. A little north of Tawwí, on the right hand, is a small river, which comes from Gan-dab, or Ganh-daf,† and runs to the left and unites with the Abáe-Sín. After going on for a distance of two kuroh north, slightly inclining to the north-west, you reach the small village of Khair-Koṭ,‡ lying at the foot of the mountains rising near by on the right hand as you proceed on your way, and the Abáe-Sín flows close by on the left. From Khair-Koṭ you go on a kuroh and a half north to Anorá or Anora'h,§ close by the route on the right hand, and then half a kuroh farther, in the same direction, to the small village of Lalú-Galí, on the mountain side, also near the road on the right hand.‖ Another half a kuroh north, inclining a little to the north-east, and you reach the Dera'h of Gul Sher Khán,¶ previously noticed in other routes. The lofty mountain range towers, as previously, on the right, and the Abáe-Sín flows near by on the left hand. The route from the Dera'h of Gul Sher Kháñ to the Koṭ of Báwar Sháh, and to Maṛaiṛ and Koga'h, has been already described (at page 285).

"The left-hand route northwards from Tor-bela'h is as follows. Crossing the Abáe-Sín at the ferry under Tor-bela'h, by boat to Khubbal, you proceed from thence two kuroh north, inclining north-west, to Thána'h, a large village belonging to the Tunawalís. Continuing onward for a distance of five kuroh in the same direction, you reach the Ghaṛí of Zámin Sháh, a large village with a fort of unburnt brick; and from thence go on for another half kuroh and arrive at Ashrák,** a large village situated on a hill or eminence, a spur from the mountains, also belonging to the Tunawalís, and protected by a stone-built fort called the Koṭla'h. Having reached this place, you go on to Párlí Ghaṛí, previously referred to in the Sixty-ninth Route (page 290), a distance of three kuroh in the direction of north, which place is likewise under the jurisdiction of the chief of Tunawal. From thence you proceed, following the course of the river, for a distance of ten kuroh northwards, and reach the point where the united rivers issuing from the westward, from the Chamla'h and Buner Dara'hs, which, after this junction, are known by the name of Baranḍú, as before recorded, fall into the Abáe-Sín. Having reached that point you proceed four kuroh farther north to Maṛaiṛ, the road being exceedingly difficult.

"The lofty mountain range, in which the Jzadún Afgháns dwell, lies on the left hand (the west), while the Abáe-Sín flows near by on the right. Some persons proceed to Adam Bánḍa'h and Koga'h (*see* the Sixty-eighth Route) by following the course of the Baranḍú river to Kaha'í (*see* page 286), but this route is exceedingly difficult.

"Above the Dar-band boats cannot ply: they could not live in the surges and currents, and travellers have to be conveyed from one bank of the Abáe-Sín to the other by means of rafts. Dar-band signifies a narrow and difficult pass through mountains, a narrow passage, a barrier, as well as a ferry over a river; and, as the Abáe-Sín above this point pierces its way for the greater part of its course through a maze of mountains, and below the Dar-band or Barrier the mountains begin to recede in some degree, the name of Dar-band may be accounted for.††

"It should not be overlooked that the great river Abáe-Sín is the natural boundary

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* "Towie" of one map, but "Tuvee" in the other.

† *See* pages 269 and 274.

‡ In one map correct, "Khairkot;" in the other "Khurkot."

§ "Unoruh" of the map. *See* page 275.

‖ It has considerably increased, and is now a large village.

¶ Simply "Deyrah" in one map, but "Deruh" in the other.

** This place is shown in our maps, under the names of "Ashura," "Achoora," and "Usheera," and in official papers as "Ashra," four different forms, and all incorrect.

†† At a place called Phaláh-Bhaní, near the Dar-band, the Abáe-Sín is so narrow that a person can easily throw a stone across the river. On one occasion, the Sikh Sardár, Harí Singh (afterwards killed in the battle with the Afgháns near Jam-rúd), who held the government of the Hazárah district, had received the wakíls or agents of Pá'índah Khán, who were negotiating with the Sardár, and they had asked for terms, and had returned to Pá'índah Khán's presence to get the terms ratified. On seeing the wakíls again appear, accompanied by people bringing a number of kids and vessels of rice, he naturally concluded that the terms had been ratified, and that they were coming to feast him. On this, Harí Singh, and a number of other Sikh officers and soldiers, came down close to the river-side, in order "to taste," as the Sardár remarked, "cool water." While there, and totally off their guard, Pá'índah Khán suddenly opened fire upon the party from all the small guns and other available pieces in his possession. The Sardár and his party had to betake themselves to the rocks, which, fortunately, were near by; and, as it happened, no one sustained injury from this act of treachery. They had to remain where they were, however, until after sunset, when they made their way back to their own camp again.

between Fáristán and the Panj-áb; and that, lower down, towards the south, on both banks of it, the Balúch people for the most part dwell, while some Afghán tribes dwell higher up. Ḥazrau, or Ḥezrauṇ, Haro, Darwesh, and Tor-bela'h, and some other tracts of territory, are known as Chhachh or Chhachh Hazárah, because, in the imagination of its inhabitants, this territory is peopled by a thousand tribes and septs. Pakhla'í, Dharam-ṭaur, Tunawal, and some other parts, they consider to be in the Kohistán.

"The Chhachh Hazárah, so called to distinguish it from the Hazárah-i-Ḳárlúgh or Ḳárlúḳ, or country of the Hazárah of the Ḳárlúghs or Ḳárlúḳs,* is inhabited by portions of several Afghán tribes. It is twenty-five kuroh in length from north-east to south-west, and from six to seven kuroh in breadth from north-west to south-east. It has mountain tracts on either side of it; and as the Haro river, which rises in the Kohistán of Malách,† a dependency of Muẓaffar-ábád, and the country of the tribe known as the Kaṛ Ál and Kaṛar Ál, but which appears to be, more correctly, Ghaṛ Ál, flows through the midst of the Chhachh Hazárah, it is, consequently, likewise called the Haro district. The Pus'hto language is spoken by its inhabitants. The villages of Haro and Darwesh are the places where the government overseers or intendants are located. The chieftainship among the Afghán tribes here dwelling lies with the choice and accord of each tribe.

"The rainy season in the tracts described in these routes, on and near the Abáe-Sín, is the winter, and, in some parts, snow also falls. The land is chiefly dependent on rain for irrigation, and wells are exceedingly few. It produces much wheat, barley, rice, cotton, and lentils. The Afghán people pay a tenth of the produce by way of *'ushr* or tithe to the authorities, but other races have to pay a fixed amount of the produce by way of revenue."

Seventy-first Route. From Kash-mír to Laddákh, a distance of twenty-five stages.

"This route joins that which leads to Yár-ḳand, which will be presently described. Kárwáns perform this journey generally in the space of one month.

"Setting out from Srí-Nagar,‡ the capital of Kash-mír, in two *manzils* or stages you reach the large village called Gunḍ Sar-Sang,§ and by the way pass through well cultivated districts, and a very mountainous tract of country. The Achol-Nág and other lakes lie on the right-hand side of the route, at a great distance away. From Gunḍ Sar-Sang you proceed another two stages to Gangan-Gír, also written Gagan-Gír, which is the name of a great mountain range, capped with perpetual snow, the extreme summit of which is the limit of, and boundary between, the countries of Kash-mír and Tibbat. On the way from the *manzil* of Gunḍ Sar-Sang to this one, you pass by many habitations and much cultivation.

"Another three *manzils* from thence brings you to Dirás, which is a village of considerable size included in the territory of Great Tibbat,¶ which is under the sway of Chashwá-Nami-gal,** Rájah of Laddákh. There is a paucity of inhabitants, and

* *See* page 281.

† Malách, but not "Milach," is the name of a considerable village belonging to the Kaṛ-Ál or Ghaṛ-Ál tribe, on the route between Ráwal Pinḍí and Muẓaffar-ábád. East of the village is the lofty mountain in which the Haro rises.

‡ Signifying, in Sanskrit, "The Auspicious City."

§ The "*Gond*" of Major-General Walker's map, and "*Goond*" of the Indian Atlas map.

¶ *See* note ¶, page 294.

** Thus in the copies of the text, but the name is somewhat doubtful. *See* page 294.

The Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, the Doghlátí Mughal, the author of the Táríkh-i-Rashídí, invaded Kash-mír, and took possession of Srí-Nagar by this very route. Muḥammad Ḥaidar was directed to proceed in advance from Yár-ḳand, by way of Khutan, and Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán was to follow by the same route. Muḥammad Ḥaidar entered Áltúnjí Tibbat—Áltún, in Turkí, means gold—which is a Dolpah, or Steppe. He subsequently reached the Núbrah territory, which is accounted a part of Tibbat, in the second month of 939 H. (September, 1532, A.D.). Most of the petty chiefs submitted, but one, Borkiá by name, who was the greatest among them, and whose fort of Hondár was the principal one in the country, refused to submit to the invaders. On their moving against it, and preparing to assault it the following day, he evacuated it in the night, and the Mughals obtained possession of it. Muḥammad Ḥaidar then entered the territory of Már-yol, the chief place in which he calls Shiyah or Shíah, in which were two Ḥákims, and both submitted. As the sun had entered Libra—the autumnal equinox, or September—and the cold there was greater than in any other part of Tibbat at that time of the year, Muḥammad Ḥaidar held counsel with his officers as to what was advisable to be done with respect to their selecting a place for their *kish-láḳ* or winter quarters, where food and forage would be obtainable. No place suitable other than Kash-mír could be thought of or found, and it was resolved to enter it, and make it their winter quarters.

Having been reinforced by the Khán, and his force made up to 4,000 men (Abú-l-Faẓl, with his usual

scarcity of cultivation on the way thither, the country exceedingly mountainous, and many of the peaks covered with perpetual snow.

"Another four *manzils* or stages from Dirás brings you to Pas-kún, also written Paṣt-kún, which is under the authority of another Rájah, but who pays allegiance to the Rájah of Laddákh. On the way thither you pass through a tolerably well inhabited tract, but experience much cold. You then have to go another two short *manzils* to Mulbú, a place under the authority of the Rájah of Laddákh.

"Twelve *manzils* more, along the banks of the southernmost branch of the Abáe-Sín, bring you to Laddákh, the capital of the country, and residence of the Rájah. On the road thither you pass many inhabited places, and a considerable extent of cultivation, and have to cross many small rivers, tributaries of the main one, each of which is spanned by a small wooden bridge."

Laddákh, being sufficiently well known, need not be described here.

Seventy-second Route. From Láhor to Yár-ḳand, a distance of nearly six hundred kuroh, and consisting of two routes.

" The left-hand route is by way of Jammú, and the right-hand route by Núr-púr, and is as follows.

" Setting out from Núr-púr [the route to which place from Láhor, being so well known, need not be given here], you proceed a distance of eight kuroh in the direction of north-east to Málwán, a small village in the little district of Pálam, which is under the rule of the Rájah of Chanbah,* and by the way are numerous ascents and descents. The *manzils*, or stages, it may be mentioned, average eight kuroh each. You then go on another *manzil* of eight kuroh to Samút, and then another to Nunár. The next *manzil* is to Bua'h. At this point the territory of Ráe Singh, Chanpál, terminates."

From thence the next *manzil* brings you Kuḍ, the name of a desolate halting place, from which you proceed another *manzil* of the same length, and reach the Ulwás. In the idiom of the language spoken by the people of this part, a halting place situated at the foot of a mountain range, but which halting place is without inhabitants, is called Ulwás. Eight kuroh from this latter halting place you reach a second Ulwás, and midway between these halting places is a lofty mountain range, covered with perpetual snow, which you have to cross. The next *manzil* is Bastí;† then, in succession, Puyoṛ, Chel-haṭ, Shíw-púr, Bar-mor, Ar-saṛ, and Chilú-haṭ, the *manzils* being about the same distances from each other.

Throughout the tract of country passed through from Kuḍ to this point, the inhabitants are Hindús, and every zamín-dár, or petty chief, is ruler in his own locality, and over his own territory. The severity of the cold, the excess of snow, and the difficulty of the way, can scarcely be described.

Setting out from Chilú-haṭ, you proceed for a distance of five kuroh to Kaftí, and from this point, northwards, the vast extent of territory, which consists of mazes of mountains, is known as the Great Tibbat.‡ From Kaftí you go on for a distance of three kuroh to the small village of Chilang, in which there is a great idol temple belonging to the Hindús, the idol in which they call Chilang Debí. Hindú devotees visit this place, and come so far to pay their devotions to this idol. Another *manzil* of eight kuroh brings you to another Ulwás, or desolate halting place, and another *manzil* of just the same distance to another, and between them you have to cross a great mountain range covered with perpetual snow.

Traders and travellers are obliged to transfer their goods and heavy effects to the backs of men of this mountain tract of country for transit over this mountain range,

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exaggeration, says he had 10,000), and the Báltís having submitted, and having added their forces to his own, Muḥammad Ḥaidar set out by Dirás and the Zoji Lah or Pass. The Kash-mírís, having obtained information of his movements, had occupied in force the Lár *tangí* or defile, leading to Srí-Nagar, but a force of 400 veterans from the Mírzá's force fell upon them at dawn, and put them to flight. Passing one night on the road, next day, Muḥammad Ḥaidar entered the valley of Kash-mír. His subsequent proceedings in Kash-mír need not be entered into here, as they belong to Kash-mír history, beyond mentioning that about twenty years after, in 959 H. (1552 A.D.), he was killed in a sally from Srí-Nagar.

It will be seen from this expedition that the invasion of Kash-mír from the north, with an enemy in possession of Káshghar, Yár-ḳand, and Khutan, is by no means such an impracticable matter, after all, as some of "the masters of the subject" and the tacticians would lead us to suppose, especially if the invaders came from a northern climate, and could withstand the rigours of the climate of Tibbat.

* *See* the meaning assigned to Chanbah at page 297.

† *See* note ‡, page 294.

‡ *See* note ¶, page 294, and the meaning assigned to Tibbat in note §, page 153.

while the traders and travellers themselves cross mounted on Tibbatí horses, which are very nimble and clever, being used to climbing. Both foreigners as well as natives are well wrapped up in felt, so as to entirely cover the whole body, the face, ears, hands, and feet; indeed, nothing is left uncovered but the eyes. As some persons lose their sight from the excessive glare, caused by the sunlight shining on the snow, pure sugar-candy (miṣrí-i-khâlis) is taken, and, in such cases, applied as a remedy, and in a short time it effects a cure, and the sight is restored. The writer of these surveys and his party saw, at Núr-púr, several persons who had not taken due precaution to guard themselves from the snow and frost, and the consequence was that their fingers and toes had dropped off, and the parts so affected appeared like healed wounds after amputation.

"Having descended from the crest of the great range* to the second Ulwás, before referred to, you reach the banks of the Sat-Ludr†—the upper part of the Chin-áb—a large river, which comes from the right hand and flows towards the left. According to the opinion of some persons, it runs on towards Kishtwár, and receives the name of Chandar and Chandar-Bhágá, after its junction with the Bhagá a few miles north-west of Kishtwár. It is spanned by a wooden bridge, and, according to some accounts, it has also a rope bridge two kuroh farther west, the wooden one being liable to be carried away when the Bhágá becomes flooded in summer.

"Setting out from the banks of the Sat-Ludr, you proceed to the *manzil* of Sálind, distant eight kuroh, and then a similar distance to the next halting place, known as Were-Tal. From thence you go four kuroh to a place called Gharáṭ, and a stage of four more brings you to Bastí.‡ Then comes a *manzil* of eight kuroh to Baṛ-Síw, after which another two, of a similar distance, to two Ulwás, or desolate halting places, between which another great range of snowy mountains has to be crossed. From thence the next *manzil* is Lan-gúṭ, then another of a similar distance to Lúng-Láchar,§ and after that two Ulwás of eight kuroh each, between which *manzils* another great range of snowy mountains intervenes, which has likewise to be crossed. From the second Ulwás, another eight kuroh distant, is Kang-chhú-haṭ, from which you go on to Muhrí, a similar distance, and then eight kuroh more to Báhbul-Mudda'h, or Bábul-Mudda'h, which is situated at the foot of a mountain range.

"The next *manzil*, to Bastí,‖ is ten kuroh distant, and on the way thither a lofty defile has to be traversed, which is very difficult to accomplish. Having reached Bastí, another long *manzil* of ten kuroh brings you to Kuḍ, and another of the same distance to Bág. From the *manzil* of Baṛ-Síw to this place the country you pass through is uninhabited, and the difficulties to be overcome in this mountainous tract are so vast, and the excess of snow is so great, as cannot be explained.

"From the *manzil* of Bág you proceed another eight kuroh, and reach the little village of Ṭhas-rí, and after going another ten kuroh you reach Laddákh. This is a large place, the capital of the Great Tibbats, and place of residence of the Rájah Chashwá-Nami-gal¶ [possibly, Jaishwá-Nami-gal]. The commodities of Hind, Sindh, Chín, Yár-ḳand, and Badakhshán are brought to this town for sale, and the dues

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* Vigne, in his "Travels," refers to this range under the name of "Panga Mountains," and the pass to be crossed as the "Zuruk Pass."

† This is the name generally applied to the upper part of the Sutlaj, but the original is as above.

‡ Wastí, or Bastí, *b* and *w* being interchangeable, signifies, in Sanskrit, "an abode," "an inhabited place," "a village;" and here, doubtless, are some habitations dignified with the name of "Bastí," or "The Village." Had it been desolate, this *manzil* would have been styled "Ulwás."

§ The Thung Ling of Vigne, probably.

‖ *See* note above.

¶ These rulers, the family title of whom is Nam-gal, or Nami-gal, are of ancient lineage, and are said to be descended in a direct line from the old rulers of Tibbat, and are noticed in history by that title as early as the close of the fifteenth century. This dynasty was overturned by the Dograhs in recent times. Muḥammad Haidar always calls the Chiefs of Tibbat and Báltí by the title of Joe, or Júe, the plural of which he makes Joeán or Júeán.

The Jesuit Father, Hypolito Desideri, proceeded through Tibbat in 1714, from Kash-mír. He says,—"Great Tibet begins at the top of a frightful mountain named Kantel, all covered with snow; one side of it "belongs to Kâshmír, the other to Tibet. They left Kâshmír, that is, Srí-Nagar, on the 17th May, 1715, and "were forty days in travelling to Leh, also called Ladak, where the King of Great Tibet resides; which "journey they performed on foot. On the 30th, they passed the mountains, that is, entered Tibet. . . . . "The road lay through the mountains, which are a true image of horror. They are heaped one upon another, "and so close together, that they are scarce separated by the torrents, which dash against the rocks with a "noise enough to daunt the most hardy travellers. . . . . They arrived on the 25th June at Leh, or "Ladak, which is a fortress where the Ghiampo, or King, resides, who is absolute, and named Nima Nanjal "[Nyimah Nami-gal, son of Dilík Nami-gal, the grandfather, probably, of the Rájah above referred to]. He "has under him a tributary king [the Rájah of Zán-skár, probably]. He (the Jesuit Father) came to learn "there was a *third* Tibet, a journey of about six or seven months."

levied thereon yield a considerable revenue. East of the city a stone-built fort has been erected, and within the walls the afore-mentioned Rájah resides.

"The distance from Núr-púr to Laddákh is thirty-eight *manzils*; from Laddákh to Jammú, twenty-eight; from Laddákh to Kash-mír, twenty-two; and from Yár-ḳand, thirty-eight, presently to be described. The *manzils* between Núr-púr and Laddákh, and that place and Yár-ḳand, are comparatively short, but those between Laddákh and Jammú and Kash-mír somewhat long."

Before resuming the account of the route, it may not be amiss to say something with regard to what the modern Muḥammadan writers say respecting "the Great Tibbat," and give the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, the Doghlátí Mughal's account of it.

The Musalmán writers of India, for the most part, nearly always make the great mistake of calling the most western and northern part of the great tract of country to the north of Kash-mír by the name of "the Little Tibbat," and Laddákh, and districts adjoining it, "the Great Tibbat," and sometimes "the Great Tibbats," whereas the vast region known as Tibbat extends some twenty-five degrees farther to the south-east.

English writers also mistake the names of the western parts of this great region, and style the territory bounded on the south by the Shá-yuḳ or Shá-yugh, near its junction with the other branch of the Abáe-Sín or Indus, and of which Skár-Dú is the chief place at present, by the name of "Baltistán, *or* Little Tibet, or Thibet, a little territory lying N.N.W. of Ladakh," and under this name it appears in the "Yarkand Mission" map, and Major-General J. T. Walker's last.

The Muḥammadan writers of India, for example, say, that the Lár district of Kash-mír adjoins the Great Tibbat; and English writers say that "Iskardoh," or "Skardo" is the capital of "Little Tibet." Instead of this Báltí, not "Baltistán," according to the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, comprises Skár-Dú or Iskár-Dú, Shigár, Púrik, Laddaḳs, and other tracts, The Mírzá also describes Tibbat more correctly perhaps than any other writer, from personal observation, and many years' actual residence in the country adjoining it.

He says :—"It extends, from north-west to south-east, a distance of eight months' "journey, while its breadth is not over one month's journey, and not less than ten days.' "The north-west boundary of Tibbat adjoins Bilaur, and its northern boundary ter-"minates at Bilaur and Badakhshán"—the position of the former of which tracts has been already given at page 139,—"and on the south-east it extends to Jojú and Sálár, "which are dependencies of Kanjan Ḳúe of Khiṭá." (See also "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 912). "The main mountain range of Mughúlistán,"* he continues, "sends out "branches in different directions. One portion passes north of Káshghar and then "turns south, and forms the west boundary of that country, after which it runs round "to the south of Káshghar. The country of Farghánah lies west of it, and this branch "range runs between the two countries; and at this point the range is called by the "name of Áláe. Badakhshán is situated west of Yár-ḳand, and the same great range "likewise lies between them; and that part of it which lies between them is called Pá-"Mír; and, in some places, this Pá-Mír [such a word as Bám-i-Dunyá, or anything "approaching to it, is not contained in Muḥammad Ḥaidar's History] is seven or eight "days' journey in extent [breadth?]"†

* Which the Chinese style Thian-Shán.

† The divergencies of opinion respecting the physical aspect of the Pá-Mír, and the meaning of that compound word, are almost as great as regarding "Bolor" referred to farther on.

As to the signification of the word, there can be no doubt that the latter half of it is the same as occurs in Tíraj-Mír and Kash-Mír, which may possibly refer to *mír*, a lake, or to *meru*—the sacred mountain, Meru—the residence of the gods. Possibly, it may signify *fá* (فا for *wá*—وا; and و is interchangeable with ف), opposite, or over against Meru. *See* Bú Ríḥán on the mountains of Hind.

Major Montgomerie's Mírzá thinks the word "Pamir" is derived from the Turkish word Pa (belongs) and Mír (chief), implying that it belongs to the chief of Badakshan, which, to say the least of it, is childish, because there have been very many dynasties since Pá-Mír is first mentioned in history. He, however, says he never heard the term Bam-i-Dunya applied to it; and he also says that "Pamir" consists of "endless hillocks (and "sometimes nearly flat)—a sea of low, rounded hills (in winter the hollows would be filled up), one behind the "other, but nowhere rising to any great height above the more level ground."

The Munshí, Faiẓ-Bakhsh, relates that one version is, that it was originally Pái Amír, or *Pái Mír Hazrat Ali*, but he considered it, as well he might, a "religious hallucination." Another version, he says, is, that it was "Pái-Mehr (Foot of the Sun," owing to its situation to the east of Badakhshán," perhaps another hallucination. The Munshí adds that "On Pamír there is grass alone, and a thórny bush, the same as on Hindú-"Kush and Koh-i-Baba. . . . . In the Pamír steppes, the ground is mostly moist and covered with "saltpetre. There are no stones. . . . . The soil is generally with a mixture of sand. . . . . In the "end of March the snow begins to melt in the lower valleys. In April, grass begins to spring up. In June, "water becomes plentiful, and the streams swell to such an extent that traffic is checked. From July to October, "traffic is easy. In July and August, grass is abundant; it begins to decrease in September. In low places, "the grass grows very dense, and to a height of from two to three feet. . . . The air becomes extremely

The same range may be said to branch off from thence in the direction of south-west, towards Kábul, and is known to the different people of those parts as Tíraj-Mír, Kund, and Sarowar. *See* page 156.

"After having passed beyond that (the Pá-Mír)," the Mírzá continues, "then come some of the mountain skirts of Yár-kand which adjoin Bilaur,* such as Rás-gám and Tágh Dum-Básh. After passing beyond these, the next territory reached is Tibbat, or the Tibbat [that is its most north-western point]. Badakhshán lies to the summer west of Yár-kand, as before stated, and Kash-mír to the winter west [by these terms the author apparently refers to the position of the sun's setting in the height of summer and winter respectively], and the very same range of mountains intervenes between them. That part lying between Yár-kand and Kash-mír belongs to, and is part of, the country or territory of Tibbat which they call Báltí; and, at this point, this elevated mountain tract is much broader than where known as Áláe and Pá-Mír, and is twenty days' journey in breadth. For example, the pass by which you ascend into it (from Yár-kand) is the 'Ukbah or Pass of Sánjú, and that by which you descend from it into Kash-mír is the 'Ukbah or Pass of Skár-Dú, or Iskár-Dú; and between these two passes is a distance of twenty days' journey. . . . From these details, therefore, it appears that Tibbat lies very high, because the rivers issuing from it fall downwards in every direction; and, in whatsoever direction a person desires to enter it, it is necessary in doing so to ascend by lofty passes, which have no descent afterwards, and when you reach the crest of them the ground is comparatively level; but with regard to some of the passes, there may be a little inclination downwards on the other side. For these reasons Tibbat is excessively cold, in such wise that, in most parts of it, with the exception of barley and turnips, nothing else is cultivated. The barley generally is such as is ripened in the space of forty days [from the time it is sown, or appears above ground ?], for, if sown in winter, the seed would become rotten. Grass continues green for about two months; and, in some parts, the summer extends to forty days, but in such manner that, after midnight, the streams freeze. The keenness of the air is also so great that no tree, and no grass even, grows tall: all is bent and stunted.

"The inhabitants of Tibbat are divided into two classes, one known as the Bol-pá,

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"cold in the end of October, and grass dries up and presents the colour of copper; snow begins to fall on the "lofty peaks. . . . The lofty peaks of Pamír are covered constantly with snow."

Shaw says (Kashgar, p. 425): "Pamir is covered with grass, and abounds in wild animals."

Lieutenant-Colonel T. E. Gordon, of the Yarkand Mission, says in the "Report," "the Meaning of Pámír "appears to be wilderness—a place depopulated, abandoned, waste, yet capable of cultivation, ... if "deserted, it would be Pámír." But if not? Another member of the Mission says, "Pámír" is "Khokandi "Turki," if that is different from other Turkí. In another place, Colonel Gordon says "The Pámír *plateau* "may be described as a great, broad, rounded *ridge*, extending north and south, and crossed by thick mountain "chains, between which lie elevated valleys, open and *gently sloping* towards *the east*, but narrow and confined "with *a rapid fall towards the west*."

Another member of the Mission (Surgeon-Major Bellew) held widely different opinions apparently. He says (page 58), "this Pamír steppe is not known to the Kirghiz specifically as such, who are its *only* frequenters." Immediately after he says that "open spreads of pasture plateaux *here called pámír* are called in Khurasán "*Julaga* or *Jilga*. A jal-gáh, as I have described it in the account of the Suwát Dara'h, not "julaga" or "jilga," is derived from *jal* and *gáh*. Any good dictionary will show its derivation, and proper pronunciation. See also page 63 of these Notes. Another member of the mission (at page 472) says, respecting a *jilga*, that "extensive plains to which the name *jilga* is generally applied, originally, I think, merely meant a 'water-course.'" Subsequently, at page 59, the first-mentioned writer says, a Ḳirghíz told him, "we call *every* spread of pasture "*pámír*," after having previously said that "the Kirghiz, its only frequenters, did not know it specifically as "such."

Captain H. Trotter, R.E., another member of the Mission, says "Pámír is a series of broad undulating "grassy *valleys*, formed on the surface of an elevated plain, by lofty ridges more or less parallel to the equator. "The general slope of the plateau is from east to west. The *eastern* portion is *gently undulating*, and com-"paratively *flat*, while its western edge merges with spurs, which slope down *gradually to the west*" (Colonel Gordon says it has "a *rapid* fall towards the *west*"), "and are separated by bold and precipitous defiles. On "the east the Pámír steppes (plural here) are bounded by a transverse ridge which has been appropriately "termed the Pámír ridge by Pandit Manphul [*see* the Belútlagh, in note ‖, page 302]. This ridge runs in "a direction from S.S.W. to N.N.E., and is the watershed between Eastern and Western Turkistan." . . . "I am inclined to agree with Mr. Fedchenko in considering the *Pámír steppes*, within the limits by which I "have defined them, to be a portion of the *Thien Shán*."

Muḥammad Ḥaidar said they were so upward of three centuries and a half ago. *See* also M. Severtsof's journey in Ferghana and the Pamir in 1877–78, in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society" for August 1880, pages 499–506.

Colonel Yule, C.B., in the introduction to the new edition of "Wood's Journey to the Oxus," page xxix., writes of the "The *Tsungling or* mountain of *Pamir*," and again at page xxxix., of the "*Comedæ* of Ptolemy," being "enveloped by the *Tsungling or* mountains of *Pamir*."

Moorcroft brings the Pá-Mír very far east indeed. He says (Vol. I., p. 365) that "on the north Ladakh is "bounded by the Pamer *or* Karakoram mountains."

* There is no such word as "Malur" in any copy of Mírzá Ḥaidar's Táríkh-i-Rashídí which I have read, neither does he ever use such a term as "Dardistán."

that is to say, the fixed population, who are dwellers in permanent dwellings, and the other Chan-bah or Chan-pah, which is to say nomads; and these latter pay obedience to the government of one or other of the territories of Tibbat. These latter are the people who act as carriers between the mountain States of Hind and Khiṭá, and convey goods on the backs of their sheep. Some of these Chan-bahs or Chan-pahs have as many as 10,000 sheep; and one of the tribes, known as the Dol-pah or Dol-bah, contain as many as 50,000 families, and there are many such."

Some of this tribe worked in the gold mines described by Muḥammad Ḥaidar, whose account I may hereafter translate.

In another place the same writer says, "In 925 H. (1519 A.D.), Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán "entered Badakhshán (from his capital, Káshghar), and again in 930 H. (1524 A.D.); "and, on this last occasion, despatched the writer, along with his son, Rashíd Sulṭán, "into Bilaur, which is a *kohistán*—mountain tract—lying between Badakhshán and "Kash-mír.* Fine plunder was obtained, and we returned safe and victorious, having "gained many successes. . . . Bálti is a territory between Tibbat and Bilaur, and, "during that winter, the Khán having plundered Bálti, in the spring came into "Tibbat." This latter expedition is mentioned in another place, and has nothing further to do with Bilaur: it merely proves what I have shown before, namely, that Bálti is quite distinct from Bilaur, the boundaries of which, and a more detailed account of the invasion and devastation of it, described by Muḥammad Ḥaidar, I have already given at page 139, which see.

It should be noticed that, although he distinctly mentions Suwát, he never once names Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár; and from his description of Bilaur it is apparent that some portion, at least, of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár was included in it, but I scarcely think more than the most northern parts of that State, as constituted when these surveys were made, namely, Mastúch, could have been included therein, but Ḍángrak, as described at page 161, undoubtedly was, and it formed part of the Ḳáshḳár State. It is Ḍángrak probably to which the Kirghíz apply the name of Bilaur.

If we look into the history of this period we shall find some remarkable coincidences. The Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ Afgháns, and their confederate tribes, were pressing hard upon the Gibarí Sulṭán of Suwát. At the close of 925 H. (the end of 1519 A.D.), Bábar Bádsháh had set out on an expedition against these Afghán tribes, and a Gibarí prince was in his camp. Consequent upon Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán's invasion of Badakhshán in that same year, Bábar Bádsháh abandoned the expedition against the Afgháns of Suwát, and hurried back to Kábul to march against Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán of Káshghar, his own kinsman. The breach was, however, healed, and no hostilities broke out between them.

From 926 H. to 932 H. (1520 to 1525 A.D.) there is an hiatus in Bábar Bádsháh's autobiography, but, from other records, it appears that he had enough to do to hold his own against intrigue, and in chastising the Afgháns of the more western parts of his territory, without interfering with the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs; and after the latter year he was fully occupied in Hindústán. Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán sent his son, Rashíd Sulṭán, and Muḥammad Ḥaidar, against Bilaur in the beginning of 934 H. (the autumn of 1527 A.D.). These Afgháns shortly after compelled the Sulṭán of Suwát to abandon his territories, as I have before mentioned at page 181, and in note *, page 231, and to retire northwards into the adjoining Dara'h of Nihák, or Níáka'h, wherein he took up his residence, and built a strong fortress called Láhor, the ruins of which still exist. This was about the time of Bábar Bádsháh's death, early in 937 H. (December, 1530 A.D.). At the close of 938 H. (July, 1532 A.D.), Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán invaded Tibbat, and died in the last month of 939 H. The last of the Jahán-gírián dynasty who reigned in Suwát was Sulṭán Awes; and after him, his eldest son, Sulṭán Fírúz, ruled for many years over Nihák and parts farther north. He was succeeded by his son, Sulṭán Máh, and his son Zain 'Alí succeeded him, after which nothing more is recorded of them in the Yúsufzí annals from which this extract is taken. In Zain Khán's expedition against Ganshál, narrated at page 171, mention is made of the deputy of the ruler of Ḳáshḳár who was located near. Ganshál was very close to Nihák, which borders upon the Dara'hs of Mastúch and Ḍángrak, that is to say, close upon or even within the Bilauristán of Muḥammad Ḥaidar, who, it will be noticed, mentions Suwát and Kash-mír as its southern boundary, but never once mentions the Ḳáshḳár State in his history. Taking all these facts into consideration, it is evident that these Gibarí Sulṭáns extended their sway over the tracts immediately

* Neither "Cashmir" nor "Cashcar" represent "the old region of Belûr;" Bilaur was, as shown by the historian, totally different from either of those States.

northwards of and around Nihák. The times were also favourable, for the empire which Bábar Bádsháh had founded was convulsed soon after his decease; the Uzbaks and the descendants of Amír Tímúr were fighting among themselves, and Kash-mír was fast crumbling to decay; indeed, in 947 H (1540–41 A.D.), but some say in the following year, Muhammad Haidar again invaded it from the Panj-áb, and reduced it under his sway, though acknowledging Humáyún Bádsháh as his suzerain, and therein ended his career in 959 H. (1552 A.D.). It is not improbable, therefore, that the rulers of the Káshkár State when these surveys were made, were connected in some way with, if not directly descended from, the Jahán-gírián Sultáns of Suwát.

As a vast deal has been written within the last few years *pro* and *con* respecting the existence of what European writers style "Bilor," "Bolor," "Belûr," "Bíllúr," "Belor," "Bilaor," "Bolar," "Balor," and the like—not one being correctly spelt—and some would do away with it, and blot its name out of the map of Asia altogether, it will be well, perhaps, to give here a few extracts respecting it from the writings of those who preceded the Mírzá, Muhammad Haidar, whose description has been given above, and whose account of a campaign in that very tract of country has been previously narrated.

Bilaur, Billaur, or Bilauristán, as it is also called, is first mentioned, I believe, by the Chinese pilgrim, Fah-Hian, who visited the parts treated on in these routes leading towards Yár-kand, in the year 399 A.D., about two hundred and twenty-three years before the Muhammadan era, and when Bahrám-i-Gor, the Sásánián, ruled over Í-rán, and four years after Honorius and Arcadius divided the Roman empire between them, and Alaric, the Goth, invaded Italy. Fah-Hian, without doubt, reached the present Káshghar territory, traversed the Kará-Kuram Pass, and reached the territory of Kie-cha, which Beal says* (page 14) is "the Kie-pan-to or Khartchou of Hiouen-Thsang," and, subsequently, that the latter is "Han-pan-to, and in the midst of the Tsung-Ling mountains." This Kie-cha I believe to be Báltí of Muhammad Haidar, and not Laddákh, nor Tásh-Kurghán, as some have affirmed.† Proceeding from thence "westward for a month," Fah-Hian and his companions "cleared the Tsung-Ling mountains." The pilgrim refers to them as always covered with snow, summer and winter; and says that scarcely one person in ten survives the various difficulties and dangers of the road. These mountains, he continues, "shelter venomous dragons "also, which, if once provoked, spit out their poisons (against travellers)." This coincides with what 'Abd-Ullah, son of Khurdád-bih, says respecting these mountains, namely,—"There is a koh (range of mountains), the air of which, when one approaches "it, will take men's breath away, so that they cannot breathe, and their tongues "become torpid, and many people die therein. The people of Tibbat call this koh, "Koh-i-Zahr—the Poison Mountains; and when people set out from the city of "Káshghar they go by a straight (direct) route between two mountain ranges to the "east, and pass over it (the Koh-i-Zahr range)."

Fah-Hian then says, "the men of this district are also known as the men of the Snowy Mountains." Here the Kárlúgh or Kárlúk Turks‡ are evidently meant, the signification of that Turkish name being "the father of snow," or "pertaining to snow." *See* "Tabakát-i-Násirí," note to page 877, and note 5, page 374, para. 2.

"After passing these mountains," the Buddhist pilgrim continues, "we arrived "in North India.§ On the confines of this region (which he has just passed through) "is a little kingdom called To-li." This may refer to Honz or Báltí, or to Yasin, as he does not say in which direction it lay, whether on the right hand or the left, and did not enter it, but, from what follows, Báltí appears to be referred to. Remusat

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* "Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims," London, 1869.

† We are told that "Major-General A. Cunningham was the first to throw light on the true application of "the name, when he told us that *Bolor* was the name used by the Dard races on the Indus for the State of "Balti, or Little Thibet." As far back as 1854, Major-General Cunningham, in his work on "Ladák" [Lad-dákh], said (page 34), "*Balti*, or *Balti-yul*, is called Palolo, or *Balor*, by the Dards, and *Nang-kod* by "the Tibetans. Balti is the most common name, and perhaps the oldest [older than Palolo—Pa-lo-lo—of the "Buddhist pilgrims?], as it is preserved by Ptolemy in Byltæ." Mírzá Haidar, however, distinctly states, as rendered in the preceding paragraph above, that Báltí is a territory *between* Tibbat and Bilaur, and not Bilaur itself. General Cunningham, however, made a pretty good shot, but did not hit the mark. The Mughal Prince also adds that "the north-west boundary of Tibbat *adjoins* Bilaur;" again, that "its northern boundary "*terminates at* Bilaur and Badakhshán;" and again, that "that part of Tibbat lying *nearest to* Bilaur, and "*between* Yár-kand and Kash-mír, is known as Báltí." In another place he also tells us that Rás-gám and Tágh Dum-Básh are not included in, but adjoin, Bilaur, and that Tibbat bounds it on the east. *See* note ‖, page 302.

‡ These Turks are not, and never were, known as "Kharlokh" or "Qurluk," simply because the name is written قارلق and قارلوغ, in which *kh* does not occur.

§ This depends upon what he considered north India, and what word is used for it in the original.

considered that "Darada or Dardu" is referred to, but Dár-Dú was very small compared with Báltí. "Keeping south-*westerly*" (in a note Beal says, "south-*easterly* would be more likely," but why should Fah-Hian's statement be arbitrarily altered to suit the theory, the foregone conclusion, that he followed the course of the Indus, which I do not think he did?) "along the incline of the Tsung-Ling mountains, they "went on for fifteen days, and reached the Sin-to." This the translator considers to be the *Indus*, but previously he said the Sin-to was the Gilgit river, which is certainly more correct, and quite agrees with Fah-Hian's south-*westerly* course. Crossing this river, he arrived in "the country of Ou-chang." Elsewhere he says, "Ou-chang is the name of a river." The country he refers to I believe to be what, in these Notes, is described as the Dara'h of Ḍángrak, and the Ou-chang river to be the river of Ḍángrak described at page 188, which, after its junction with the river flowing out of the Kanjut Dara'h, near Da-yaur, is known as the Gilgit river. The rest of Fah-Hian's route in these immediate parts towards the river of Kábul I have endeavoured to point out and verify at page 181, which see.

The next Buddhists who visited these parts were Hwui Seng and Sung Yun, the latter of whom is said to have been a native of Tibbat, in the year 518 A.D., just four years before the commencement of the Muḥammadan era, when Kubád, son of Fírúz, the Sásáníán, reigned over Í-rán-Zamín, and the year in which the elder Justin was raised to the Roman purple. In the translation of these travels by Beal we have the following, at page 183:—"After entering the Tsung-Ling (or Onion mountains), "step by step we crept up for four days, and then reached the highest point of the "range. . . . The kingdom of Han-pan-to [on the previous page the translator "says that Pan-to is probably Han-pan-to, and that Khartchou and Han-pan-to are "the same] stretches as far as the crest of those mountains. To the west of the "Tsung-Ling mountains all the rivers flow to the westward [here the Oxus and its "tributaries, and the Palpí-Sang, or river of Chitrál or Káshḳár, are referred to.] . . . "To the eastward of the capital of this country [Han-pan-to, Pan-to, or Khartchou] "there is a rapid river (or a river, Mang-tsin,* or a wide-ford river) flowing to the "N.E. towards Sha-leh (Sand-curb)." Here the Zar-Afshán, described by Muḥammad Haidar, is plainly indicated—*see* note §§, page 309. "At last, in the middle decade of "the 9th month, we entered the *kingdom* of Poh-ho (*Bolor?*).† . . . . The high "lands of the Tsung-Ling mountains do not produce trees or shrubs. . . . . The "mountains here are as lofty and the gorges as deep as ever. . . . . *To the south* "*of this country* (Poh-ho) *are the great snowy mountains, which, in the morning and* "*evening vapours, rise up like gem spires* [*bilaur*, or crystal, spires?] *opposite one.*" Here, evidently, Bilaur, for the word means crystal, is referred to (which was *south* of Poh-ho), and also, or rather including, Tíraj-Mír of Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh, which forms a portion of it, and respecting which Sháh Riẓá quoted the lines given at page 156:—

"Zú-l-Ḳarnain went towards the Koh-i-Ḳáf.
He saw it was a mountain (range) *like an emerald* clear." Etc.

It is also referred to and described at pages 157 and 187.

The author of these surveys, also says, at page 188, with reference to a portion of this great snowy range—and his words may well be repeated here—"you begin to "ascend the mighty range, and, moving upwards in the direction of north, for a "distance of four kuroh, reach a ridge of the mountains, where you come to a "halt. The crest of the range, which towers to the heavens, and which from the "abundance of ice and snow appears like unto *bilaur*, or crystal, lies on the left hand, "and the river of Chitrál or Káshḳár on the right."

The narrative of the Buddhist pilgrims, or agents rather, goes on to say, "In the "middle decade of the 11th month we entered the country of Shie Mi (Cashmere).‡ "The country is just beyond the Tsung-Ling mountains. . . . . On the first "decade of the 12th month we entered Ouchang (Oudyâna). On the north, this "country borders on the Tsung-Ling mountains."

The next Buddhist pilgrim was Hiouen-Thsang, who visited these parts between the seventh and twenty-second year of the Muḥammadan era, 629—644 A.D., between the reign of the infant Ardá-Sher, son of Sherwaiah, the Akásirah, who nominally

* The Yángí-Shahr of Yár-ḳand is styled Mangshín—Mang-tsín?—to this day.

† At page 187 Beal says Po-lu-lai is *Bolor*. *See* the Dara'hs mentioned in the Forty-fourth Route, page 188.

‡ It is very evident that, if these Buddhist agents came through the Káshghar State into the kingdom of Poh-ho, and that is Bilaur, and subsequently entered Suwát, which Oudyâna is said to be, Shie Mi cannot possibly refer to Kash-mír, but rather to some small territory immediately north-west of the Dara'h of Suwát, the Báshḳár Dara'h probably.

exercised authority for a year and a half, in 628–29 A.D., and that of Yazdajird-i-Shahr-yár, Hiouen-Thsang having returned about the final extinction of the Í-rání empire, by the murder of Yazdajird-i-Shahr-yár, by a peasant of Marw, in 21 H.—642 A.D. He appears to have taken a more westerly route than his predecessors, by way of Shásh, also called Cháj (afterwards known as Tásh-kand, *i.e.*, Stone-Town), and Khujand, to the Oxus, and to have entered the State of Ṭukháristán, or the territory ruled by the Hayáṭilah. (*See* "Tabakát-i-Náṣirí," note 8, page 423.) He refers to the Pá-Mír under the name of Pho-mi-lo, and to Po-lu-la, supposed to be Bilaur, which he says is situated to the *south* of Pho-mi-lo; and, if the latter is the Pá-Mír, which it appears to be, his description of the situation of Bilaur is pretty correct, but, from his statements, Báltí is not referred to, neither was it included in his Po-lu-la.

The earliest mention of Bilaur by a Muḥammadan author which I can find at present is by 'Abd-Ullah-i-Khurdád-bih,* already mentioned with respect to the Koh-i-Zahr. He wrote previous to the year 300 H. (912 A.D.), in which he died. Quoting Abú Zaid, the Ḥakím, he says, "Abú Zaid says that of the boundaries of Chín, the "first is Khutan, the second Hindústán, the third Bilaur" (بلور†, the vowels are short, not long), "and the fourth Yájúj Májúj." 'Abd-Ullah must have been a contemporary of Abú Zaid, for the latter was still living when the former died.

Abú Ríḥán, or Bú Ríḥán, surnamed Al-Bírúní, who wrote towards the close of the year 400 H. (1010 A.D.), in his account of the geography of Hind, says, respecting the mountains of that region (as I take it from Rashíd-ud-Dín's Jámi'-ut-Tawáríkh, and the Fanákatí), "Another koh (range of mountains), is Kalárchál, and it is like a "dome of *bilaur* (or crystal). It is like the koh of Damáwand, which is never "free from snow. . . . . There are other kohs (mountains) of *bilaur*, and on "account of their loftiness they are called Shamílán" [in one copy, "Ḥamílán," which, from the first letter, must be incorrect, the Arabic ح—ḥ—not occurring in other than 'Arabic words. Another copy has, "And the mountains of *bilaur* (are) in "the direction of Turkistán, named or known as Shamílán"]. "After a journey of "twelve days" [in one copy "two days"] "the territory of Turkistán is reached, which "they call Mahá-rú-mán, and the ruler thereof is called Bhut Sháh.‡ The towns are "Gilgit,§ or Gilgít, Asúrah (Astúr), and Saliás [also written Sílás, and Shaliás, for "Chilás], and other places. The people speak the Turkí language, and the inhabitants "of Kash-mír suffer greatly from their attacks and depredations. . . . . The "Áb-i-Sind (Abáe-Sín, or Indus) issues from the mountains of Ámal [in another "copy, Amak], out of the borders of the Turk, and the mountains of *bilaur* and "[*sic* here] Shamílán. After twelve days' [*sic* here also] journey you reach the "(country of the?) Kahabáwarí [also written بهتاوريه but evidently meant for "Bhutáwariyah, as it is a mere repetition of a previously quoted sentence], from "whose depredations and irruptions the people of Kash-mír suffer."‖

Minháj-ud-Dín, 'Usmán, the son of Saráj-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the author of the Tabakát-i-Náṣirí, mentions Bilaur two or three times in his account of the Shansabání Tájzík rulers of Bámíán and Tukháristán, the first of whom began to reign about 550 H. (1155 A.D.). In the first place, when referring to the territory

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* *See* also "Ṭabakát-i-Náṣirí," note to page 922.

† The word is not spelt بلاور with ا either in Persian or Turkish,—but the *l* is sometimes doubled—*billaur*.

A writer on Central Asia, in the "Quarterly Review" for October, 1866, page 480, says, "*The name of* "*Bolor or Belur was unknown to the old Mahommedan geographers*, and is very rarely used even by modern "Arabic or Persian writers." The opposite is the fact, however, as herein proved, for both persons mentioned are Muḥammadans and old geographers.

‡ The Kash-mírís of the present day style all Dárds by the general name of Bhut.

§ Major Biddulph, in his book "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh," tells us that Gilgiṭ is a very modern name. He says (page 20), "The ancient name of it was *Sargin*," and that, "later, the name of Gilgit was given to it," and that "the Sikh and Dogra conquerors" have changed it to Gilgit. Here we have a proof of its being called Gilgiṭ upwards of eight centuries and a half ago. His opinion that "Mahommedanism appeared in "Gilgit about the end of the 13th century," is equally erroneous, for Bábar Bádsháh, and the Yúsufzí chroniclers, tell us that Islám was unknown in these parts; and, even later, the Mirzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, tells us it was a Káfiristán in his day.

‖ Al-Bírúní is rendered differently in "Elliot," Vol. I., page 46, in the following manner:—

"Then there are the mountains of Bíllúr in the direction of Turkistán, which are denominated Shamílán. "In two days' journey you arrive *at* [*sic*] Turkistán, where the Bhutawariyas dwell. Their king is called "Bhút Sháh, and their countries (bilád) are Gilgit, Asúra, Salás," &c. In a footnote between brackets it is added that "the Billúr-tágh, or crystal mountains," run north *through* Badakhshán, which is a great error. In his "Biographical Index" this is very differently translated, and more correctly I think. *See* remarks on Bilaur, at page 302.

A little farther on (page 64) it is said that "the Sind river rises in the mountains of Ámak, on the borders "of the Turkish country. Passing the mountains of Bilúr [*sic* here], *and* Shamílán, *it* reaches in two days' "journey the country of the Bhútawárí Turks." *See* also note 6 to this paragraph in Elliot.

ruled over by these Sultáns, he says (page 421), "That tract of country has also been "famed and celebrated, to the uttermost parts of the countries of the world, for its "mines of gold, silver, rubies, and crystal (*bilaur*), bejádah (*jade*),* and other "precious things." Again, at page 423, he says: "Malik Fakhr-ud-Dín, Mas'úd, having ascended the throne, the adjacent "hill territories, [namely] the mountain "tract of Shaknán, Tukháristán, as far as Dar-gún, and Bilaur, and the tracts towards "Turkistán, to the boundaries of Wakhsh and Badakhshán, the whole came under "his jurisdiction." To the above a note is appended in which I mention the discrepancy which exists respecting the name of Dar-gún, and that one of the best copies of the text has Dar-kot, Dar-kút, or Dar-got, *k* and *g* in Persian, unless specially marked, being intended to represent both.

It is not improbable that Darkut, mentioned at page 188 of these Notes, is the place referred to by Minháj-ud-Dín, which is the name of a darah situated to the north of the route from Chitrál to Warshigum and Gilgit and Saigur—in the very tract of the pilgrims, Hwui Seng and Sung Yun—the chief place in which gives name to the dara'h, and no other than the scene of Hayward's murder. See note ||, page 188, and †, page 189. This dara'h would itself be included in Bilaur according to Muhammad Haidar's definition of its boundaries; and in the note 1, page 423, of the Tabakát-i-Násirí, to the words "Dar-gún and Bilaur," the former of which I now believe to be meant for Darkut, I mention that "the oldest copy of the text has Dar-gún of "Bilaur." In another place, page 431, the author of the Tabakát-i-Násirí says, that the dominions of the Sultán, Bahá-ud-Dín, Sám, extended "in the east, as far as "the frontier of Kash-mír; in the west, as far as the boundary of Tirmid and Balkh; "north, as far as the bounds of Káshghar; and south, as far as Ghúr and "Gharjistán."

Bilaur is contained in the Zíj-i-Íl-Khání, or Astronomical Tables of the Khwájah, Nasír-ud-Dín, Muhammad, the Túsí, and is said to be situated in lat. 37° and long. 108.° This would just bring it between Bálti, the Dara'h of Mastúch, and the Sárigh Kol, which agrees pretty closely with Muhammad Haidar's explanation. The Túsí's Tables were compiled in the year after the Tabakát-i-Násirí was completed, namely in 659 H. (1261 A.D.); and a deal about the Túsí, and his doings, will be found in that History respecting the capture of Baghdád by the Mughals, and the erection of the Observatory near Marághah.

The dominions of the Sultáns of Bámíán and Tukháristán, according to the Jahán-Ará, and other works, are also said to have extended north to the territory of Káshghar; south to Ghúr and Gharjistán; east to Kash-mír (as it was then constituted); and west as far as Tirmiz or Tirmid.

The next mention of Bilaur is contained in the Asár-ul-Bilád, of Zakaríyá, son of Muhammad, a native of Kazwín, who wrote a few years after Minháj-ud-Dín, but it is very brief. "Bilaur is a nook (*lit.*, a corner) in one *mauza'* in which snow falls "without intermission for three months in the year, and the sun's orb does not "appear." Where it lies is not mentioned, but it is further stated that, "There is an "idol temple therein, in which is an idol in the form of a female, and by its "means diseases of long standing are cured. The sick person is brought to this idol, "and his or her two hands are placed on the two breasts of the idol, on which two "drops issue from them—one from each breast. These are mixed with water and "given to the sick person to drink, and a cure is effected."

Bilaur is also mentioned in the annals of Kash-mír. The Sultán, Shiháb-ud-Dín, son of 'Alá-ud-Dín, succeeded his father in the sovereignty of Kash-mír in 761 H. (1360 A.D.), but some say in 758 H., and others, in 760 H. After he became firmly established on the throne, he prepared to undertake foreign conquests, or rather, inroads into other countries. First he subdued Pakhla'í, the Gakhars, and Siwád-i-Gibar. He then appears to have turned his arms northwards, reducing Dár-Dú and Gilgit (in the same direction that the present Kash-mír ruler has been pushing his encroachments), and to have entered Badakhshán. "After this he entered the "*kohistán* of Bilaur"—Muhammad Haidar describes it as a *kohistán*—"and advanced

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* Jade has, for centuries, been deemed by the Turks, Tattárs, Mughals, and Khitá-ís, a sure protection against lightning, which, in Mughalistán, and adjoining parts, from the beginning of spring to the end of summer, is said to be fearful. The jade stone is supposed to divert lightning from persons who wear it about them, and also from the place in which it is contained. Another of the precious qualities it is said to possess is, that a cup or vessel made from it flies to pieces if poison is put into it; and liquor imbibed from a vessel of jade is said to allay irregular palpitations of the heart. It is also known as the "*yadah tásh*," or rain stone. See my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," note to page 941, and note 2, page 1109.

It is the *nephrite* which was so much esteemed in Europe in the middle ages, and kept about the person because it was considered a cure or remedy for diseases of the kidneys, hence the name, particularly the gravel or stone in the bladder. It was probably first brought into Europe when Bátú Khán invaded it.

the name of the "Belúr mountains," separating the dominions of the Great Mughal* from Grand Tartary. "They are called in the Mongol (Turk) language, Belúr Tagh, "or the *dark mountains*. In them rises the river Amú, there called Harat; on the "north side of which Badakhshan stands, about one hundred miles from its source."

In the map from the Jesuits' surveys, and Kyrillow's map of Russia, the Belúr Tagh, or Dark Mountains, are laid down as lying between the sources of the Oxus and the Káshghar State: in fact, the position of the Pá-Mír, but a little too far north, as Polo had described them long before.

In the version of Polo's travels in the same collection, the Venetian writer says:—"Beyond Balaxian (Badakhshán) is a river, whereon stand many castles and villages. ". . . . . Three stages farther is the province of Vokan (Wákhán), three days' "journey in length and breadth. . . . . Hence, proceeding E.N.E., you ascend "for three days and come to" (the MSS. vary—or, "you arrive at," etc.) "the "highest mountain (range?) in the world, where, between two great hills (ranges "of mountains?), is a large lake, whence runs a fine river through a plain. Near it "are charming pastures, and wild sheep, with horns some six spans long, of which "they make divers sorts of vessels. This plain (steppe—table-land), called *Pamer*, "is twelve stages long, but quite uninhabited, and so cold that no birds are seen. "From hence the road lies E.N.E. forty days' farther through the mountains, hills, "and valleys; in which are many rivers (he means, of course, minor rivers), but no

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same signification? See the extracts I have given from the old travellers, and from Elphinstone: Bolor Tágh appears in the Jesuits' maps nearly two centuries before the Yarkand Mission was appointed. Again, at page 166 of the "Report," we are informed that, "according to Mírzá Haidar, Kashgar is bounded west by Shásh "and the high mountains of Bolor, which form a chain from *north to south, when they join* the range "of Mogholistan." This, after what has before been mentioned, is astounding, but is not to be found in the copies of the Mirzá, Muḥammad Haidar's work, which I have perused, nor do I think such a statement will be found in any copy of it. *See* the extract at page 295. Nearly all the old maps, it is true, have the "Belúr Tágh," so indicated, intending to represent, I imagine, the northern limits of Bilaur, or Bilauristán.

At page 167 of the Report it is stated that Ababakr's general, Mír Wali, "in the early career of his master, "had subjugated for him the *country* of Bolor to the borders of Cayrtagin or Caratakin [he refers here, pro-"bably, to Ḳá-ir-Tigín of Muḥammed Ḥaidar], Badakhshán, Tibet, and Kashmír." In the following page we are told "Ababakr subjugated Bolor," and that its west limit is Durwazi Wakhán of Badakhshán, and Sarigh Chopan of the Kashgharis. Baltistán must be an extensive territory if it extends west as far as "Cayrtagin" and "Durwazi Wakhán," because at page 24 of the "Report" we are told, as before noticed, that Baltistán is *Bolor*. Abú-Bikr never obtained a footing in Kash-mír, but, "as far as the frontier of Kash-mír;" and Muḥammad Ḥaidar was the first Mughal on record who penetrated into it from the north, although it was more than once invaded by the Mughals from the south, after the downfall of the Khwárazmí empire.

Lieutenant-Colonel T. E. Gordon writes ("Report," page 231): "We made repeated inquiries from "Kirghiz and Wakhis, and Fatteh Ali Shah, regarding 'Bólór,' as a name for any mountain, country, or "place, but all professed perfect ignorance of it." Had inquiry been made for the Kohistán of Bilaur, the Ḳirghíz might have proved not quite so ignorant, but, notwithstanding this statement, I find the same writer referring to "Bilaur Bas, 25 miles below the lake of Great Pamir, or Wood's lake."

In another place, Captain H. Trotter likewise refers to "Bilaur Bas," and also remarks that "The old "Chinese geographers, who did indeed link together the 'Bolor' (*sic*) and the 'Karakoram,' under the common "name of 'Tsung Ling' or 'Onion Mountains,' were not far wrong in their ideas."

In the Introduction to the new edition of Wood's "Oxus," before referred to, Colonel Yule says (page lv.), "with regard to Bolor, I will only state here the conclusion that there is no real evidence for the existence of "a state, town, or river, called Bolor, on the western side of Pamir, and my opinion that the name has become "so tainted, first by mistake, and next by fiction, that it would be well rigidly to exclude it from geography "for the future." These remarks may apply to a Bolor *west* of the Pá-Mír, but the error has been in mistaking Bolor for Bilaur; and to exclude the name from geography *east* and *south* of the Pá-Mír is scarcely necessary.

In a note he adds that "M. Severtzoff's suggestion, that the Chinese name of Tsungling should be adopted "by geographers for the mountain mass in question, is well worthy of attention."

Major J. Biddulph, in his book "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh" (page 147), says, "The Bolor of Marco "Polo was probably Sirikol, which, no doubt, formed part of the Baltistan kingdom." Mírzá Ḥaidar, however, shows that "Sirikol" did not form any part of "Baltistan."

In another place (page 146), he says, "There can be, I think, little doubt that it is to Iskardo we must look "for the centre of the *ancient kingdom of Bolor*, as suggested by General Cunningham. In Gilgit, Hunza, "Nager, and all the valleys to the westward, the name Iskardo is almost unknown, and the place is called "'Palor,' 'Balors,' or 'Balornts.'" I do not gather, however, from the hasty glance given to Major Biddulph's book, since the first part of these remarks was written, that he has visited either "Hunza" or "Nager," and "all the valleys to the westward." Here, it will be observed, we have the *ancient kingdom of Bolor*, but the mention of that "kingdom" I have never yet met with in any work. It is the old fiction over again.

I notice also, that Major Biddulph appears to apply the name of "Hindoo Koosh," not only to the Hindú Koh range, sometimes called, after one of its passes, Hindú Kush (with short *u*), but also to the mountains bounding the Káshghar State on the south-west and south. If so it is a mistake. Moorcroft and Trebeck erroneously style the same mountains "Pamer." *See* Vol. I., page 365.

I have brought these various statements together here to show the conflicting state of the case for and against the existence of Bilaur or Bilauristán, when at the same time, the matter lies in a nutshell, and its position, features, and boundaries, had been already pointed out by the Mírzá, Muḥammad Haidar, upwards of three centuries and a half ago.

* *See* page 309.

"habitations, or any herb. *The country* is called *Beloro.* The tops of the mountains, "indeed, are inhabited by a wild idolatrous people" (the Spín Káfirís, doubtless, are here referred to).

Polo's description, as above given, is tolerably correct, save as to the direction, which is a little too far to the north, and the distance between the Pá-Mír lake and the country of "Beloro," but his probable meaning is, that from the Pá-Mír it extends about forty stages farther eastward. This seems the more probable, because he says Kaskar (Káshghar) is but four days' journey in extent. It is very strange, however, that he does not give the name of the "fine river" and "large lake."

In the Jesuits' maps, the mountains called "Belûr Tágh" are laid down between Badakhshán and Yár-kand, but are also made to extend a little too far north.

Klaproth's description of Bilaur and parts adjacent, extracted from Chinese accounts, is quite correct, and confirms what the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, said centuries before, that Báltí is totally distinct from Bilaur, which lies east of Badakhshán, and south-west of Yár-ḳand, and, a part of it, north of Báltí. The submission of the ruler of Káshḳár to the Chinese Government I have referred to elsewhere.*

Klaproth, translating from the Chinese Imperial Geography, says ("Magasin Asiatique," Vol I., page 96) :—

"This country [Bolor, as he spells it] is situated to the south-west of Yarkiang and to the east of Badakhchán. The route by which its tribute reaches Pekin is the same as for that of other Muhammadan countries. Under the Han (dynasty) Bolor was made part of Ou-tchha; under the Goei it was the kingdom of A Keou khiang.

"In 1749, its prince, Chakhou Chamed [may be Chakou Chah Amed],† submitted to

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* *See* page 187.

† This *might* be read Sháh Khush-Ámad. *See* pages 154 and 188, where the fact of Ḳáshḳár being subject to China is mentioned.

Major Biddulph, in his book, "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh," gives Tables of the Katooré of Chitral," and the "Kushwakté of Yassin." He says (page 150) that towards the end of the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth century (I will, for example, say from 1695—1705 A.D.), the then "*Reis,*" as he spells Ra'ís, "of "the same family as the rulers of Gilgit before the introduction of Mahommedanism," adopted "a certain Baba "Eyoub, said to have been of a noble Khorasan family;" and, according to the same Tables, the great great grandson of this Bábá Aiyúb, named "Mahommed Beg," which is a curiously Turkish name for a Tájzík, had five sons, two of whom were twins, and named respectively, "Shah Khush Amad" and "Shah Khushwakt," and a third was called "Shah Katoor."

Then we are told that "Shah Khush Amad was wanting in ability," and was therefore "set aside in favour "of Katoor, from whom the present Katoor family are descended." Consequently, this "Shah Khush Amad" cannot be the same as Klaproth's Chakhou Chamed, who submitted to the Chinese in 1749, and who appears, from Klaproth's extract, to have been still alive in 1763 and 1769, for the former, having been set aside, could not have reigned. If we allow an average of but twenty years to each generation of this Bábá Aiyúb's descendants from 1705 the following will be the result. I give the names as they appear in Major Biddulph's book :—

1st, Baba Eyoub, 1695—1705.
2nd, Shah Midhat, 1705—1725.
3rd, Shah Madad, 1725—1745.
4th, Shah Sangali, 1745—1765.
5th, Mahammed Beg, 1765—1785.
6th, Khush Amad (and Reza, his brother), 1785—1805.
7th, Shah Afzal I. (his brother's son was father of Khan Bahadoor), 1805—1830.
8th, Shah Katoor [Sháh-i-Kaṭor, father of Tajammul Sháh], 1830—1850.
9th, Shah Afzal II., 1850—1870.

This last-mentioned chief was the father of the Amán-ul-Mulk, the present ruler of Chitrál, and died in 1858. The first "Shah Afzal, son of Katoor, the founder of the Katooré dynasty, and brother of Khush Amad," had four sons, one of whom is named in this table, "Khan Bahadoor." The name of Khán Bahádur, Bádsháh, Chief of Shaghut, is mentioned at page 158 of these "Notes," but he was the chief of that territory in 1789–90, whereas, allowing twenty years for each generation, his time would be from 1830 to 1850. Khush Amad's father likewise had a son, named "Reza," and according to this Table, "Reza" would be Khán Bahádur's grandfather's brother. "Reza" is, doubtless, meant for Riẓá; and the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh of Drúsh, the personal friend and informant of the author of these surveys, was contemporary with Khán Bahádur, Bádsháh; and the latter, if not very young in 1789–90, could not have been much, if at all, past middle age from what is said about him at page 154, consequently, it is scarcely possible that Khán Bahádur could have been the contemporary of his great grandfather's brother, otherwise the years 1785 to 1805 would agree very well for Sháh Riẓá.

If we allow fifteen, or even ten, years between each generation, the periods will scarcely agree better :—

1st, Baba Eyoub, 1695—1705.
2nd, Shah Mihdat, 1705—1720, or 1705—1715.
3rd, Shah Madad, 1720—1735, or 1715—1725.
4th, Shah Sangali, 1735—1750, or 1725—1735.
5th, Muhammad Beg, 1750—1765, or 1735—1745.
6th, Kush Amad, and Reza, his brother, 1765—1780, or 1745—1755.
7th, Shah Afzal I. (father of Khan Bahadoor), 1780—1795, or 1755—1765.
8th, Shah Katoor II., 1795—1810, or 1765—1775.
9th, Shah Afzal II., 1810—1825, or 1775—1785.

the Chinese, and his territory was included within the limits of the empire. The year following, he despatched Chah Bek as an ambassador to the Emperor, who received him with kindness, bade him to a feast, and delivered to him a diploma for his master.

"In 1763, another ambassador took the tribute, consisting of swords and battle-axes. The year after that, this country (Bolor) was invaded by Sultan-çhah of Badakhchan; then the Prince of Bolor sought aid from the Chinese General commanding at Yarkiang. He called upon Sultan-chah to evacuate Bolor, and to cease from hostilities. The King of Badakhchan conformed to this command, and Chakhou Chamed wrote a letter of thanks. The two adversaries sent ambassadors, and the tribute, to the Emperor, consisting of poignards, of most excellent quality, along with them.

"In 1769, a new tribute of *yu* stone (jade) and poignards arrived from Bolor, and since that time it has always been remitted at the prescribed period."

On the following page he (Klaproth) says, that Báltí "is south of Bolor;" but Báltí, called "Baltistan" in our maps, never included "Sirikol," neither is "Sirikol" likely to have been "the Bolor of Marco Polo."

I mentioned the mountains of Bilauristán in my account of the Káfiristán as far back as 1859, in my notice of the five principal rivers flowing through the Káfirí territory, in the following terms:—"The largest of the five principal rivers above "alluded to, the most easterly, and separating the upper part of Káfiristán from "Chitrál or Káshkár, rises on the southern slope of the Bulút Tágh or Cloudy Moun- "tains (in the Turkí language), but known to the Afgháns, and other tribes inhabit- "ing these regions, by the Persian (Tájzík) name of Bilauristán or the 'Region of "Crystal,' from the quantities of that substance found there, at the Táláb-i-Níl, or "'Blue Lake,' lying farther to the south than that of the Sir-i-kol (Sar-i-Kol)* "visited by Wood, which is considered by him to be the source of the Oxus." Page 5.

In my "Account of Káshkár," published in 1864, I again mentioned Bilauristán:— "the mountainous region to the west of the Yár-kand river," bounding Káshkár on the north-east, and "known to the people of these regions as Bilauristán, or the

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The latter died in 1858. Neither of the above periods would suit for the Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh, of these "Notes," but 1795 to 1810, allowing fifteen years for each generation, would suit Khán Bahádur, Bádsháh, but not his great grandfather's brother, Sháh Riẓá.

Turning to the Table of the "Khushwakté" dynasty of "Yassin," the same discrepancies occur. Allowing twenty years between each generation, the following is the result:—

1st, Shah Khushwakt, brother of Khush Amad, 1785—1805.
2nd, Asmatoolah, his son, 1805—1825.
3rd, Khyroolah, his son, 1825—1845.
4th, Suliman Shah, son of Shah Badshah, son of Shah Alum, son of Khushwakt, the next generation, 1845—1865.

The last-mentioned person, however, was killed, or died, in 1829; and Gauhar (not Gohr) Amán Sháh, surnamed Chál, son and successor of Malik Amán—"Moolk, or Mulk, Aman" is meaningless applied to a man, and "Gaur Rahmân," as Mr. F. Drew writes it, is equally so—was ruler of Mastúch and Yasin, or Upper Káshkár—such a term as Upper Chitrál is unknown—when I wrote my account of those States, and died in 1860; and Ghulám Maḥáy-ud-Dín, the Pahlawán Bahádur, son of Gauhar Amán, is the present ruler.

It will be noticed that, in the above list, the name "Khyroolah," meant for Khair-Ullah, occurs. It also occurs in these "Notes," for Sháh Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh, mentioned at pages 154, 161, and other places, was the supreme ruler of the Káshkár State when these surveys were made, but the period above mentioned will not suit for him, he being the ruler in 1789–90. If we, as in the case of the other dynasty, compute fifteen or ten years between each generation, the first period will suit much better for my Sháh Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh. The following are the results:—

1st, Shah Khushwakt, 1765—1780, or 1745—1755.
2nd, Asmatoolah, 1780—1795, or 1755—1765.
3rd, Khyroolah, 1795—1810, or 1765—1775.
4th, Suliman Shah, 1810—1825, or 1775—1785.

If the "Khyroolah" mentioned above is the same as my Sháh Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh, who was ruling when these surveys were made, and contemporary with the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh of Drúsh, the latter would also be his great grandfather's brother. Can such be possible? I trow not. Unfortunately, the author of these surveys does not mention the names of the fathers of these chiefs to guide us, and Major Biddulph gives not a single date respecting them, with the exception of "towards the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the "seventeenth century," while some other writers say that the "Khushwakti dynasty" is not much older than the present century.

For the above reasons, there must be some errors in Major Biddulph's Tables, but with the facts recorded by the author of these surveys respecting the three Bádsháhs named in these "Notes" to guide him, he will now be able to correct them.

* *Kol* in Persian, signifies a lake, a pond, &c.; and, in Turkí, *ḳol* signifies a dara'h or valley between two ranges of mountains. Sir-i-kol is not the name of the lake itself, and is the vitiated form of Sárígh Ḳol, the *ḳol* or lake in the Sárígh Ḳol or Yellow Valley. The Sanskrit for lake is *sara*.

" 'Region of Crystal,' from the quantity of that substance with which it abounds." Page 2.

It is satisfactory to find, after all that has been written to prove that such a tract does not exist, that the tide has now set the other way, and that this well known Bilaur, or Bilauristán, after all, does exist, and in nearly the same position as pointed out by old travellers and geographers, whose explanations appear to have been misunderstood. In mentioning the "Belors," the writers did not intend to show, apparently, or to have it supposed, that there was any particular tribe of people so called. They merely referred to the people dwelling in that particular tract which was harried by Muḥammad Ḥaidar and Rashíd Sulṭán, in the same loose way as people write of "Wakhis," "Badakhshís," "Shignanis," "Khokandis," and the like, when at the same time they may be Turks, Mughals, or Tájzíks, and is not half so absurd as styling, "for convenience sake," all the races between Kash-mír and Hindú-Koh "Dards," and the whole of that vast tract "Dardistan," while Dár-Dú is but a small territory. In the same way, the main river running through the region referred to, and styled "the Belor river," would not mean that the river was actually called "Belor," but that it was the river flowing through "Belor," in the same way as the river *of* Kábul is styled by European writers "the Kábul river." If Bilaur contained a single place worthy of being called a town, and all else were villages and small hamlets, such place would, in all likelihood, be called, if it had no specific name, "the "town *of* Bilaur," that is, the town lying in the country or territory known as Bilaur. This occurs over and over again, and the error has been constantly made of taking the meaning in a sense different from that which the native author meant. For example, we constantly read of "the city of Kharism." There was no city so called: the reference is to the chief city in the kingdom of Khwárazm, and that was called Ŭrganj by the Turks, Jurjáníah by the 'Arabs, and Gurgánj by the 'Ajamís. In the same way, Bernier writes of "the city *of* Kashmire," for there is no city so called, and never was, except in the sense I have mentioned.

From the different descriptions given by the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, and other Musalmán historians and geographers, here recorded, and the statements of the old European travellers, Bilaur or Bilauristán consists of that mountainous tract of country lying between the Pá-Mír (described at page 188), on the north, and the range bounding the Dara'h of Suwát, on the south; and from the territory of Báltí, on the east, to the mighty range pierced by the Do-Ráhah, Apá-luk, and other *Kotals*, on the west. On this last-mentioned side, however, according to Muḥammad Ḥaidar, Bilaur embraced the western half of the Káfiristán as at present known to us, as far west as the Dara'hs of Panj-her and Nijr-Áo, forming the eastern boundary of the Kábul province in that direction, and south as far as the northern parts of the dependent Dara'hs of Lamghán, described at pages 101 to 103, namely, the Dara'hs of Alingár, 'Alí Shang, Wálá-Sá'ú, and Budr-Áo.

In other words, Bilaur or Bilauristán extended on the west from the crest of the mountain range running down south from the Do-Ráhah *Kotal* towards Pashat of Kúnaṛ on the river of Káshkár or Chitrál. Its southern boundary was the range separating Chitrál from Bájawṛ, and which is crossed by the Hindú-Ráj Ghás'haey or Pass, and the Láhorí *Kotal*, described at pages 126 and 143. This range runs upward, in the direction of north-east, towards the Tal Pass, with the Báshkár Dara'h on the south, after which the mountains bend sharply towards the south-east for about twenty miles, and then, as sharply, towards the north-east again for about the same distance. After this they run nearly due east, as far as Búnjzey, on the Abáe-Sín or Indus, when they throw out branches to the right and left, one of which, the northern one, extends as far east as Saigur (the Shigár of Muḥammad Ḥaidar) and the Dara'h of Balotar to the north of it, described at page 191, at which point Dángrak terminates, after which it becomes blended with, or lost among, great snowy mountains which extend farther east, and form the boundary between Báltí and Yár-kand, and stretch away, still farther to the east, to within a few miles of the Kará-Kuram Pass.

The northern boundary of Bilaur was formed by the mountain range of Hindú-Koh, Tíraj-Mír, Sarowar, or Kund, as it is variously styled by different races, and described at page 156. It runs up from the Do-Ráhah *Kotal* in the direction of north-east, and the crest of it marks the boundary between Badakhshán, on one side, and the Káfiristán and the Káshkár State, on the other, to within a few miles south of the junction of the two main branches of the upper Oxus at Panj or Panja'h. It then runs nearly due east, in the direction of the Palpí-Sang Pass, which comes out upon the elevated tract described at page 188, known as the Pá-Mír, which bounds Bilaur or Bilauristán on its extreme

northern point, as far to the east as the parallel of 74° of east longitude, when the mountains bend to the east-south-east, and separate the Dara'h of Kanjut, which is included in Ḍángrak, from Rás-gám and Tágh Dum-Básh of Yár-ḳand, and merge in the great snowy mountains before referred to as bounding Báltí on the north.

All within the boundaries here given constitutes the Bilaur or Bilauristán of Muḥammad Ḥaidar, a maze of stupendous mountains, and containing within its area, probably, a greater number of giant mountains and lofty peaks than any similar area in the world; but Bilaur proper, if I may be allowed to use the term, and what the other older Muḥammadan writers and the old travellers appear to have referred more particularly, was the northern half of the tracts contained within the bounds here described, including the Dara'hs of Naghar, Shaghut, the two Kuhobs, Bushḳar (not to be confounded with Báshḳár), Mastúch, and Ḍángrak and its dependent dara'hs, in one of which Yasin is situated, as described at page 189. What the old travellers styled the river of Bilaur is the Ḍángrak river and its tributaries, as I have described it. The author of these surveys only applies the name of Abáe-Sín to the great river, which we call the Indus, after the junction of the river of Ḍángrak with it above Búnjzey.*

By the Suwát boundary must be understood the boundary of the territory ruled by the Gibarí Sulṭáns, or, as they are also styled, the Jahán-gíríán Sulṭáns, before they were forced to evacuate Suwát by the Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ Afgháns.

After this long digression I return to the subject of Tibbat.

"It is stated that, during the reign of Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh of Dihlí, hostilities broke out between the Úzbaks of Yár-ḳand and the Táttár Ḥákims, or rulers, in consequence of which the routes leading into the Badakhsháns† were closed. On this occasion Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh, by means of a gift of 60,000 *khar-wárs* of grain, each *khar-wár* being two and a half *pukhtah manns*,‡ brought the ruler of the territory of Laddákh to acknowledge allegiance to him, and opened the route in that direction. The ruler of (the Little ?) Tibbat likewise placed his forehead on the threshold of obedience to the same Bádsháh, and adopted, and made current, within his territory, the coin and linear measures of the Dihlí kingdom, in return for which an annual grant, by way of a *jágír*, was assigned to the Rájah, of 60,000 *khar-wárs* of grain on the Sar-kár, or province of Kash-mír. Subsequently, in the time of Rájah Sukhh-Jíwan, by command of Aḥmad Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání, Bádsháh of Kábul, who had obtained the cession of Kash-mír, and other provinces, from the Mughal ruler of Dihlí, in 1164 H. (1751 A.D.), this grant was abolished."

The historians of Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh's reign do not mention this affair, although it is very probable. They, however, relate that an expedition was undertaken against the ruler of the Lesser Tibbat in 1047 H. (1637-38 A.D.), which territory is called قرانهت—Ḳaránhet,§ and that both Kár-Dú,‖ as they call the chief place in that territory, which is also called Skár-Dú—and, by Hindústánís and others,¶ who cannot pronounce a word beginning with a consonant without the aid of an initial vowel, Iskár-Dú—and the stronghold of Shigár,** founded by 'Alí Ráe, the Tibbatí, were gained possession of. Its ruler, Abdál, by name, was compelled to fly to Káshghar; and his brother's son, Muḥammad Murád, was made ruler in his stead.

The rulers of the Tibbats had been in the habit, long previous to this, of sending presents to the rulers of the Dihlí empire. When Akbar Bádsháh was in Kash-mír in 996 H. (1588–89 A.D.), but, according to the statements of some writers, in 997 H. (1589–90 A.D.), he despatched envoys to each of these rulers, "as they had been in the "habit of sending valuable presents for the Bádsháh's acceptance, and accounted them-"selves among the friends of that monarch." Mír Beg was sent to the presence of 'Alí Ráe, the ruler of the Lesser or Little Tibbat, and Mullá Ṭálib, the Iṣfahání, to

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* *See* page 191.

† As in the Great Tibbats previously mentioned, and in "the Lamgháns," at page 104, the plural form is used here also.

‡ About 200 lbs.

§ *Sic* in MSS., but I fancy it is meant for قرا تبّت—Ḳará or Black—barren, dreary, or inhospitable—Tibbat. *See* note §, next page.

‖ The same termination, it will be observed, as in Dár-Dú.

¶ Not Musalmáns only, as some writers pretend.

** Muḥammad Ḥaidar says, in his History, that this was the first place taken by Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán, in the expedition undertaken in 938 H. (1531–32) A.D.). "Shigár was then the seat of government of all Báltí, "which is the northern part of Tibbat, and terminates at Bilaur. One of the *mauza'*—villages, places, etc.—"of Báltí is Sorú, the strongest and most impregnable in the whole country." *See* page 139 for the description of the situation and boundaries of Bilaur, and page 295.

the ruler of the Great Tibbat, whose name, unfortunately, is not given. Akbar Bádsháh, on the same occasion, whilst at Shiháb-ud-Dín-púr, received a visit from Ḳuraish Sulṭán, ruler of Káshghar, a descendant of "the Chingiz Khán" or "the Great Khán," the Mughal.

On another occasion, Akbar Bádsháh despatched his agents to the rulers of the Tibbats; for when he went to Kash-mír in 1005 H. (1596–97 A.D.), Aiyúb Beg, and others, "who had been despatched to the Ḥákims or rulers of the Tibbats, arrived, "bearing offerings of great value. They informed him that the principal Ḥákims, "thus showing that there were several petty rulers, were agreeable to acknowledge "allegiance to the Bádsháh, read the khuṭbah for him, and to stamp his name and "titles on their coins."

I now resume the account of the route from Laddákh to Yár-ḳand.

"Setting out from Laddákh, you proceed one long *manzil* or stage to Suyú,* the name of a desolate halting place, situated at the foot of a mighty mountain range, which they also call by the name of Suyú.† From thence the next *manzil* brings you to Áḳ‡-Gám, which is the name of a small village; and, by the way, you have to cross the mountain range of Suyú.

"From Áḳ-Gám or Áḳ-village, ten *manzils* bring you to Ḳará-Ḳuram,§ which is the name of a great mountain range, out of which a river flows, which first runs towards the south-west, and then inclines to the south-east. Subsequently, turning south again, it passes Áḳ-Gám, and afterwards bending sharply towards the left hand, in the direction of north-west, inclining west (W.N.W.), flows onwards, and, passing Kár-Dú or Skár-Dú, receives the name of Abáe-Sín.‖ At this place (Áḳ-Gám) the said river is called the Shá-yugh or Shá-yuḳ, *gh* and *ḳ* in Turkish words being interchangeable. The route lies along the bed of this river, and vast mountains tower upwards, both on the right hand and on the left. This great cleft in the mountains, from Áḳ-Gám to the Ḳará-Ḳuram, is likewise known as Shá-yugh or Shá-yuḳ, and, consequently, this river should be called, correctly, not the river Shá-yugh or Shá-yuḳ, but the river of the Shá-yugh or Shá-yuḳ.¶

"Leaving the pass over the Ḳará-Ḳuram range of mountains, you proceed four *manzils* and reach a desolate and uninhabited halting place, called Kahaplú-Aghzah,** and on the way thither you meet with a vast deal of snow, and much water, grass, and herbage. As the smell emanating from these grasses produces faintness and stupefaction, travellers take care to provide themselves with onions when they travel by this route. When a person becomes affected from the smell, and feels faintness coming over him, his companions give him an onion to eat, and also one to smell at, and this is said to be an effectual antidote.††

"From Kahaplú-Aghzah you have to proceed another five *manzils* to Chirágh Sháh, another now desolate halting place, so called after some Sayyid;‡‡ and, by the way, meet with much water, and many grassy tracts. There are springs of water here in all directions; and the water from them having united, and having been joined by other small tributaries, flows towards the north, towards Yár-ḳand, and receives the name of Zar-Afshán—The Disperser or Scatterer of Gold.§§ The people of these parts state

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* The Sasser of Major-General J. T. Walker, and Suser of the "Yarkand Mission Report," and Shaw.

† The Kailás range, the fabled residence of Kuwera, the God of riches, and the favourite haunt of Siwa, the "Destroyer."

‡ The Turkish for white, also written Ágh, *gh* and *ḳ* being interchangeable.

§ Ḳará-Ḳuram and Ḳara'h-Ḳuram, as it is also written, signifies black (*i.e.*, bad, barren, hurtful, rough, etc.) gravel, shale, or the like. The tract of country in which was the principal *urdú* of the Áwang Khán of the Karáyat tribe of the Durálgín division of the Mughal race, and where the Chingiz Khán subsequently pitched his great *urdú* and made his principal *yúrat*, was also called Ḳará or Ḳara'h-Ḳuram, from the nature of the ground. *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 875 and 942.

‖ *See* the Baloter Dara'h, page 190.

¶ Moorcroft and Trebeck say (Vol. I., p. 262): "The Shayuk is the principal river that joins the Indus "on the north. Rising at the foot of the Karakoram mountains, it flows several days' journey to the south, "till within two days' journey to the north-east of the village of Ahkam. There it receives the Duryukh, a "river that collects the waters from the eastern portions of the northern valley, and it then turns at almost "a right angle to the west. From Hundur, the capital of the district of Nobra, it flows in a direction north-"west on to Ladakh," etc.

** Perhaps signifying the place of many spurs, many mouths, or places of exit, or of ascents and descents.

†† For this reason, the custom being as "old as the hills," this range has been called the Tsung-Ling, or Onion Mountains, by the Chinese for ages past. *See also* page 145 and note ‡.

‡‡ This route avoids the Sánjú Pass, and is the "Chiragh Saldi" of Shaw, and the "Yarkand Mission Report." There is a tomb there probably of some Sayyid, or it is the site of one.

§§ The Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, says the water of the Yár-ḳand river is the purest in the world. Respecting the course of that river he says: "It rises in the mountains of Tibbat, which are full of ice and "snow, and flows from south to north for a ditsance of one month's journey. It runs with great velocity in

that the whole of the drainage or surface water issuing from the Kará-Kuram range, which flows south towards Laddákh, receives the name of Shá-yugh or Shá-yuk, while all that flows in the opposite direction towards Yár-kand is called the Zar-Afshán.

"The Mír, Sháh Rizá, Bádsháh, of Drúsh, told the author of these surveys that the people dwelling in Badakhshán, and in Kírghíz, or Kírkíz, as the name is also written, and travellers of Yár-kand, considered that the waters of the Kohistán to the north of Chitrál or Káshkár enter Badakhshán, run towards the west through that country, *and unite with the Jíhún;* and that some portion of the waters flowing from the mountains of the most western part of Tibbat, lying to the southward of Yár-kand, and farther east towards the Kará-Kuram Pass, flows towards the north, towards Yár-kand, and receives the name of Zar-Afshán. Also, that whatever waters issue from the Kohistán of Little Tibbat and that direction, to the south of Káshkár and Kírghíz [which, by this last remark, the Mír, Sháh Rizá, Bádsháh, shows he means for the name of a tract of country, and not the name of a tribe only; and in this sense Muhammad Haidar also sometimes uses it], go to form the great river known as the Abáe-Sín, which, one kuroh north of Atak-Banáras, unites with the Landaey Sín, Níl-Áb, or river of Kábul."

"The next *manzil* from Chirágh Sháh is over the Kúdú Dabán* or Kúdú Kotal, the name of the great pass over a mountain range of such vast altitude as cannot be explained.† At the crest of this range the territory of Tibbat-i-Kalán, or Great Tibbat, terminates in this direction.

"From the first Ulwás or desolate halting place, on the way from Laddákh to the Kúdú Dabán or Pass, the roughness of the road, its other difficulties, and the number of mountain ranges to be crossed, almost defy description. The snow is deep at all times during the short period that the route remains open, and to reach each halting place some range of greater or lesser altitude has to be crossed. The whole of the tract passed through, with the single exception of the Ák-Gám, is uninhabited, hence the mere names of the halting places, when they bore any, have not been given.

"The next *manzil* is to Ák-Kuram,‡ the name of a desolate halting place, but on the way thither you pass by numerous grassy spots. The country, indeed, is comparatively level, and like meadow land, in many places; and here and there on all parts of it nomad people, chiefly of the Kírghíz or Kírkíz tribe,§ pitch their felt tents and graze their flocks and cattle.

"its bed of stones and sand; and, when it enters the Sárigh Kol (Yellow Dara'h or Valley), which is a "territory dependent on Káshghar, it becomes exceedingly violent, and dashes along, over the rocks and "stones in its bed, towards the east, until it comes out into the plain, and in this plain or open country it flows "over a stony bed, still with great velocity, until it reaches opposite to Yár-kand, where the bed becomes less "stony, and it loses much of its rapidity, and becomes tranquil. One of the astonishing things respecting this "river is, that, in the beginning of spring, it gets so low, that, without exaggeration, it is doubtful whether it "is to be found at all in some places, and it is possible to cross by placing the feet from one stone (or rock) to "the other. In the summer season (when the sun is in Leo) it increases to that degree that it overflows its "banks, and spreads out for nearly a *farsakh* (league) in breadth, and in one kuroh of that, which is the middle "of it (or mid-channel), the depth will be nowhere less than ten *gaz*. In this river the Sang-i-Yashb or "Yashm (jade) is found."

Lieutenant-Colonel T. E. Gordon, of the Yarkand Mission (page 224 of the "Report"), is of opinion that "the Yarkand river may yet be regarded as rising in the Kunjut range instead of the Kárakoram [*sic*], as "hitherto believed," but the Mírzá, Muhammad Haidar, knew what he was writing, and his authority in this, and other geographical subjects, is too good to be doubted for mere speculation, while, at the same time, the author of these surveys confirms the Mírzá's statements. To judge from Major-General Walker's map, the upper course of it has not been actually explored by Europeans, as it is entered therein in dotted lines.

Shaw entered Yár-kand in December. He says, on approaching Yár-kand, "We crossed a considerable "river, which I was told is navigated by boats in the summer months when the river is full. Now it is "divided into five streams, all of them fordable." Page 173.

* Dabán or Dawáu, *b* and *w* being interchangeable, in Turkish, signifies a hill or mountain pass, of considerable elevation, in distinction from Árt, which means a defile or pass between two ranges of mountains or over low hills. This pass is the "Yungee Dewan" of Shaw, and the "Yangi Pass" of Major-General Walker.

† About 16,000 feet, and in some places 19,000.

‡ Ák-Kuram signifies white shale, gravel, or the like.

§ Kírghíz, Kírkíz, Kirghiz, or Kirkiz, and, sometimes, Karghíz, etc., with short *a*, as the word is variously written, is the name of a distinct tribe of Turks, a division of the Úír-át, who, in the time of the Chingiz Khán, who sent his son, Júji, against them (*see* "Tabakát-i-Násiri," page 969), dwelt along the banks of the Kam-Kamjíút. The Mughal Úzbak writer, the author of the Bahr-ul-Asrár, says "their original country on "one side adjoins Mughúlistán, and on the other the Salingah, on one side of which the different tribes of the "Tánjíút Mughúls dwell, and on the other side the Náemán tribe of Turks." In that same part, he says, are likewise located "the Mughúl tribes of Korkín, Burkút or Burghút, and Túm-át."

According to the Mirzá, Muhammad Haidar, Kírghíz or Kírkiz is the name applied to a tract of country, as well as to the tribe, the tract, probably, inhabited by them when he wrote. (*See* also "Tabakát-i-Násiri," note at pages 913 and 950.) He, however, says, in one place in his History, that they are a tribe of Mughúls, but this is a mistake, certainly, but he adds that the tribes of those parts had become much mixed up. This mistake is proved from what he says elsewhere, namely, that "the *Mughúls* were unable to dwell in Mughúl-

"From Áḳ-Ḳuram you proceed to Áḳ-Masjid—"The White Masjid"—which is likewise a desolate halting place, but the next *manzil*, a distance of twelve kuroh, brings you to the village of Kúgyár or Kúgiyár, at which place there is a guard-house where the transit dues are levied from traders and others on the part of the Bádsháh of Khiṭá. Another three stages, which are rather long ones, and you reach Yár-ḳand, *yár*, in the Turkish language, signifying a high bank, and *ḳand*, a town or village—The Town on the High Bank*—which is a city of considerable size, and under the sway of Zain Khán, the Hákim,† who is subject to the Bádsháh of Khiṭá. It is surrounded by extensive suburbs, consisting of gardens, orchards, and farms, which

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"istán on account of the *Kirghíz*." In his account of the Mughúl rulers he says, "At this time, which is "the year 951 H. (1544 A.D.), no person of that people having now been left who knew the traditions of the "Mughúl sovereigns, and they having become deprived and stripped of their dominions by the rise of others "to power, the author has had to undertake to record them; for had he not had the boldness to attempt it, he "believes that the records of the Mughúl Bádsháhs would have disappeared from the pages of time." These facts may account for any slight error made by such a generally most correct, careful, and well-informed writer. He adds, that all the Mughúls had become Musalmáns, but that the Ḳirghíz still remain infidels, and yet he gives some of them Musalmán names. *See* also "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note at page 889.

The ideas of modern travellers and writers appear to be very hazy respecting the various tribes of Turks, Táttárs, and Mughals, which they mix up in a terrible manner. Shaw ("Yarkand and Kashgar," page 22), writes of "pure Tartars like the Kirghiz," and says, in a foot-note, "The Kirghiz I believe are *all* Tartars." At page 25, he writes of "Toorks" *and* "Kirghiz," and believes "the latter to be all Tartars;" and then again, "The Kirghiz are of *many different tribes*, Kazak, Kipchak, Kara-Kalpak, etc., besides the true Kirghiz, who "are again subdivided into their various hordes." Again, at page 26, we have "Tartar Oozbeks;" and two pages farther on, "The Oozbeks are the most civilized of the Tartar *or* Toork tribes." At page 30 he says, "the Kipchaks form a link between the nomad and non-nomad Toorks," and on the next page we have actually "a tribe of pastoral Törks," whatever they may be.

The "Yarkand Mission Report," page 83, includes both "*Kirghiz* and *Kazák*" under the name of "*Jatah Mughol*." Then again we are told that "the Yaldúz Kalmák are Turgut and Koshot;" and immediately after, that the "Kalmák are a distinct people from the Turk tribes of Káshghar," and that they "belong to the great "*Monghol* [*sic*] *Tártár* race from the north." From this we must conclude that the writer, Mr. Bellew, makes a great difference between the "Moghol" and the "Monghol-Tártár race." What utter confusion!

To show the extent of this confusion we have merely to mention that Mr. Bellew ("Report," page 59) questioned a "Kirghiz," who said, but the force of his answer does not appear to have been appreciated, "*I* "*belong to the Naymán tribe;*" and that there were "a thousand houses [he meant khargahs, or felt tents] "between the Chádir Kúl and Sárigh Kúl, *all of whom are Naymáns*."

Now these "Naymáns" are no other than a portion of the famous Náemán tribe of Turks, in no way connected with the Ḳirghíz or Ḳirḳiz; and Koshluk, a detailed account of whom will be found in the "Translation "of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 930, 957, 980, and 982, the son-in-law of the last Gúr Khán of the Ḳará-Khiṭá-í dynasty was its last chief and sovereign, who was killed by the Badakhshís in the Dara'h called Sárigh Chopán, referred to at page 140. The author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, in his account of this event, says, he was slain "on the boundaries of Jáb and Kikrab, which is Ghuzzistán, and the hill tracts of Samarḳand."

Munshí Faiẓ-Bakhsh also gives an account of the "Kirghiz tribe" (*see* "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society" for 1872), and mentions the names of the 32 sections into which, he says, they are divided. Among these are the well known names of Kip-chák [Ḳifchák: the tribes known by this name are Turks. *See* "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 877], Kataghan [the Ḳat-ghín tribe are Nairún Mughals, descended from Búḳúl Ḳat-ghín, Álán Ḳuwá's eldest son], Niman [Náemán Turks], Turkmán [the well-known race now striving against the ever encroaching Rús], and Durman [Dúrmán, who are also Nairún Mughals].

Náemáns may still be found, likewise, in what we incorrectly call the "Hazara country," as well as in the Káshghar State, and on the borders of Yár-ḳand and Tibbat. The Ḳazáḳs, or Ḳazzáḳs, are of the Úzbak division of the Mughal nation, and separated from them in the time of Abú-l-Khair Khán. Ḳáźáḳ, or Ḳazzáḳ, is merely a nick-name. Those Úzbaks who thus separated from the main portion, being without means and appliances, and in a destitute and disorganized condition, and without a country, were nicknamed *ḳazáḳ* or *ḳazzáḳ*, which European writers have vitiated into Cossack. Oriental writers use the Turkish word, even in Central and Southern India, and apply it to signify a marauder, pillager, and a light armed, irregular horseman—the Pinḍárí of the Marhaṭṭahs, and Báshí-Bazúk of the Turks—who hang about the flanks and rear of armies, but will not come to close quarters, nor will they fight unless obliged, and only then with overwhelming odds in their favour. The real meaning of the term appears to be "disorganized," "tumultuous," "straggling," etc.

Among the Ḳazáḳs or Ḳazzáḳs of the present day we find Arghún Mughals, Náemán Turks, Ḳungḳúr-át Mughals, Ḳipcháḳ or Ḳifcháḳ Turks, and many others. The word is written قَزَاق and قزّاق but not قازاق This same admixture occurs among the so-called Ḳirghíz of the present day, in which are to be found Turks, Táttárs, and Mughals, and some are even styled Ḳirghíz Ḳazáḳs.

The Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, states that the Úzbak Ḳazáḳs, unable to remain in the Dasht-i-Ḳibcháḳ, on account of the superiority of the Manghḳíts (also written Mangḳúts by others), came into Mughúlistán to the number of over 20,000. This happened subsequently to the year 928 H. (1522 A.D.).

A person conversant with the descent of the Turks, and their different ramifications, if among them, would be able, with a little trouble, to obtain all the information required, but to those who jumble together Turk, Táttár, and Mughal, the task would be a hopeless one. *See* the "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," on the descent of these people, note 2, page 869, and also page 899, and "Geographical Magazine" for May, 1878, page 113.

* The Turkish word *yár*, as in the name of Yár-ḳand, and Yár-ḳiáng, etc., signifies a bank, split, fissure, ravine, etc., and probably refers to its numerous channels or the numerous channels made by the Zar-Afshán. Ḳiá, Ḳián, or Ḳiáng, means slanting, sloping, slope, dip, escarpment, and the like.

Ḳand signifies a town, city, inhabited place. The Zar-Afshán, or Yár-ḳiáng, the meaning of which has been given, cuts up the plain around the city into numerous fissures and channels when it is at its height.

† This was at the time these surveys were made, about ninety years since.

extend for a considerable distance all round. At a distance of four kuroh from the city you reach the banks of the Zar-Afshán, which here is a large river, and is crossed by a bridge. It flows under the walls of the city."

Here the route, as given by the author of these surveys, ends.

Yár-ķand, in ancient times, was a large city,* but had greatly decayed, and was becoming desolate, when the cruel tyrant, the Mírzá, Abú-Bikr, the predecessor of Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán, made it his capital about 880 H. (1475–76 A.D.). Soon after there were some twelve thousand gardens in and around the city, which was surrounded by a wall thirty cubits high. Further information respecting the history and geography of Yár-ķand, and the Káshghar territory generally, will be found in the notes to my "Translation of the Ṭabaķát-i-Náṣirí," page 922, etc.

"The distance from Káshghar to Yár-ķand is three *manzils* of about seventeen kuroh each. As the country all along the line of route is highly cultivated, and exceedingly populous, the different *manzils* or stages are not restricted to certain places as between Káshghar and Kho-ķand. The Yár-ķand river, also called the Yár-Ķián or Ķiáng, and Zar-Afshán, or Gold Scatterer, flows past the city on the south."

"Yár-ķand, which is the largest city of Turkistán,† has two citadels within its walls; one in which the Muḥammadan governor dwells, and the other, on the southern side, where the Chinese chief, who commands the army quartered there, resides.

"This force, which is intended to overawe the Yár-ķandís, amounts to about 40,000 men, with several guns. This is the largest force the Chinese have in this direction of their empire, and the best and most efficient, the troops being picked men. They are relieved yearly. Of this force 10,000 men are quartered within the city, and the remainder in the vicinity.

"The police arrangements are similar to those of Káshghar, with this exception, that an equal number of Chinese soldiers are associated with the police in their duties; and one 'celestial' accompanies each of the *cháng-nawázán* (the *cháng* is a piece of wood, with two of which each soldier of the police force is provided, and which he strikes together in a peculiar manner at the termination of each watch of three hours, and calls out the hour of the day or night), as the watchmen, or strikers of the *cháng*, are called, in his rounds.

"Russian *kárwáns* come here, and bring all sorts of European manufactures, hardware, however, predominating. They take back with them teas, silk, and other articles of Chinese produce and manufacture, but they are not allowed to proceed farther east."

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The four preceding paragraphs, extracted from information I obtained some thirty years ago, I have inserted here merely to show what Yár-ķand was, according to native report, at that time, which was long before we had any intercourse whatever with those parts.‡ Since that time vast changes have taken place. The Chinese were

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* According to the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, who is an excellent authority, it was not the ancient city that Abú-Bikr made his capital, for that was in ruins long before; and he says it was unknown whether the old city bore the name of Yár-ķand at all. The Yár-ķand which Abú-Bikr made his capital was a mere *ķaṣbah*—small town—at the time, but after that it began to increase and to flourish. He razed the walls and other ruins of the old city by means of his gangs of ķázaķs or criminals (not Ķazáķs, *vul.* Cossacks) in search of hidden treasures, and is said to have thereby obtained vast wealth, as he did in a like manner at Khutan.

† Neither Yár-ķand nor Káshghar are in Mughalistán, which is a totally distinct region.

‡ Some time in the year 1851 or 1852, when I was stationed at Púnah, in the Dakhan, the Right Honourable B. Disraeli, M.P. (the Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G.), at the prayer of the sisters of Lieutenant Wyburd, of the Indian Navy—who was said to have escaped from slavery at Bukhárá, and had reached Kho-ķand, where he was at that time imprisoned—endeavoured, by a motion in the House of Commons, to rouse the British Government to effect his release.

It appeared that, a short time before, a native agent from the reigning chief of the territory of Kho-ķand had arrived at Pes'háwar, with information that a European, calling himself "Wypart," was confined in the city of Kho-ķand, under suspicion of his being a Russian spy—the Russians were then preparing to take measures to "ameliorate" the State in question, and the Khán was hostile to them—but that the prisoner protested he was an Englishman, who had escaped from slavery at Bukhárá. The Khán's object in sending an agent was, probably, with the desire of entering into friendly intercourse with us, as the Atálik-i-Ghází, the late Ya'ķúb Beg of Káshghar, sent in after years; but the agent in question intimated that the Khán would release the man if any officer were sent to identify him as a British subject.

Lieutenant Wyburd, of the Indian Navy, had been despatched from Persia, some years before, to Bukhárá, in order to endeavour to discover the fate of the unfortunate Stoddard and Conolly, and he had never returned. It was reported that he had been seized at Bukhárá, and sold into slavery.

On becoming aware of these matters, I tendered my services, through the Bombay Government, to the Supreme Government of India, and offered to proceed to Kho-ķand, by way of Kash-mír and Laddákh, but it

expelled, and a Musalmán State, which, it was hoped, would have proved a barrier to Russian encroachments in that direction, was established. Its stability, however, rested on the life of one remarkable, energetic, and talented man, and when he died its stability vanished, and the Chinese have again established themselves in the Káshghar territory.

The Left-hand Route to Laddákh.

The route from Láhor to Jammú is so well known that it is scarcely necessary to give it here, but that from Jammú to Laddákh is as follows:—

"Leaving Jammú, you proceed two kuroh in the direction of north-east to the Sar-Dí Sara, *sara* being the Sanskrit name for a *kol-i-áb* or great lake. From thence you go on seven kuroh, in much the same direction as before, to the Mán Sara, which is the name of another lake. The country between this place and Jammú is very mountainous, although situated in the *garm-sír*, or warm climate, but, in proceeding from Mán Sara to Bandar-hál, or Bandar-hár, the next *manzil*, a distance of twelve kuroh, is a great mountain range covered with perpetual snow, and you enter a much more elevated tract of country. Another long stage from the last halting place brings you to Bhadarwáh, which is a town of considerable size. At this point two roads branch off to the right and left. The latter leads to Kishtwár, and the right-hand road, the direction of which is towards the north-east as before, is that now to be explained.

"From Bhadarwáh you cross a small river which flows below that place, and proceed to Púnts, the name of a small village situated at the foot of a great mountain range, which is known by the name of Púntsí Ḍahár, and is clothed with perpetual snow. To reach the crest of the range is a journey of two days, but a man unencumbered with baggage or a load can reach it in one, and in another descend on the farther side.

"After crossing over this great mountain range, another long *manzil* brings you to Páḍal, or Páḍar,* also known as Chhatr-Ghaṛ,† which is the name of a fort, and also of a great mountain range, covered with perpetual snow. It takes two days to reach the crest of this likewise, and two more to descend the other, or northern, face of it. At the foot of it, on this (the northern) side, is a village called Síní, the place of residence of the Lánbah‡ of the Bhoṭ tribe. The mountaineers of this part, and the ruler of Tibbat, venerate this Lánbah as a god. This tract of country is likewise called Páḍal, or Páḍar,§ and its chief place and seat of authority is the before-mentioned Chhatr-Ghaṛ.

"The mighty range crossed in reaching Síní is known by the name of the Bánjal Ḍahár, and the route lies through the Páḍal, or Páḍar, valley. In another two stages from Síní you reach Be-Tuk, a place where there are a few dwellings; and in two stages more you reach Zás-Kár, also written Záṇs-Kár, the *n* being nasal, which is the name of a small village.‖ This part is under the rule of a separate Rájah, but he is related to the Rájah of Laddákh, and is styled Rájah of Zás-Kár.

"From Zás-Kár, you proceed one long *manzil* to Záti-Lah, also known as Zángi-Lah, which is the name of a large village, or rather small town,¶ in the Zás-Kár territory, belonging to the above-mentioned Rájah. Eight *manzils* more bring you to

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was not considered advisable to depute a European officer, and a native agent, the Khwájah, Aḥmad, the Nakhshbandí, was sent instead. I need scarcely add that he failed. At the period in question I met, quite by accident, a Jew who had accompanied Dr. Joseph Wolff on his journey to Bukhárá, who would have accompanied me, and two respectable natives of Kho-ḳand, who had just returned from the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madínah, and were on their way home, agreed to attach themselves to me, and be answerable for my safety. I was rather sanguine of success, but I might have failed as the Khwájah did. I should not, however, have rested satisfied with merely despatching natives here and there, and confining myself to inquiries in bázárs, as he appears to have done.

Some of the information I had gleaned at the period in question I embodied in a short paper which appeared in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" for 1857, and from it the above extracts have been taken.

* The Padar of Vigne. As before mentioned, *r* and *l* are interchangeable.

† Now known also as Guláb-Ghaṛ.

‡ What European writers call "Lama."

§ The "Padam" of our maps, evidently.

‖ The Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, in 939 H. (1532–33 A.D.), also penetrated into Tibbat-i-Zang-us-Sákár, as he writes it. Khúrbá, or Khorbá, where he was, was in the middle of it, and Sút was five days' journey distant.

¶ This place is not actually called Zangí-Lah, but is the village at the foot of the Zangí Pass, because, in the Tibbatí language, *Lah* means "a pass."

Mar-káh, another considerable village, belonging to the same State. In going thither from Zángi-Lah, you have to pass through a very difficult mountain tract, in which much snow lies. Travellers are under the necessity of transferring their goods and effects to the backs of the mountaineers of this part, and of assuming felt garments, and well wrapping themselves up, as when they proceed northwards towards Yár-ḳand by the Ḳará-Ḳuram route, as already described, and of themselves mounting on the backs of Tibbatí horses. On the way you reach the banks of several considerable rivers, the whole of which are spanned by wooden bridges.

"Setting out from Mar-káh, one long *manzil* brings you to the large village of Kurú, belonging to the Rájah of Laddákh. The next *manzil* is to Jang-Chan, and on the way thither you meet with no lofty mountain range. In another *manzil*, which is a long one, you reach Laddákh. From thence to Yár-ḳand the road has been already described."

In my brief account of Káshghar, Yár-ḳand, and Kho-ḳán or Kho-ḳand, previously alluded to, I mentioned three routes leading from Hindústán to Yár-ḳand, in the following words:—

"There are two routes from Kash-mír to Yár-ḳand and Kho-ḳán. The most direct one is by way of Skár-Dú or Iskár-Dú, and along the banks of the Shigún (Shigár)* river, and over the Mús-Tágh or Mús-Táḳ† range of mountains by the Húnzí Pass. The other, a more roundabout road, is by way of Leh or Laddákh, through the valley of the Shái-yuḳ (or Shá-yugh), as the northern branch of the Indus is named, and over the Ḳara'h-Ḳuram‡ mountains. There is another route from Leh to the Ḳarah-Kuram range, farther to the west, by way of Núbrah,§ but it is only used when the Shái-yuḳ is too deep to be crossed.‖ The route by Skár-Dú or Iskár-Dú is shorter than the other—the Ḳarah-Ḳuram—by ten stages, but it is only open from the middle of April to the end of October, whilst the Leh route is practicable, though difficult, for the greater part of the year."

When Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán's health broke down, during the expedition into Western Tibbat, previously mentioned, he was induced to return to Yár-ḳand. Leaving, therefore, the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, in command of the forces, and along with him, his son, Sikandar Sulṭán, to prosecute the holy war, he had left Már-yol, and set out for the northern part of Báltí lying nearest to Yár-ḳand, where the disease known as *dam-gírí*, previously referred to, did not attack people. He had got safely through the Sáḳirí¶ Pass, although extremely weak, but, after passing the Múz Árt**—Ice Defile Pass—but a short distance, he died of *dam-gírí*, which disease only affects others than

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* *See* page 295, and note †. This is the same place as Saigur of Route Forty-four, page 190.

† Or, more correctly, Múz-Tágh or Múz-Táḳ, but *s* is often used for *z*, as *gh* is for *ḳ*.

This is the route referred to by Bernier. He says, writing from Kash-mír:—

"In regard to the kingdom known here by the name of Kacheguer (Káshghar), which is probably the same as our maps call 'Kascar,' I shall relate all the information I have collected from merchants, natives of that country, who, when they heard that Aureng-Zêbe intended to visit Kashmire, brought into this kingdom, for sale, a great number of young slaves, girls and boys.

"They say that Kacheguer lies to the east of Kashmire, inclining somewhat to the northward; and the shortest route, from one kingdom to the other, is through Great Thibet [the usual error], but, that passage being now shut, they were under the necessity of taking the road of Little Thibet. The first town they passed, in returning, was Gourtche [the *Kartsi* of our maps], the last town dependent upon Kashmire, and four days' journey from the city of Kashmire. From Gourtche, they were eight days in reaching Eskerdou [Skár-Dú], the capital of Little Thibet; and in two days more they came to the small town of Cheker [*Shigár*, of the Muḥammadan Histories of India, and the *Saigur* of these Routes. *See* pages 190 and 295], also within the territory of Little Thibet, and situated on a river celebrated for its medicinal waters. In fifteen days, they came to a large forest, on the confines of Little Thibet, and in fifteen days more they arrived at Kacheguer, a small town which was formerly the royal residence, though now the King of Kacheguer resided at Jourcend, a little more to the north [the writer has here, it will be noticed, reversed them: Yár-ḳand lies south of Káshghar], and ten days' journey from Kacheguer. . . . . The road from Kashmire to Kacheguer, they said, is extremely bad, and, among other difficult paths, there is a place where, in every season, you must go a quarter of a league over ice."

‡ Ḳará-Ḳuram or Ḳara'h-Kuram: both are correct.

§ By what Shaw calls the "Suser" Pass.

‖ Men and animals are at times carried away in crossing when the river is full. Shaw had a narrow escape in crossing it. *See* his work, "Yarkand and Kashgar," page 434.

¶ This might be, and is, I believe, sometimes written Sáriḳí, the *r* being placed before *ḳ*, but in Muḥammad Ḥaidar's work it is as above.

** Such being the case, as related by Muḥammad Ḥaidar, it is very evident that Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán did not die at "Daulut [*sic.* Daulat ?] Beg Uldi," on the stage south of the Ḳara'h-Ḳuram Pass, as stated by Mr. Bellew, in his book entitled "Kashmir and Kashghar," page 163. The Khán was returning to Yár-ḳand from Báltí, and his nobles were hurrying onwards in order to get him beyond the tracts wherein the *dam-gírí* affected people, and took him eight ordinary stages in the space of four days, when death overtook him.

the inhabitants and animals of these regions, and is caused by the rarefaction of the air and intense cold, on the 16th of Ẕí-Ḥijjah, 939 H. (July 1533 A.D.).

It was immediately after this that the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, who, for fear of the treatment he might experience at the hands of Rashíd Sulṯán, Sa'íd Khán's son and successor in Káshghar, could not venture to return to it, undertook the perilous journey from Tibbat to Badakhshán. As yet, he says, no one had ever heard of a route from Tibbat into Badakhshán that did not lie through the Káshghar territory, which he wished specially to avoid. He appears not to have known that by coming to Skár-Dú he might have taken the route by Gilgit and the To-e *Kotal* and through Ḳáshkár;* or, if he knew of it, having but twenty-seven persons with him when he set out, including Sikandar Sulṯán, he was not in a position to enter a strange country comparatively populous, and in which he might have been attacked.

Muḥammad Ḥaidar now set out from that part of Tibbat in which he then was, in order to attempt to reach Badakhshán by that unexplored route. When he reached the village of Ḳará-Ḳuram, at the time of the setting of the sun, the river there, which is of considerable size, froze up completely, in such wise that water was not to be obtained after two hours' labour in endeavouring to reach it.

When the party reached the point where the unexplored route into Badakhshán branched off, Sikandar Sulṯán asked permission to leave him to return to Káshghar, and take the chance of what might there befall him. Muḥammad Ḥaidar's party was then reduced to twenty-two persons, besides himself, and the whole were in a most destitute condition, and almost starving. He says one of the men, who had lately deserted and fled to Yár-ḳand, had related to him on one occasion that he had heard from the people of the Kohistán of Yár-ḳand, that from a place called Tágháná‌ḳ† a road, which led this way and that way, came out on the Pá-Mír of Badakhshán.

He appears to have skirted the northern side of the Múz-Tágh range, for, having gone onwards, guided solely by conjecture, for three days after Sikandar Sulṯán left him, from the point where the Yár-ḳand route branched off, at breakfast-time the next morning they reached a place where there were some inhabitants. These came forth to receive him and his small party, and treated them with the greatest hospitality, and relieved their misery as well as they were able. Muḥammad Ḥaidar made inquiries of them respecting the road, and their destination. They told him that the Dara'h he was then in was called Rás-gám, and that from thence to the Pá-Mír was five days' journey. The people were so delighted, they said, to see the descendant of their sovereigns of four centuries among them, that they turned out in a body from the places he passed on his way, and would have accompanied him on the road. They conducted him to the Pá-Mír, which was reached in seven days, and he subsequently entered Kháwán, on the frontier of Badakhshán. He appears to have entered Wákhán, and reached the frontier of Badakhshán by the valley drained by the southern branch of the Panj, or Upper Oxus.

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* *See* the route, page 189.

† Writing of Gyaphthan, about twenty miles south of the Ḳará-Ḳuram Pass, Mr. Bellew says, in his "Kashmir and Kashghar," page 163, and referring to the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar's journey, he "parted "from his companion, the Prince Iskandar of Yarkand, and set out on his adventurous journey by *unknown* "*paths* to Wakhan, and it was on the mountains just beyond this—probably at the *head waters of the Shayok*— "that he *shot* the monstrous wild yak, on which his party subsisted during the *three days* of their perilous "journey to the inhabited valley of *Ráshgum*, as he so graphically describes, a valley which, under the name "of Warshgúm," &c., &c.

Here the writer has fallen into great error. The party which set out from Tibbat took much more than three days to reach Tágháná‌ḳ, where the roads into Badakhshán (not Wákhán) and Yár-ḳand branched off, and Sikandar Sulṯán and some others separated from Muḥammad Ḥaidar and his party. "The paths" as far as Báltí extended, and the parts adjacent were not "unknown," because he had been in those parts before, but it was from Tágháná‌ḳ that the route was unknown. In the next place, Rás-kám, or Rás-gám, as it is also written, is a dara'h lying north of the great mountain range—part of the Bilaur range—and Warshigum (not Warshgúm, *see* pages 189 and 190 of these Notes) is a dara'h dependent on the Dara'h of Ḍángrak, on the other or south side of the same range, and is separated from Rás-kám by the Dara'h of Kanjut and the Tágh Dum-Básh Pá-Mír. The Warshigum valley leads southward to Yasin, by what is called the "Darkote Pass" in our maps, more than one hundred miles west of Rás-kám, and some two hundred and fifty miles from the mountains just beyond "Gyaphthan" and "the head waters of the Shayok."

When Muḥammad Ḥaidar's party set out from Tágháná‌ḳ, where he parted from Sikandar Sulṯán, several horses broke down consequent on their being without shoes, but that same day Muḥammad Ḥaidar ***killed*** a wild ḳuṯás or yák. He had some of the raw hide drawn over the hoofs of the broken-down horses, and he says that they took along with them as much of its flesh as their horses could carry, enough to last them for four or five days, and even then that they may have only taken a quarter of it, the animal was so big. He killed a still larger one on the following day.

The ḳuṯás is the ghajz-gáo of the Ṯabaḳát-i-Náṣirí. The Amír, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, the Turk, the father of Sulṯán Maḥmúd of Ghaznín, was nicknamed "Ḳará-Buj-kúm," which, the author says, signifies, in the Turkí language, "the Siyah Ghajz-gáo," or "Black Táttár Bull," or Black Wild Yák. *See* my "Translation," page 68, and "Elliot's India," Vol. VIII., pages xi. and xii.

There is another route into Badakhshán, from Yángí-Ḥiṣár to Ḳará-Janáḳ, which is the name of a small village (*mauẓa'*) distant about six farsakhs or leagues, and in front of it flows the Áb-i-Shináz, or river of the Shináz Dara'h, situated in the mountains to the west. The road from Káshghar into Badakhshán lies through this Dara'h, and the stream issuing from it also flows past the Langar* of Ḳúsh Gumbaz from the westward. This appears to be the route taken by Major Montgomerie's Mírzá, when he proceeded to Yár-ḳand from Badakhshán, and a little to the north of Palpí Sang, described in Route Forty-three, at page 187, which see.

Having described the various routes through the little known tracts extending from Kábul to Laddákh, and on to Yár-ḳand, and given a brief description of the territories passed through, I now turn south, in order to complete my account of the routes between Pes'háwar and Aṭak down to the Kaurah Pass, in the Dera'h-ját, from which I first set out. To this I shall devote another Section.

31st December, 1880.

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* Langar, the same word as in Langar-Koṭ, has been described at page 247.

SECTION FOURTH.

I will now describe the main routes leading into the Dera'h-ját from the city of Kábul, after which I propose to describe the routes leading from the Dera'h-ját to Kábul by Pes'háwar, and complete this Section with an account of the shorter routes, between Pes'háwar and Bannú and the Abáe-Sín or Indus, south of the river of Kábul.

Seventy-third Route. From Kábul to Laka'í, the chief town of the Marwat tribe, a distance of one hundred and fifty kuroh in the direction of south-east. This route also leads into the Dera'h-ját.

"The route from Kábul to the Bázár of Aḥmad Khán has already been given at page 80.

"Setting out from the Bázár of Aḥmad Khán, and proceeding for a distance of one kuroh in the direction of south-east, inclining east, you reach Gunḍa'í, a village of considerable size, with a *bázár;* and the river of Kurma'h lies away in the distance on the left hand as you proceed. From thence you go half a kuroh farther, in the same direction as before, to Baḍá Khel, which lies near by the road on the right hand, from which you continue onwards for another kuroh, in the direction of south-east, to the Kalaey-i-Az̤'mat Khán—or A'z̤mat Khán's Village—also lying on the right hand side as you proceed. From thence another half a kuroh brings you to Kalí-i-Háthí Khán, also written Hátí Khán—or 'Háthí or Hátí Khán's Villages'—two villages lying on the left hand, on the other or farther side* of the river of Kurma'h, which flows at a distance of about a kuroh and a half away, on the left hand, while a great *dasht,* or uncultivated waste or plain, stretches away on the right, and hill tracts containing many ascents and descents. From the last-mentioned place you proceed another kuroh in the direction of south-east, inclining south, and reach the Kats Kiṭ,† a large *nahr* or watercourse, which comes from the right hand (the north-west), and, running to the east for a distance of between three and four kuroh, unites with the river of Kurma'h.

"From the Kats Kiṭ another kuroh, in the same direction as before, brings you to the small village of Tájú Khel; and the afore-named river lies distant one kuroh on the left hand as you proceed. From the last-named village you go on for a distance of two kuroh and a half more, in the direction of south-east, and come to the point at which the cultivated lands of the Shítak tribe‡ of Afgháns terminate, and reach Akaṛa'h.§ This is a vast mound of earth, bricks, and other *débris,* on the right-hand side of the road, but aside from it, and near the left bank of the Gamíla'h or Gambíla'h river. It is said that, in ancient times, this was a great city, the seat of government of this territory, and the place of residence of Rustam, the son of Zál-i-Zar, or Zál of the Golden Locks. According to the statements contained in the chronicles of the early history of Í-rán-Zamín, Zál, who was entitled the Sipah-Bud—'Leader of Troops'—held the territories of Zábul and Kábul, as far as the frontiers of Hind, in fief. His son, Rustam, by the daughter of the Kábul Sháh, held those territories subsequently; and he had three daughters, one of whom is said to have dwelt within

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* The course of the river since then must have considerably altered.

† Not "Kachkot," as in MacGregor's Gazetteer, nor "Kooch Kote," as in Edwardes's book. *See* page 88, where this watercourse or canal has been previously referred to as Kach Kiṭ, which is an error for the above. The variation is caused through foreigners not knowing the difference between ج "*j*" and چ "*ch*" of the Persian language and څ *ts* of the Pus'hto, which a few tribes, such as the Dámánís and Ghalzís, change for "*j*" and "*ch*."

The word *kats*, in Pus'hto, signifies "a gully," "a ravine," "a watercourse," etc.

‡ The great tribe of Afgháns, so called after their ancestor Shítak, son of Kakaey. It contains several sub-tribes, who are now chiefly known under the general name of Bannútsí, as being resident in the territory of Bannú. They will be noticed in their proper place.

§ The name of this place is not "*Akra*," as in our maps and gazetteers, but is written and pronounced in the vernacular as given above. In the rage for attributing everything to Greeks, this word has, by some, been considered Greek, but I know of no word like it, or equivalent to it, in that language, for a citadel or fortress.

the walls of Akara'h, which was her appanage. The place has been ruined and desolate for centuries; and, occasionally, by excavating in this great mound, bricks of large size and other remains are found.

"The whole of this territory dependent on Akara'h used to be styled Akara'h after it, and was the occasional residence of Rustam-i-Zál, but, when Rustam conferred it upon his sister, who was named Bannú, as a dower on her marriage [to whom the author does not say], it, on that account, acquired the name of Bannú likewise."

In the notice of Zábulistán, subsequently known as the Ghaznín state, I shall enter into greater detail respecting the connection of the Í-rání rulers with these parts bordering on the Sind-Ságar, Abáe-Sín, or Indus. I will, therefore, content myself here with briefly mentioning that the parts in question were held for two or three generations by the ancestors of Rustam, the famous champion of Í-rán, whose name constantly occurs in the traditions concerning these territories.*

Sám, son of Narímán, the Sipah-Bud, or Leader, and Jahán-Pahlawán, or Champion, of Í-rán-Zamín, was made feudatory of Zábulistán as far as the frontier of Hind and Sind. He was succeeded in his fief by his son, Zál-i-Zar, or Zál of the Golden Hair. Mihráb, the Kábul Sháh, a feudatory of Í-rán likewise, and subordinate to the ruler of Zábulistán, gave Zál-i-Zar his daughter, Rúdába'h, in marriage, and she was Rustam's mother, and hence he, like the Turk, Mahmúd of Ghaznín, in after years, was styled Zábulí after his mother, as well as Sigizí or Sijizí.†

In the reign of Kai-Káús, the first of the Kai-ánían dynasty, Rustam was made Sipah-Bud, and Jahán-Pahlawán; and he was invested with the government of Sigizstán or Sijistán, as well as of Kábul and Zábul to the frontiers of Hind and Sind. Subsequently, Rustam captured the fortified city of Sipand in Hind, a place of vast strength, which stronghold had successfully resisted the attacks of Rustam's great grandfather, Narímán. The defenders of that place were in great want of salt—the Salt Range and salt mines are situated east and north-east of Bannú—and Rustam, disguising himself as a trader in salt, succeeded, by this stratagem, in introducing some of his followers, and surprizing the place.

On the downfall of Rustam's family, the particulars respecting which will be subsequently related in the account of Zábulistán, the three daughters of Rustam fled for shelter to the court of the ruler of Hind.‡ One of these daughters, each of whom held a portion of territory as her appanage, was named Ázar-Bánú, which latter word, signifying "a princess," "a lady," refers doubtless to the person whom the author of these surveys mentions under the name of Bannú, with short instead of long "*a*," and with the "*n*" doubled. Akara'h was also known as the city of Ázar-Bánú or Bannú.

This name of Bánú, I find, is, in a great measure, confirmed by the author of the Tímúr Náma'h. Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, passed through the Bannú territory, both on his invasion of Hindústán, and also on his return from thence, and the local name is always written Bánú, instead of Bannú, in that valuable historical work. Bábar Bádsháh, Amír Tímúr's descendant, however, in his autobiography, writes it with short "*a*"; and the name is clearly applied to the territory at this period, as in the Tímúr-Náma'h, and not to any particular town; and, as shown at page 88, there was no town known as Bannú when these surveys were made about a century ago, and its chief place was known as the Bázár of Ahmad Khán. In the same manner that Úrgánj was called "*the city of* Khwárazm," that is to say, Khwárazm's chief city, Srí-Nagar, "*the city of* Kash-mír," and Zaranj, "*the city of* Sístán," Akara'h was also sometimes called "*the city of* Ázar-Bánú," and "the city of the Bánú," which, in time, became shortened to Bannú.

There is no such place mentioned in history as "Naghaz," notwithstanding that some persons, [redacted], have "identified it" as Akra, as they style Akara'h. Naghaz—نغز as it would be written in the original—is but a clerical error for Baghzan بغزن—which place has been mentioned in Section Second, page 72.§ Akara'h, in all probability, was one of the fortified places on the frontier of Hind which Jai-Pál, in after years, agreed to deliver

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* *See* also the mention, by Bábar Bádsháh, of the Maidán-i-Rustam, at page 91.

† The latter is the 'Arabic mode of writing the word. The Í-rání form is the first.

‡ The ruler of that part of Hind nearest to Bánú or Bannú.

§ *See* page 87, note §. I was, at first, inclined to consider that Akara'h might be the site of what has generally been supposed, through an error in writing the word, to be Naghaz, but further research has proved to me that Naghaz is a mere error for Baghzan, which is a well known place, and was once of much greater consequence than it is at present. It is mentioned several times in the Tímúr Náma'h.

up to the Amír, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, and which the latter appears to have subsequently destroyed, as I shall now proceed to relate.

The 'Arabs, as I have already mentioned at page 62, had, early in the Muḥammadan era, penetrated into Sind, but had not attempted to hold possession of it, and they did not bring the ruler of Zábul and Kábul under their yoke until the year 43 H. (663–64 A.D.).* They do not appear to have carried their arms, in the direction

* I notice in the Appendix to Vol. II. of Elliot's India, page 414, that "in the year 44 H., Muhallab ibn Abú Safra" is said to have advanced "on the Indian frontier as far as Banna (Banú) and Alahwáz [or "'Alahwár'=Lahore ?], two places situated between Kábul and Multán," but no authority is quoted. Then the stock history of "Firishta" is quoted; and Firishtah, it is said, "makes him (Muhallab) penetrate as far "as Multán, and opens his history by saying he was the first chieftain who spread the banners of the true "faith on the plains of Hind." Then we are told, in the volume above quoted, that "Muhallab had been "detached from the main army, which had invaded Kábul from Merv under 'Abdu-r-Rahmán bin Shimar," and that "Muhallab subsequently made himself conspicuous as governor of Alahwár (which is previously "called *Alahwáz*, and said to be *Alahwár* or *Lahore*), and exterminator of the Azrakian insurgents, and as a "traitor to his master, 'Abdu-llah ibn Zubair, the Khalif of Mecca."

Unfortunately for this statement, 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán, the son of Sumrah, the lieutenant of 'Abd-ullah, the son of 'Amír, the governor of Khurásán in 43 H. (663–4 A.D.), came, not by Marw, but by Sijistán, the capital of which, Zaranj, he first captured. [redacted] Al-Ahwáz in Khúzistán of I-rán has been mistaken for "Alahwár or Lahore"; and there is not a word contained in the accounts of Muhallab's life to show that he was ever within hundreds of miles of Bannú or the Panj-áb, much less that he was governor of Láhor. Indeed, it is not certain that Láhor existed at the period in question—44 H.—or, at least, under that name, but whether it did, or did not, Al-Ahwáz in Khúzistán is the place referred to.

Up to the year preceding the date just given, namely, the year 43 H., the Musalmáns had only succeeded in penetrating as far east as the city of Bust on the Hírmand or Hílmand ("*r*" and "*l*" being interchangable), and into the Zamín or territory of Dáwar; and, shortly after, in the same year, Kábul was invaded for the first time, but it was not subdued, merely made tributary; for, thirty-six years subsequently, namely in 79 H., under 'Ubaid-ullah, a Musalmán army had to pay 700,000 *dínárs* to be allowed to retire from the Kábul territory, in a state of starvation and utter destitution, as related at page 62 of these "Notes." Subsequently, the ruler of Kábul and Zábul was again forced to agree to pay tribute to the Musalmáns, but the territory was not finally subdued until some three centuries after that. Therefore, that any Muḥammadan force could have penetrated to Bannú, and from thence as far east as Láhor, without being either in possession of *what is now known to us* as northern or southern Afghánistán—I do not refer here to *the proper* Afghánistán, or country of the Afgháns, elsewhere described—much less for Muhallab to have been established as governor of Láhor, a glance at the map will show the utter impossibility of. But, as I have before said, Al-Ahwáz has been turned into "Alahwár," and, from that, changed into "Láhore," to suit the so-called "Banna," turned into "Banú"; and, if Firishtah says there were "Azrakian insurgents" at Láhor to be "exterminated," he evinces total ignorance of what he was writing about.

But let us turn for a moment to what purports to be a translation of "Al Biláduri," at page 116 of Vol. I. of the very same work, which I had not previously noticed. The author appears to have forgotten this when the extract above quoted from "Firishta," in his second volume, was written, which it *totally contradicts.* The extract in Vol. I. is as follows:—"In the year 44 H. (664 A.D.), and in the days of the Khalif Mu'awíya, "Muhallab, son of Abú Safra, made war upon the same frontier ['*Sind*, near the frontier of Khurásán,' is "referred to], and advanced as far as *Banna* and *Alhawár* [in a footnote the latter word is said to mean "'Lahore'], which lie between *Multán* and *Kábul.* The enemy *opposed him, and killed him* and his "followers;" and yet this very Muhallab, after he is killed, is "*conspicuous as governor of Lahore.*" I may be permitted to doubt whether "Al Biláduri" has been correctly rendered here.

Let us, however, now turn to page 427 of this very same volume, to the "Appendix," entitled "The "Advances of the Arabs towards Sind," and what do we find? After telling us in the previous page that "Colonel Tod is wrong in attributing to the year 65 H. a Muhammadan invasion of Rájpútána, by way of "Sind," and that "the whole story is puerile and fictitious; independent of which, the Arabs had quite "enough to do nearer home," the author says, "The Azárkians [they were Azrakians before], or followers of "Náfi' ibn Azrak [*sic*], had established themselves in the provinces of *Fárs, Kirmán*, and *Ahwáz;* and Arabia "and Khurásán obeyed 'Abdu-lla ibn Zubair, the rival claimant of the Khiláfat, who was in possession of "Mecca." He thus totally contradicts what he said before, in this, and what he afterwards again wrote in his second volume. After mentioning the defeat and death of 'Ubaid-ullah, son of Ziyád, in the territory of Kúfah in 'Irák-i-'Arab, in 67 H.—just twenty-three years *after* he first *killed* "Muhallab, son of Abú Safra," he says: "Meanwhile Muhallab had defeated the Azárkian, whom he had pursued into the very heart of Kirmán "[a long way from 'Bannu' and 'Lahore'], and deprived them of their conquests in Fárs and Ahwáz "[previously turned into 'Alhawar=Lahore,' as 'governor' of which he made himself so 'conspicuous']. He "then deserted 'Abdu-lla's cause, and submitted to 'Abdu-l-Malik," etc., etc.

I shall presently show that Muhallab, son of Abí Ṣafrah, died a natural death in the territory of Marw, thirty-nine years after Elliot or his editor killed him at "Banna and Alhawár or Lahore, between Multán and "Kábul."

At the period in question—43–44 H.—and for many years after, until the time that Muá'wiyah became firmly established in the Khiláfat, the Musalmáns were too much occupied in fighting among themselves to be able to pay much, if any, attention to foreign conquests.

According to the Gardaizí, the sixth Amír or governor of Khurásán was 'Abd-ullah, son of 'Amír, son of Kurez, the same whom Muá'wiyah confirmed when he became Khalífah. 'Abd-ullah made another 'Abd-ullah, the son of Ḥázim, his deputy; and, instead of going himself, despatched him thither, and there the latter remained as his deputy until a third 'Abd-ullah, the son of Samírah, came. "'Abd-ullah, son of 'Amír, was "succeeded in the governorship of Khurásán," according to the same authority, "in 44 H., by Ziyád, the son of "Ubayah, who made Ḥákim, son of 'Umaro, his deputy; and in his train came Abú Sa'íd-i-Muhallab, son of "Abí Ṣafrah." This, evidently, was the first time he set foot in Khurásán. In 50 H. (670 A.D.), Ḥákim was succeeded by another deputy, who was named 'Abd-ullah-al-Laiṣí, who held it only for a few months. Muhallab, under Ḥajjáj-us-Safík, was "Amír of the 'Arákín, or, possibly, 'Irákín, which is a territory of "Khurásán," which tract appears to have been situated on the north-east frontier of Khurásán, near the river

of the Sind or Indus, eastward of the great range of the Pus'h-Tún, referred to elsewhere,* which formed the eastern boundary of Zábulistán, subsequently known as the Ghaznín state; for that city, after which it derived its name, does not appear to have been founded at that time, at least, there is no record of it in Muḥammadan history to my knowledge, and, if founded, it was of no importance. The Amír, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, known to his Turkish comrades as the Ḳará Buj-kum or Fierce Yák, ruler of the state of Ghaznín as a feudatory of the Sámání sovereigns, is the first Musalmán, therefore, that we know of, who carried his arms directly east from Ghaznín towards Hind; and even at that period, some three centuries after the death of Muhallab, referred to in the note below, the Zant-bel (Raṇ-Pál, or Ratan-Pál) dynasty had only recently been dispossessed of Kábul and its dependencies, including, as is most probable, the city of Zábul likewise.†

As early as 376 H. (986–87 A.D.) Sabuk-Tigín began to make raids upon the frontiers of Hind; and, in 378 H. (988–89 A.D.) Rájah Jai-Pál, who ruled from the mountains west of the Indus to the Hakṛá, the Lost River of the Indian Desert, with Baṭhindah for his capital—there was no Dihlí at this period, as that city was only founded in 383 H., five years subsequent to the above date—was defeated by the Musalmáns, whose territory to the westward he had invaded. On this occasion most of his army perished from the excessive cold; and he had entered into an accommodation with Sabuk-Tigín, whereby he agreed to pay a large amount of treasure to the Amír, likewise to present one hundred elephants, and, further, that the Amír's officers should be put in possession of four of the fortified cities of Hind on the side of Ghaznín, on the frontier west of the Sind or Indus. Some of the Chiefs of Náṣir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, were appointed to accompany Rájah Jai-Pál to receive charge of the treasure and those fortified places, but, on reaching his own territory in safety, Jai-Pál ignored the treaty, refused to carry out its terms, and detained the commissioners as hostages for the safety of his own people whom he had left with the Amír as security for the fulfilment of the treaty in question.

On becoming aware of this conduct, Sabuk-Tigín mustered his forces to take vengeance upon the Hindú for this piece of treachery. He entered Jai-Pál's territory, and carried slaughter, plunder, and devastation wherever he went. Idol temples were overturned and masjids erected on their ruins, and the Lamghán territory and Nang-Nihár, which were the most western parts held by Jai-Pál—the more level tracts in comparison with the old Afghán country—were reduced under his sway. After this success Sabuk-Tigín returned to Ghaznín.

Rájah Jai-Pál, soon after, resolved to make a supreme effort against the Musalmáns to recover what he had lost; and, with the aid of his feudatories and allies, assembled a host of upwards of 100,000 men, but there was no Zant-Bel (Raṇ-Pál or Ratan-Pál) then, who might have aided him by operating on the Musalmán flank. According to some accounts, the footmen were not included in this number, but the infantry of Indian armies, at this period, and for some centuries after, were mere rabble. Jai-Pál marched towards the Ghaznín territory; and Sabuk-Tigín, with his available troops, moved to oppose him. He succeeded in drawing the Hindús into that difficult country where numbers, instead of being a source of strength, were merely a source of weakness and obstruction; and then, by repeated attacks, delivered by small compact bodies of his, in all probability, better disciplined troops, in succession, he completely defeated and overthrew this great host in a hard-fought battle, in which vast numbers of the infidels perished, and the rest took to headlong flight.

The booty captured was priceless; the Hindú territory as far as the banks of the Sind or Indus was overrun by the Musalmáns; and Pas'háur (the Pes'háwar province) was occupied. It was at this time, and upon this occasion, in all probability, that Akaṛa'h, otherwise the city of the Bánú or Bannú, was destroyed, and its territory, along

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Jíḥún (we still have an 'Iráḳ, and an 'Iráḳ Pass, north-west of Kábul); and, when 'Abd-ul-Malik, the son of Marwán, who succeeded to the Khiláfat in 65 H. (685 A.D.), added unto Ḥajjáj's government the provinces of Sijistán and Khurásán, and the countries lying near unto the frontiers of Hind and Sind had been subdued, Ḥajjáj made 'Ubaid-ullah, the son of Abú-Bakr or Bakrah, governor of Sijistán, and Muhallab governor of Khurásán. This was in 78 H. (697–98 A.D.). It was subsequent to this, but in the same year, that 'Ubaid-ullah was despatched from Sijistán, with directions to make war upon Zant-bel (Raṇ-Pál, or Ratan-Pál), the Kábul Sháh, as related at page 62 of these "Notes." Muhallab, at this period, appears to have been fully occupied on the north-eastern frontier of Khurásán; and it was, probably, on this account, that 'Ubaid-ullah was directed to march from Sijistán against the ruler of Kábul and Zábul.

Muhallab died in 83 H. (702 A.D.) at a village named Zághúl, which is also written Zaghúl, with short "*a*," a dependency of Marw, on his way from Kash towards the first-named city, then, and for a long period subsequent, the capital of Khurásán, and of which, to this day, it really forms a part. Muhallab had lost an eye in one of the battles before Samr-ḳand.

* *See* Section Fifth.

† *See* the Translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 73.

with the rest of the Hindú possessions west of the Indus, was overrun and devastated; but it was not until the reign of Sabuk-Tigín's son and successor, Maḥmúd, that these tracts, as far as the Indus banks, were finally added to the Musalmán dominions.

That the battle with Jai-Pál was fought in the tracts lying between Ghaznín and Bannú there can be no doubt. It took place, probably, in the Kurma'h Dara'h, or near by, for Nang-Nihár and Lamghán, on the northern side of the Spín Ghar or Safed Koh range, had been already subdued; but, unfortunately, oriental writers too often leave out entirely the names of places where the most important battles have been fought.

The Táríkh-i-Alfí and the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafá state, that, by this victory of Sabuk-Tigín's the Afgháns and the Khalj Turks—not Ghalzí Afgháns, for they are not Khalj Turks—who were dwelling in those parts, plainly indicating in what part the battle took place—also came under the sway of the Turk ruler of Ghaznín.

To resume the description of the route.

"Having proceeded two kuroh from Akaṛa'h in the direction of south-east, the *jangal* and verdant plains* terminate.

"Although from the mountains north of Segí up to this point the trees do not attain to a great height, nevertheless, there are many verdant *jal-gahs* and pleasant tracts; but, from this point, a desert sandy waste stretches away in the direction of south and east, and also the ups and downs of hilly country. In the same manner, from Kábul as far as Ḳabr-i-Mullá—'The Mullá's Tomb'—described in a previous route,† there are many verdant meads, but there are no trees, save the mulberry, and such like fruit trees, in the gardens and orchards, which are simply numberless. From Kábul to the extreme limits of Bunnú likewise the buildings are strong and well built, and flat-roofed.‡

"From the point where the *jangal* and grassy tracts terminate and the sandy waste begins, having proceeded six kuroh in the direction of south, inclining south-east, you reach Daulat K'hí or Daulat S'hí, also known as Dal K'hí or Dal S'hí, and Gundaey,§ and so called [by the latter name] after a division‖ of the Marwat tribe of Afgháns. It is a large village, situated one kuroh and a half from the bank of the river of Kurma'h,¶ which lies on its left (east). North of the village, on the left-hand side of the line of route, and near it, is a large lake dependent on rain, which is formed by the hill-torrents after heavy rains in the mountains on the west. The cultivators have consequently made numerous cuts from it for irrigation purposes, and conveyed its waters into their fields;** for the waters of the river of Kurma'h do not reach this part.

"From the village of Daulat S'hí or Dal S'hí, otherwise Gundaey, you proceed seven kuroh in the direction of south-east, inclining east, and reach Pahár Khel, another large village, situated on the right-hand, adjoining the road. It is built on high ground, and is the place of residence of Núr Khán of the Pahár Khel, a section of the Mamú Khel sub-division of the Khudo Khel Marwats, the descendants of Sandar, son of Sálár, son of Marwat, who for a long period has been the chief and ruler of the Marwat tribe,†† but, at the present time [when these surveys were made], some of the sections of the tribe have turned away their faces from him, and cease to pay him obedience; and they have set up Gul-rang Khán of the Kháfiẓ Khel section of the tribe as their chief.

"A little to the south of this place the Gamílá or, as it is also written, the Gamíla'h and Gambíla'h river flows. It comes from the right hand, and flows

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* The writer refers to the country hereabout as it appears in time of harvest, and not in time of drought.

† *See* page 71.

‡ Scores of new villages have been founded since the time of the writer; some have been ruined during wars and civil strife; numbers have had their names altered; and very many have gone to ruin; and some have disappeared altogether.

§ "Gundee Khan Khel" of the maps probably.

‖ A faction rather, caused by the internal feuds in the tribe.

¶ At present it is nearly twice this distance from the river, which has changed its course considerably.

** A canal, small stream, or water-cut, is called *wela'h* and *wala'h* in Pus'hto, the plural forms of which are *weley* and *waley*. In Bannú and the Marwat country they are corrupted into *wí-ál*. *See* page 177, and note ‡, page 317.

In the same manner, lands irrigated from rivers or canals are called "*ábí*" in Tájzík, which word is also used by the Afgháns; and unirrigated lands are called "*lalmí*," as has been previously explained, but Afgháns, likewise, in the Derah-ját and Bannú particularly, use two compound words, namely "*numd-aobey*," from *numd*, "dry," "hot," and *aoba'h*, "water," and "*wuch-aobey*" from *wuch*, "dry," "arid," etc., and *aobey*, "water," but who would recognize them in "Tandôbee" and "Vichôbee"?

†† The name of this tribe is مَروَت = Mar-wat, consequently, it is not called "*Maorat*," but the name is sometimes written Mur-wat: the former is correct.

towards the left. It is a considerable stream, which takes its rise in the mountain tracts of Kární-Grám, in the country of the Wazírí Afgháns,* farther west, and finally unites with the river of Kurma'h some distance lower down (*i.e.* farther east) than the town of Laka'í. It is fordable, being just knee-deep, except after falls of rain in the mountains, when it rises considerably, and becomes impassable.

"Setting out from Pahár Khel, and proceeding two kuroh to the south-east, you cross the Gamíla'h river; and then, proceeding another kuroh and a half in the same direction as before, reach Laka'í.† This is a town of considerable size, but the dwelling places are mere huts, and the river flows near by it on the left hand as you proceed."

The Marwat Afgháns.

"The Marwat Afgháns are a section or sub-tribe of the great tribe of Núhární, which will be noticed farther on. The Marwat section consists of about 40,000 families, the greater number of whom follow a nomadic life, but many of them have taken to fixed abodes, and the cultivation of the soil. There are at present two Sardárs or Chiefs in this tribe: one, Núr Khán of the Pahár Khel, before referred to as being the rightful chief, and the other, Gul-rang Khán of the Kháfiz‡ Khel, who has been lately set up by some sections of the tribe. Núr Khán dwells at Pahár Khel, and Gul-rang Khán, the rival chief, at Pathán-Kot; and between these rival chiefs there is no accord. Both pay allegiance to Tímúr Sháh Sadozí, Bádsháh of Kábul, each pay into his treasury 5,000 rúpís as a tenth, and each furnishes a contingent of 200 horsemen to the Bádsháh's army.§ Their principal wealth is in cattle; and they likewise possess numerous flocks of sheep, and herds of camels. In the winter time they come into the *garam-sír* or hot parts, in the tracts east of the mountains towards the great river, but, in the summer months, they resort to the *sard-sír* or cool tracts in the mountains.

"Their country, which, previous to their arrival in it, was known by the Hindí name of "Thal," extends, from east to west, for about fifty kuroh in length, and forty kuroh in breadth from north to south.|| The chief place, and seat of government, is styled Laka'í, which is a town of considerable size, but the houses are merely constructed of reeds, and thatched with grass laid on the branches of trees.¶ As this tract of country consists chiefly of sandy tracts and desert, as its name indicates, and is surrounded on all sides by mountains at greater or lesser distances, it is exceedingly dry and hot; and, as large trees and long grass do not grow hereabouts, its inhabitants have no other stations or dwelling-places save such like unsubstantial

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* The country of the Mas'úd Wazírís, but there are no "*Mahsúds*" among them. Kární-Grám signifies Stone-Town, but "Kánigoram," "Kanagoram," "Kaniguram," "Kannegoorrum," and the like, as the word appears in our maps, reports, gazetteers, and geographical works, are all incorrect. *See* page 88, note §.

† Turned into "Lukhee," in the maps, and "Lukkee," and "Lakí," by others. The word Laka'í, in Pus'hto, signifies, "tail," "termination," "extremity," "after-part," "rear," and the like, but the "*k*" is not doubled. It is also called, at times, the "Mena'h," which word in Pus'hto signifies, "a residence," "dwelling," "home," etc. This place was formerly in the possession of the Sárang clan of the Níází tribe of Afgháns. When Khush-hál Khán, Khatak, held the Tsautara'h district, under his father, Sháh-Báz Khán, he made a raid from thence on the Sárangs of Laka'í.

Masson, in his "Travels," places "Lakkí," as he styles it, on the "Khúram," but it is on the Gambíla'h, and is, at present, rather more than three miles from the river of Kurma'h. Laka'í, as it was when these surveys were made, is still situated on the *right* bank of the Gambíla'h.

The fort built in the time of the Sikh dominion is a totally different place from the fort of Laka'í here referred to.

‡ This name might be mistaken for Háfiz, but the latter word is written with ظ, not ض, and occurs, in several places, in three copies of the original MS.

§ This is what they actually paid and furnished at the time these surveys were made, and as stated by themselves to the person who made them. It is, however, amusing to read what they did *not* pay or furnish, according to their own accounts lately given, but their object was evident enough. It is the same with all: the Marwat Afgháns are not the only ones. *See* Edwardes, Vol. I., page 363.

|| At the present time the name "Thal" is chiefly applied to the tract of country north of the river of Kurma'h, as far north as the Khatak hills, and is held by portions of the Wazírí tribe.

¶ Contrary to the Balúch, the Afghán likes more substantial dwellings than are to be found in Marwat, but there is a reason why they have them not, besides what is stated above. The earth from its very sandy nature will not adhere, and it is therefore totally unsuitable for building purposes, and, what is more, water is exceedingly scarce. Had this not been the case, the Afgháns of Marwat might have rivalled the "cowardly" Bannútsí Afgháns in the number of their forts, but the earth of Bannú, from its clayey nature, is remarkably tenacious, and well adapted for building purposes. Reeds and rushes grow plentifully in the swampy parts near the banks of the river of Kurma'h, which is not far away.

The ground gradually descends from the west towards the east, from the hills in which the Baitní Afgháns dwell towards the point of junction of the Gambíla'h with the river of Kurma'h. Towards the north again the ground is still higher. From the physical nature of the country, it is highly probable that, as tradition asserts, the country around Laka'í, and as far as the Tangaey, or Dara'h-i-Tang of modern times, was once a large lake, and that it remained so down to comparatively modern times, as its former Pus'hto name of Dand indicates.

abodes. The river Gamíla'h and river of Kurma'h flow through the middle of the Marwat territory; and on both sides of these rivers the land is exceedingly fruitful, and produces fine crops. The Gamíla'h, as before mentioned, comes down from the hilly country of Kární-Grám, and, passing on the north side of the town of Laka'í, unites with the river of Kurma'h and its many minor tributaries three or four kuroh farther east. The united streams then flow through the lower part of the country of the 'Ísá Khel, receiving some minor streams from the hills of that part, and finally unite with the Abáe Sín. Like some other Afghán tribes, the Marwat Núhárnís re-distribute the lands of their villages every ten or twelve years, sometimes after longer periods; and each member of the community, even to the infant in arms, has a share allowed. This re-distribution is, however, restricted within certain customary regulations.

"The *lalmí* lands, or lands dependent on rain for irrigation, are chiefly unproductive. In the cold season, however, much rain falls, and snow likewise, but, in the hot season, the heat is very great. It is not the custom in this country to sink wells, and the people use the river water for drinking purposes. The chief produce consists of wheat, barley, jowár, bájra'h, and muṭhh, in great plenty, but of sugar-cane, rice, and cotton, the produce is scanty. Traders have to pay a tax.

"Laka'í lies about equidistant from the several mountain ranges surrounding it, being about twenty kuroh from each, save those in the direction of Bunnú and Ṭák, which lie farther off.

"The language of the people of the Marwat country is Pus'hto only, save in a few instances where the Balúchí and Panjábí languages are also spoken, but by persons of a different race."

Seventy-fourth Route. From Kábul to the Dera'h of Ghází Khán by way of Laka'í and Chaudh-Wa-án, a distance of two hundred and seventy kuroh south, inclining south-east.

"The route from Kábul to Laka'í has been described in the preceding route. Setting out from the last-named place, you proceed two kuroh in the direction of south-west, and reach the Chuna'í, a river dependent on rain,* and of great depth,† which comes from the range of mountains on the left hand, and, flowing towards the right for a distance of six or seven kuroh, unites with the Gamíla'h. On the way to it from Laka'í you pass through a sandy tract in which there is great scarcity of water.

"From the Chuna'í you proceed three kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining south, to the Giṛa'í‡ of the Abá-Khel, a village§ named after a clan of the Marwat tribe; and then another two kuroh to the south-west to the Giṛa'í of the Kakah Khel, another village lying on the right hand, and named after another clan of the Marwat tribe of Afgháns. Leaving it, you proceed another two kuroh to the south-west, inclining south, to the Giṛa'í of the Abá Khel, and then another two kuroh, in the same direction as before, to Tatar Khel,‖ so called after another clan of the Marwat tribe. You then go on for a distance of four kuroh to the south, inclining south-east, and reach the Giṛa'í-i-Sálṭí. West of it is a considerable river, dependent on rain, which comes from the left hand, flows towards the right, and becomes lost in the sandy waste; and this river they call the Lúṛa'h.¶ Setting out from the banks of the afore-mentioned river, and proceeding another two kuroh in the same direction as before, you reach the Giṛa'í-i-Loární, a place belonging to a clan or section of the Marwat tribe called the Daulat Khel. Katál Khán, the Sardár or Chief of Ṭák, belongs to this clan.

"Up to this point there is excess of sandy desert; and the mountains on either hand show themselves stretching away in the distance to the right and left. Going on from the Giṛa'í-i-Loární for half a kuroh in the direction of south, you reach a gorge in a small mountain range; and, having descended through it for a distance of one kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining south, you arrive at the small fort of Paṭhán-

* The "Choonie Nala" of our maps.

† After heavy rains, probably, in the northernmost part of the Rátá Roh, or Koh-i-Surkh, styled, in our maps, "Mohrut," and "the Nílah range."

‡ *See* page 235, note *, for the correct meaning of this word.

§ Now, a large and prosperous village.

‖ This is the "Tittur Kheyl" and "Titar Kheyl" of the maps, and "Teeturkheyl" of Edwardes.

¶ Turned into "Lohra" in the Survey maps.

Koṭ.* It is built on the crest of a mountain, and was erected by Gul-rang Khán, previously referred to, the rival chief of the Marwats, out of hostility towards Núr Khán, of the Pahár Khel, a few years ago, in the year 1204 H. (1789–90 A.D.) Gul-rang Khán is a young man, but in size so gigantic, that, from the writer's earliest recollection up to the present time, he has never beheld another such among the human race.

"There is no water within the walls of the fort of Paṭhán-Koṭ, but in the bed of the river Lorníhá,† which runs on the east of it, they have dug *chukkars* [shallow holes to hold water], and take their supply of water from them. This river is also dependent on rain, and comes from the left hand [the east]. Proceeding from Paṭhán-Koṭ three kuroh west in the bed of this river, you reach another of considerable size, also dependent on rain, which is known as the Paiṇzú. It comes from the northwards, unites with the Lorníhá, and receives the name of Paiṇzú, and becomes absorbed, farther down, in the direction of Ṭak-wára'h. Proceeding onwards from the banks of the last-named river, you enter a dara'h or defile in the mountains, and, keeping along the river side for the distance of half a kuroh south-west, emerge from the mountains, after which another half a kuroh brings you to the Giṛa'í-i-Marwat.‡ The before-mentioned river runs on the right hand; and at this point the territory of Marwat terminates."

The two parallel ranges of mountains which, from the Tangaey, a little to the east of which the river of Kurma'h unites with the Indus, and from near the point of junction, respectively, run towards the south-west and separate the Marwat country from that of the Khassúr tribe of Afgháns on one side, and from the northern part of the Dera'h-ját on the other, constitute the northernmost part of the Koh-i-Surkh, or Rátá Roh, or Rátá Pahár, described at page 5 of these "Notes. Another part of the same range, but of lesser elevation, known to our geographers as the "*Bhuttunnee*" Range (because the *Baiṭní* tribe of Afgháns inhabits it perhaps), juts out from the main range farther west, and runs towards the south-east, gradually lessening in altitude, to meet the other two above referred to, and thus separates the Marwat country from Ṭák or Ṭáṇk. At the apex, where the two portions meet, they are pierced by the Paiṇzú stream,§ previously mentioned; and the dara'h, through which it flows, is known as the Paiṇzú *Kotal* or Pass. It is, upon the whole, tolerably easy and level, except at its commencement on the northern or Marwat side, as already described, where, for some distance, it is steep, and, in some places, very narrow, but it improves as you proceed.

With the exception of two minor *kotals,* or rather clefts, in the so-called "Bhuttunnee Range," there is no road (except by the Bain *Kotal* on our extreme western frontier) leading to the south from Marwat, and these two minor *kotals* are narrow and difficult. It would be almost impossible to take laden animals over them, and hence, the Paiṇzú *Kotal* is the most frequented route, being the high road followed by traders and travellers between the Dera'h-ját, and Marwat and Bannú, and other parts to the north, and the route which troops would also have to follow.

These two minor *kotals* are known as the Khaṭey Lár,‖ or Miry Road, and the Sijzí or Sigí *Kotal,* the former being little more than a kuroh distant on the right hand as you proceed south by the Paiṇzú *Kotal,* and the latter about the same distance to the right or west of the former.

The Bain *Kotal* lies rather less than seven kuroh to the north-west of that of Sijzí; and through it the present frontier road passes. It is a good road, but is without water; and, being on the extreme western frontier, is liable to be infested by the Wazíris. In following it, on the way south, a person would be taken a good deal out of his way. This pass will be again noticed. There is yet another, north of the Bain

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* Not to be found in our largest Survey maps, nor is it mentioned, I believe, in recent accounts of the Bannú district, as at present constituted.

† Not indicated even in our largest maps. It may also be written Lorn̲ía'h. Great changes in the courses of the streams and watercourses have taken place here, as well as elsewhere in the Dámán, since these surveys were made.

‡ This place appears to be identical with what is now styled in our maps "*Nuwa Peyzoo,*" intended, probably, for Nowá or New Paiṇzú.

§ The "*n*" in this word is nasal. It is the "*Pezú*" of gazetteers, and "*Peyzoo*" of the maps. It is the river which flows through the dara'h that gives name to the *kotal,* and not the *kotal* to the river, as erroneously supposed. Some changes have, apparently, taken place in the course of the latter since the author wrote. The river appears in our maps as the "Pooranu Peyzoo Nala." "Puráná," which signifies "old," "former," etc., like "nowa," is a Hindí, or rather Sanskrit word used in Hindí, not an Afghán word.

‖ *Khaṭa'h,* in Pus'hto, signifies "mud" or "mire, and *lár,* a road. Here the first is inflected, and used to qualify the other word. This name too, through its meaning not being known, has been distorted into the "*Kutla* Pass," and "*Katlar* Pass." In the same way, the other name has been turned into "*Siggee.*"

Kotal, but it is barely practicable for camels and horses. It is known as the Tabí *Kotal*.

"As the mountains and arid plains of this territory contain but little water, the Marwat tribe, in the hot season, come down from the mountains, and pitch their tents on the banks of these rivers, which are dependent on rain; and, wherever there may be springs of water, there they take up their residence, for shorter or longer periods, and sometimes for good. If they dig in the beds of these rivers to the depth of a man's stature, water exceedingly cool and pure is obtained, and is consumed by themselves and their cattle. If, however, they should dig deeper, the ground gives way, on account of the sandy nature of the soil, and the pit or well fills up again, and the water is lost. The place where *íláts* or nomads take up their dwelling they style a *gira'í*.*

"From the Gira'í-i-Marwat two roads diverge. The left-hand one leads to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, and the right-hand one is as follows. Setting out from the Gira'í-i-Marwat, you proceed twelve kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining west, and reach Ták, which is a town of considerable size, and named after an Afghán clan.† By the way there is scarcity of water, and you pass many *gira'í* or stations of the Marwat *íláts* or nomads. The Painzú river, which runs towards the west, passes to the east of Ták.

"The Afghán people of the Ták territory belong to the Daulat Khel branch of the great tribe of the Núhární Afgháns,‡ also known, by using '*l*' for '*n*,' as Lúhární, but who have separated from the parent stock. They number between 8,000 and 9,000 families.§ Katál‖ Khán, the Sardár or Chief of the clan, who dwells in the town of Ták, belongs to a subdivision of the Daulat Khel. He pays 4,000 rúpís yearly as '*ushr*, or a tenth, into the treasury of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání, Bádsháh of Kábul, and furnishes a contingent of 200 horse and foot to the Bádsháh's army.¶

"The territory of Ták, which forms the extreme north-west part of the territory called Sind, from south to north, is twenty kuroh in length, and from ten to twelve kuroh in breadth from east to west. Its surface is somewhat rough, containing many elevations and depressions, low ranges of hills, deep ravines, and stony plains. The Dzamad,** or Jamad river flows through this territory, and is expended in the irrigation of the lands in the country or tract inhabited by the Gandah-púrs [or Dzandah-púrs] a little farther south.

"Setting out from Ták, you proceed three kuroh south to Tataur,†† a large village belonging to the Ták section of the Tataur division, of the Núhární tribe, under the rule of Fázil Khán, and the afore-mentioned river lies on the left hand. The Tataur Afgháns consist of about 3,000 or 4,000 families. Fázil Khán, their Sardár or Chief, pays 2,000 rúpís to the treasury of Tímúr Sháh, Bádsháh of Kábul, by way of '*ushr*,

* Here again is a specimen of how words may be vitiated by persons, without understanding a language, writing from ear alone. The meaning and correct pronunciation of this word was given more than twenty years ago in my Afghán Dictionary, but in our maps, official papers, and gazetteers, it is turned into "*Kirri*," "*Kirí*," "*Keeree*," "*Kirree*," and "*Kiri*," while one compiler, in one place, applies "*Kiri*" to *the people* so encamping, and, in another place, applies both "*Kirri*" and "*Kirí*" to *places*, such as "*Kirí* Haidar," without, apparently, knowing that both his terms refer to the same word, as is explained above. I rather suspect that many of the names of places in the Revenue Survey Maps with "Gurra" prefixed, refer, really, to these nomad *gira'í*. Indeed, I find *Keeree*, and *Khera*, used indiscriminately, in one map, as well as *Gurra*.

The Balúch tribes call such stations *jhoks*.

† Not now to be traced I believe.

‡ Some of the Daulat Khel are Powandahs, certainly, and are, as above stated, Núhárnís, but not "*Povindah Laharnis*."

§ They, like the sections of several other Afghán tribes, increased more rapidly than others of their kinsmen, and separated from them, found new lands in which to dwell, and, in consequence, by many, are supposed to be distinct tribes. A few Afgháns of other neighbouring tribes dwell among them, and also many Jats. The fort of Ták is a place of some strength; and the interior, planned by the late Sarwar Khán, is very intricately arranged. It was this last-named chief who, in after years, built a great *band* or dam across the Gumul, and diverted its waters from their natural course towards the north.

‖ He is neither called "Katal" nor "Kuttál." It is written as above.

¶ *See* Edwardes, "Year on the Panjab Frontier," Vol. I., p. 422.

** This is the river which appears in our maps as the "Zam." MacGregor calls it the "Tánk Zám," but that is incorrect. It might be certainly called the Dzamad of Ták. There is no long vowel in the word, therefore "*Zám*" is impossible.

†† There is no place of this name on the road in question at this time. Its name has possibly been changed. There is a small village so called about four miles west-north-west of Ták, which appears in the maps as "*Tittor*," and "*Tutohr*," and in official records as "*Tattor*," and "*Tator*," but this is not the place referred to by the writer, for that lay south of Ták. Its position would be near what appears as "Bara Khel" in the maps, or a trifle farther west.

or a tenth; and, in time of war, furnishes a contingent of 60 cavalry to that monarch's army.*

"The tract of territory belonging to the Tataurs is about ten or eleven kuroh in length, and between seven and eight broad, lying on either side of the Dzamad or Jamad river.†

"From the village of the Tataurs you proceed five kuroh to the south, as before, and reach Mamrez, a place also inhabited by the Ták section of the tribe; and from thence you go another two kuroh, in the same direction as before, and reach the banks of a river dependent on rain, which comes from the right hand [west], runs towards the left, and unites with the Gumul river.‡ Another kuroh farther in the same direction brings you to Rúṛhí,§ a large village inhabited by the Gandah-púr, or Gandah-púr Afghláns. Leaving it, you go twelve kuroh south-east, inclining south, to Kúlánchí,|| or Kúláchí, a large village belonging to the Gandah-púr Afgháns, under the sway of Ázád Khán, their chief. On the way between Rúṛhí and Kúlánchí you meet with the camps or stations of the Gandah-púrs, who dwell after the manner of *íláts* or nomads. The Koh-i-Sulímán, Koh-i-Siyah, or Sulímán Range, which is exceedingly lofty, and covered with perpetual snow, shows itself on the right-hand side as you proceed.

"The Gandah-púr [or Dzandah-púr] Afgháns, who are of Sayyid descent, are a branch of the tribe of Úsh-taráni, or rather sub-tribe, for the latter are one of the two sections of Sayyid descent among the Sheránís, the Bakht-yárí being the other, who, like other sections contained among several other Afghán tribes, on account of such descent, are held in more or less veneration by the other branches. The Úsh-taránís will be again referred to in their proper place. The Gandah-púrs number between 6,000 and 7,000 families; and the extent of their territory, from south to north, from near Drá-bhan to the vicinity of Pahár-púr, is about fifteen kuroh, and, from west to east, is about six or seven kuroh in breadth. It is known as Rúṛhí,¶ and, as its name indicates, is

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* Like others of the Núhární tribe, the Tataurs made some figure in India. When Ahmad Khán, Súr, son of Sado, a grand-nephew of Sher Sháh, assumed sovereignty in the Panj-áb, with the title of Sikandar Sháh, after the defeat of Sultán Ibráhím in 962 H., and he had to submit to Akbar Bádsháh in 964 H. (1557 A.D.), and asked to be permitted to retire into obscurity without having to present himself, and set out for Bangálah, then ruled by a Núhární sovereign, he sent his son, 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, to the Court, attended by one of his most trusted followers; and the person in question was Ghází Khán, the Tataur.

It is strange what has become of them in recent times; for I find, from the statement of one district officer, that the whole of the Tataur clan consists of but "some sixty men," and yet they are said to live "principally in the village of Tator [he means Tataur]," and some in two other villages, while the village of Tataur alone contains over a hundred male inhabitants of whom, probably, the majority are of this very clan.

† Some tribes use the letter "*j*" instead of "*dz*," but the latter is the most correct. They also use "*j*" and "*ch*" for "*ts*," as before mentioned.

‡ The changes which subsequently took place were caused by the erection of Sarwar Khán's *band* or dam, which was constructed many years after these surveys were made.

§ "Rori" and "Roree" of the maps.

|| It is now a considerable town, other villages being now embraced within it, and contains some 10,000 inhabitants. As indicated by its name, it was formerly a possession of, and peopled by, the Kúlánchí or Kúláchí Balúch tribe. *See* page 4, and the historical notice of the Balúch tribes in the next Section of these "Notes." Masson turns the name into "Kalaichi," in his usual incorrect manner of writing proper names.

Edwardes (Vol. I., p. 574), referring to the village of Daulat-wálah to the west of the Dera'h of Fath Khán, falls into great error again. He says that in its ruined fort "lives the chief zumeendar, Hôt Khán, "Koláchee," and in brackets adds, "not derived from Kolâchee in the Gundapoor country, but a tribe of "Beloochees." He was unaware, probably, that the Kúláchí Balúchís founded the "Kolâchee in the Gundapoor "country," and that they possessed the country around long before the Gandah-púr clan reached it. *See* page 4.

¶ This is a tract of some interest in the history of Afghánistán and of Hindústán; and it may not be amiss to mention why it is so, more particularly since it has not been hitherto mentioned, I believe, by any European writer, and by very few native historians.

About seven miles south-east of the point where the Gumul river pierces the mountains of the Koh-i-Surkh or Rátá Roh, or outer range of Mihtar Sulímán, there is a small hilly tract, about eight or nine miles in length, and about half that extent in breadth, which juts out from the first-mentioned range, and runs almost due north. It has the Gumul on its northern skirt, and what in our maps is called the "Loonee" on its southern side, and extends east to within about three miles of the large village of Rúṛhí.

This tract is hard, harsh, and as unpromising as can well be seen, with scarcely a stunted tree, shrub, or sign of vegetation. Such land in Pus'hto is called *zejzey*, meaning "hard," "rough," "stiff," "rigid," etc., which it is said, "in the Multání dialect of the Panj-áb, is called *rúṛhí*," by which name it is still known, and gives name to the village above mentioned. The word, of course, is from Sanskrit *rúṛh*, which bears the meaning given above; and there is another similar tract, between Sakhí Sarwar and the Indus, also called by this Sanskrit name.

This tract on the Gumul was in former times inhabited by the descendants of Súr, son of Ismá'íl, grandson

rather rough in surface, consisting of low ranges of hills, and excess of ascents and descents, elevations and depressions. The *kharíf*, or autumnal cultivation, is carried on by irrigating the lands from the Dzamad river; but the *rabí'*, or spring crops, depend entirely on rain. Their territory produces much wheat, barley, jowár (*holcus sorgum*), bájrá (*holcus spicatus*), muṭhh (lentils), and másh (*phaseolus max.*). The Gandah-púrs are assessed at some thousands of rúpís by way of *'ushr*, or a tenth; and, in time of war, have to furnish a contingent of 200 horse and foot to the Bádsháh's army. Ázád Khán, who is their Sardár or Chief, resides at the village, or cluster of villages, called Ṭak-wára'h,* which they likewise style by the name of Gandah-púr, and also at Kúlánchí.

"The rule over the Gandah-púrs is not hereditary, but depends, as in the case of several other Afghán tribes, on the accord of the tribe generally.

"When they first obtained lands in this part, namely, at Rúṛhí, just referred to, which were assigned them by a former chief of Ṭák, they adopted the system of *wesh* in the division of the newly acquired lands, as is the custom among several Afghán tribes, and each family or household received an equal share. An interchange takes place about every six or seven years, so that those who have previously held the poor land get the better sort for a similar period.†

"North of the village of Kúlánchí a large river flows, which is known as the Gumul. It comes down from the right hand [the west], and rises in the mountain tracts east of Ghaznín and Margha'h, not far from the source of the Tonchí river. After passing Kúlánchí it is drawn off for irrigation purposes in the neighbourhood of the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, farther to the eastward.‡

"The whole of the tract through which the Gumul flows and reaches, after it pierces the Koh-i-Siyah, or Koh of Mihtar Sulímán, is also called Gumul, after the river. Its course, west of the great mountain chain, will be referred to in greater detail farther on.

"The river Dzamad, which rises in the mountains to the north of the Gandah-púr territory, and flows through Ṭák, is expended in the irrigation of their lands, as before remarked, but, according to some statements, it unites with the Sind river. This, in all probability, it does, after heavy rains in the mountains, when it rushes down with considerable violence.

"To return to the route. Leaving Kúlánchí, you proceed four kuroh south, inclining south-east, to Mí'án Ghulám dá Koṭ, a place inhabited by the Mayah Khel; and from thence three kuroh farther towards the south is Dṛá-bhaṇ,§ the name applied to two large villages belonging to another branch of the Núḥární tribe of Afgháns. Going from thence a distance of one kuroh and a half south, you come to a place called Músá Khán;‖ and you then go on to Sháh 'Álam Khán, another small place, one kuroh farther south. The next stage of three kuroh, still in the same direction,

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of Ibráhím, surmamed Lo-e daey—Lo-daey,—namely, the Yúnas Khel section, which includes the Daulat Khel, a portion of whom still dwell at Ṭák, as already mentioned, and the Sher Khel. It was from this Rúṛhí, otherwise the Zejzey, that Mián Ḥasan, of the Sher Khel, came into Hindústán—not "down from Roh"—in the reign of Sulṭán Bahlúl, who sprang from another branch of the Lodís, and whose son, Faríd, overthrew the Mughal dynasty, and, under the title of Sher Sháh, ruled in great glory over Hindústán. Khán-i-Zamán, the ancestor of Ḳatál Khán, of the Daulat Khel Núḥárnís, mentioned at page 325, gave this rough tract of country to the homeless Gandah-púr Ūsh-taránís, when they came out of Roh, in which to dwell, and there they still reside. *See* note ‖‖, page 341.

There were some Lodís in this part as early as the time of Maḥmúd, Sulṭán of the Ghaznín kingdom.

* I believe this should be more correctly Ṭak-Wáṛa'h, or the garden or enclosure, at Ṭak, or, of Ṭak, from the Sanskrit *wára*, signifying an enclosure, garden, and the like. The number of names and terminations found in names of places in this part, and farther south, are the names which existed in the time of these Balúchís, long before the present Afghán tribes now dwelling in this part obtained a footing in the Dera'h-ját. *See* following note ‡, next page.

† *See* the system adopted in Suwát, described at page 209. The lands at present, however, are not re-distributed among the Gandah-púrs: the system has been discontinued.

‡ *See* note §, page 325.

§ Dṛá-bhaṇ, I would remark, has no reference whatever to a *dara'h*, which is written درہ, not دڑا, like the above; consequently, it does not mean "the Closed Pass." "Durruh-bund" certainly does not mean that, because there are no such words that I am aware of, *band* being written بند, and not بھن *bhaṇ*. The words are not Persian or Tájzík, but Hindí. The word is written ڈھڑا بن—Dhṛá-ban—in the Khuláṣat-ul-Ansáb, but, as elsewhere mentioned, Afgháns use "*d*" in place of Hindí "*dh*." *See* preceding note *. When the last-named work was written, there were Sarwánís still located in the Dṛá-bhaṇ territory, near the Núḥárnís; so they could not have been quite "annihilated as far as concerns Afghánistán," in the reign of Humáyún Bádsháh, as Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, states in his book. They emigrated, in great numbers, in former times, into India. The chief of Máler Koṭlah was a Sarkární Afghán when these surveys were made.

‖ "Moosa Zaie" of our maps.

brings you to Chaudh-Wa'án. This is a town of considerable size belonging to the Bábar offshoot of the Sheráni tribe of Afgháns; and from Ṭák to this place the territory lying along the skirt of the Koh-i-Siyah, or Koh-i-Mihtar Sulímán, or Sulímán Range, is called Dámán, which I will briefly describe."

THE DÁMÁN.

"Dámán, as its name indicates, lies at the foot or skirt of the Koh-i-Sulímán, and extends from Ṭák to Chaudh Wa'án, and west to Zarkaní, so called after a clan or section of the Shpún Baitnís. On the east it joins the district dependent on the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán; and, on the west, extends to the foot of the mountains—the easternmost skirts of the great range—which the Afghán inhabitants here style Ghar, —the Pus'hto word for mountain—and also Shú-ál. Dámán, therefore, is about forty kuroh long, from north to south, and about twenty kuroh broad, from west to east. Its surface is generally flat, and is sometimes sandy, but consists chiefly of clay and sand which have become considerably hardened, indicating that it has been formed of the *débris* washed down from the mighty range in the course of centuries, but, more particularly, from the easternmost or lowest ridges of the outer chain, which are composed of sandstone grey in colour. Near the hills this hardened surface is partially covered by a broad belt of boulders, and small loose stones washed down in time of floods. Where there is no water available for irrigation purposes, this surface is bare of grass, but it is partially covered with low tamarisk *jangal*, and the *jawásá* or camel-thorn (*hedysarum alhagi*), but the trees are few, and seldom attain any considerable height. The rainy season of this part is the winter; and the custom of sinking wells is unknown, and river water is used for all purposes. When the rivers become dry they dig in their beds to about the depth of a man's stature, and pure water issues forth, and suffices for the use of man and beast. The language of the people, like that of all Afgháns, is Pus'hto, but, as is the case with regard to other languages, there is considerable difference between that spoken here and in other districts of the same country."

THE BÁBAṚ AFGHÁNS.

"The Bábaṛ* Afgháns, who may now be considered almost a distinct tribe, are really but a sub-tribe, section, or branch, of the Sheránís, hereafter to be noticed, being descended from a son of Dom, one of Sheránaey's grandsons. The Bábaṛs consist of about 6,000 or 7,000 families dwelling in the territory of the Dámán, but, mostly, within the mountain tracts immediately to the west, and, like the Ghalzís, and some others, are much scattered about. Some are entirely independent, and live in permanent dwellings and cultivate the soil, while others dwell after the manner of *íláts* or nomads.† Their chief town, and seat of authority, or residence of their chief, is Chaudh-Wa'án,‡ which is a considerable town, situated at the foot of the mountains of the Koh-i-Surkh, the outer, lowest, and easternmost of the great chain, to be presently referred to. The river which comes from the right hand [west], rises in the country of the Sheráni Afgháns; passes near the southern end or termination of the Takht-i-Sulímán, or highest part of this vast range; and, in the outermost or easternmost range of the chain, unites with another stream known as the Kaldaní,§ issuing from, and its bed constituting, so to say, the road leading from Chaudh-Wa'án to the foot of the S'hwey-Lári Ghás'haey or Slippery Road‖ Pass, farther to the south, which will

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* There is no Afghán tribe called "*Babhurs*." Elphinstone, adopting the Í-rání pronunciation, styles them "Bauboors," after his manner of writing "Khaun" for Khán and "Damaun" for Dámán. Edwardes says (p. 564), "The Sheraunees do not plunder the Choudwan country." The reason is that they are kinsmen of the Bábaṛs.

† *See* the account of the Powandahs in the next Section.

‡ It will be noticed that the names of several places in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, as well as in the Dera'h-ját, and other parts, end in Wa'án as above, but written in our maps incorrectly as "Van." In the dialect of the Panj-áb and the Dera'h-ját, it is of the same signification as *báwalí* in Hindí, namely, a great well of burnt brick, with stone steps to descend into it.

MacGregor states that, for assisting the chief of the "Daolat Khéls, when they first came down into the plains," he gave the Bábaṛs a portion of his land, "which is called Choadwán, or the fourth share." Unfortunately, *chaudawán* means fourteenth, and a fourth is *chauthá*, but neither word refers to this place.

§ This river appears in the Indian Atlas map as the *Wulheree* N. (Nálah), but, in the large Panj-áb Survey map, it is the *Valari* N.; and the name seems somehow like an attempt at S'hwey Lári. MacGregor, however, turns it into *Lohúra*, but, in another place, calls it the "*Walheri* ravine." The other river referred to as coming from the right hand, that is from farther north, issues from a great cleft in the main or highest ridge, called in our maps the "*Shungow* Pass," but the "*Shangao* Pass" of MacGregor.

‖ The word S'hwey also means "smooth," "not affording firm footing," and this, perhaps, might be the most applicable signification.

be described in the next Section. After issuing from the mountains at what, from its proximity to the town of Chaudh-Wa'án, is sometimes called the Chaudh-Wa'án *Kotal*, it passes south of the town, and is expended in the irrigation of the lands around. The people of the place have cut canals from it, and conducted the water into their masjids, dwellings, and gardens.

"The town of Chaudh-Wa'án is in the possession of Núr Muhammad Khán, the present Sardár or Chief of the Bábars, who, with his tribe, is most loyal towards Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání, Bádsháh of Kábul; and, on this account, the Bábars are exempted from taxes and cesses, and are not required to furnish any contingent to the Bádsháh's army. Most of the tribe follow commercial pursuits; and among them are many wealthy merchants, and men of means."

The author of the Táríkh-i-Husain Sháhí refers to this Sardár in his work, and was his contemporary, and knew him personally, in the reign of Sháh-i-Zamán. He says:—

"One of the three greatest of the Sardárs of Tímúr Sháh's reign was the Amín-ul-Mulk, Núr Muhammad Khán, the Bábar. He held the office of Díwán-i-Kul Mamlakat, or Finance Minister, and was also the Controller of the Household Expenses. He gave a daughter in marriage to Sháh-i-Zamán; and, when the Bádsháh goes a journey, or is on the line of march, Núr Muhammad sleeps near the tents of the Haram with a body of his own trustworthy followers. He is a friend of the good and deserving, without inquiring or considering who their fathers are, or were; and takes care of the interests of his friends. The Durránís are rather inclined to look down upon him, because the Bábar tribe is but small in point of numbers.

"The Ghuláms in the service of the Durrání Bádsháhs amount to about 12,000 cavalry, the greater number of whom are Mughal Kazil-báshís, whom Ahmad Sháh Durrání [not Nádir Sháh] removed from Í-rán [Khurásán] and settled at Kábul. Their descendants are now styled Kábulís and Pes'háwarís. A *dasta'h* or division of these troops is attached to, and in the pay and under the orders of, the Amín-ul-Mulk, Núr Muhammad Khán."

The author of the Táríkh-i-Husain Sháhí completed his history in the reign of Sháh-i-Zamán Bádsháh, in 1213 H. (1798–99 A.D.), which is a very valuable work, and is very interesting as following about ten years after the author of these surveys completed the account of his investigations. I now resume the account of the route.

"West of the town of Chaudh-Wa'án rises that lofty peak of the Koh-i-Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, called the Takht-i-Sulímán, or 'Soloman's Throne,' giving name to the whole of the stupendous range. The Afgháns style it Kesah-Ghar, and Kasí-Ghar, and also Shú-ál. It is a very lofty mountain, and on the summit of it is the place of pilgrimage, known to the Afghán people as the Ziárat [or Shrine, or Place of Pilgrimage] of the Patriarch, Sulímán, as will be subsequently noticed in another place. It shows itself from an immense distance, and its summit is generally clothed with snow.

"From the town of Chaudh-Wa'án to the Ziárat of Hazrat Sulímán, on its summit, is a distance of twenty-five kuroh, and the way thither is well known.* This great range of mountains intervenes between Kandahár and the Dera'h-ját, extending lengthways from the Dara'h of Khaibar and Jalál-ábád on the north, to Síwí and Dádar on the south, a distance of just three hundred kuroh, and in breadth, including its offshoots, one hundred kuroh. Within these limits, forming an extensive territory, there are numerous dara'hs and plateaus; and it was herein, but especially in the vicinity of, and around, Kasí-Ghar, or Shú-ál, that the Afghán tribes, according to their traditions, first took up their abode, and subsequently spread out in all directions.

"The limits above mentioned constitute *the* true Afghánistán; and it is to this tract, and to no other, that the earlier Musalmán chroniclers refer under that name.†

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* Nearly twenty years after the above account was written, Mr. Frazer, of the Bengal Civil Service, and Lieutenant Harris, of the Bengal Artillery, members of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone's mission, on the way to Pes'háwar, made an attempt to reach Kasí Ghar. They set out from Drá-bhan, provided with a guide by the chief of the Daulat Khel, 'Umar Khán, and made towards the mountains. "They found the north side "sloping, covered with fir trees, and abounding in rocks of a kind of pudding stone; there were many valleys "divided by narrow ridges, and each watered by a clear brook. So circuitous was the road by which they "travelled, that, after they had advanced about twelve miles, they found they were still three days' journey "from the top; they also learned that the upper part of the mountain was rendered inaccessible by the snow." This, and the departure of the mission, caused them to abandon the attempt.

† The author of the Tazkirat-ul-Mulúk, an extract from which I gave in the Introduction to my Pus'hto Grammar, very correctly says, "Afghánistán extends from Kasí Ghar to the boundary of the Kandahár province "as constituted under the Safawiyah dynasty."

From the afore-mentioned Koṭ you have to proceed one kuroh south to Bhaṭíán Wálah, which place lies near by on the left hand, and by the way you skirt the Kastúrí canal, which runs in this direction, in two or three places. Then you go half a kuroh south to Shaikhání* [in one copy, Shaikhátí, and in another, Shanjádí], a village belonging to the Balúchís, and another, called Barhí,† lies near by on the left-hand side of the road. Another quarter kuroh south brings you to Farwál, also written Farwán, all the three places being named after as many Balúch clans. Continuing onwards from thence a quarter kuroh farther, you arrive opposite to Shethí dá Shahr, a large village at some distance away on the right-hand side of the route, and another half kuroh farther is Markonḍa'h, another large village, distant on the left hand. From this point you have to go three kuroh and a half south to Koṛyiá Lúnḍ dí Wastí, or "Koṛiyá Lúnḍ's village," and the date grove of the village of Shethí can be seen from this place. From Koṛiyá Lúnḍ dí Wastí, another half kuroh south, brings you to the town, the Dera'h of Ghází Khán:—

"From the Giṛa'í-i-Marwat to Wahwá the tract passed through is full of ascents and descents, rises and depressions; from Wahwá to Mangnoṭha'h or Mangroṭha'h there is scarcity of water, trees, and habitations; from the last-named place to Ẓáhir-Wála'h the cultivation depends on the water from the hill torrents for irrigation; and from Ẓáhir-Wála'h to the Dera'h of Ghází Khán water is abundant, and the habitations are numerous. The cultivation is from wells as well as from the rivers; and, during the inundation of the Sind river, this district, for a considerable distance from its banks, is under water."

Seventy-fifth Route. From Kábul to the Dera'h of Ghází Khán by way of Laka'í, and the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, a distance of three hundred kuroh, which route also leads to Multán.

"The route from Kábul to Laka'í, and from thence to the Giṛa'í-i-Marwat, has been described in the preceding. Setting out from the latter station, you proceed one kuroh and a half to the south, and reach the Paiṇzú, a river dependent on rain, which comes from the left hand and runs to the right towards Ták. It rises on the west face of the westernmost ridge of the Ráṭá Roh or Koh-i-Surkh, bounding the L'waṛga'í Dara'h‡ on the west. From thence you go on another kuroh and a half to the south, to Khwajzey Aoba'h, in Pus'hto signifying 'Sweet or Good Water,' another river depending on rain, which also comes from the left hand and runs to the right, and unites with the Paíṇzú. From thence (Khwajzey Aoba'h) you go on another kuroh to the east, and reach Tríkhey Aoba'h, the Pus'hto for 'Bitter Water,'§ another river dependent on rain, which also comes from the left hand, runs to the right, and unites with the Paiṇzú. Its water is bitter, hence its name. Another two kuroh south-east, inclining east, is another of these rain-dependent rivers, which comes from the left, and running to the right, unites with the afore-mentioned river.

"Having reached the banks of the Tríkhey Aoba'h, you go another two kuroh east, and reach the Dzamad‖ or Jamad, a considerable river containing water at all times. It comes from the left hand [the east], runs towards the right [the west], and in the direction of Ṭak-wára'h is expended in the irrigation of the lands. Setting out from the banks of the Jamad or Dzamad, you proceed in the direction of east, and reach Punḍ-yála'h¶, a large village, situated on the hill side, belonging to the Biluts

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* There are Balúch clans named Shikhání and Sabjání, but the MSS. are as above.

† "Burree" of the maps probably. Great changes have taken place likewise towards the banks of the Sind, from the Kastúrí canal down to the Dera'h of Ghází Khán.

‡ This is the "Lárgí" of MacGregor, and "Largee" of others. L'waṛ, in Pus'hto, signifies "high," "lofty," "raised," "elevated," etc., and the dara'h in question, which lies very high, is elevated in the middle, and slopes at either end, in the direction of N.E. and S.W., in which direction the drainage from the two ridges on either side runs out, hence some have supposed that it consists of two dara'hs. The particle *ga'í*, affixed to Afghán words, is used to lessen the importance of a word, and sometimes to convey contempt. *See* my Grammar, page 29.

§ This is made the "Turkoba Nala" in our maps, but it has nothing to do with the Turk, and certainly Turk does not mean bitter. The Khwajzey-Aoba'h appears in the maps as the "*Pooranu Pyzoo* Nala," puráná, in Hindí, signifies "old," but the word is not used in Pus'hto.

‖ Our surveyors, it would seem, did not discover the real name of this river, for they style it the "*Kurunga* Nala" above the town, and the "*Largee* Nala" below. It is a different river from that mentioned at page 325, which see.

Here, too, vast changes have taken place in the courses of the rivers since these surveys were made. The Dzamad does not reach near Ṭak-wára'h now. *See* also note ‡, page 337.

¶ The Paniala of the maps.

clan of the Afgháns, on the extreme frontier of the Afghánistán in this direction.* To the east of the village is a high mountain range, the southern termination of the easternmost ridge of this portion of the Rátá Roh or Koh-i-Surkh, and, at the foot of it water percolates from several fissures, and diffuses itself, or is diffused, over the fields. The Dzamad or Jamad river flows below the village on its north side.

"From this place Sayyid-Wálah† is distant ten kuroh to the eastward, and Bilút, or Bilúts, fifteen kuroh. From Puṇḍ-yála'h eastwards and southwards the Pus'hto language ceases to be spoken."

THE BILUTS OR BILÚTS AFGHÁNS.‡

"The Biluts section of the Pṛangí Lodís are of Sayyid descent, and consist of about 500 families. They dwell in the villages of Puṇḍ-yála'h and Bilúts or Biluts; and there are a few at Píplán, on the east side of the Sind, in the Mían-walí district. The other Afgháns of this territory greatly venerate them, and pay them much reverence and respect. They are exempt from taxes and tithes, forced labour, and the furnishing of any contingent to the Bádsháh's army.

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* This village lay in Elphinstone's route to Pes'háwar, but he was never at Laka'í, as some have assumed. He refers to Puṇḍ-yála'h, under the name of "Puneealla":—"Our camp was pitched near the village of "Puneealla, in a cheerful and beautiful spot, such as one would figure a scene in Arabia Felix. It was a "sandy valley, bounded by craggy hills, watered by a little stream, and interspersed with clumps of date trees. "The village itself stood in a deep grove of date trees, on the side of the hill, from which many streams gushed "through little caverns in the thickest part of the wood."

† Incorrectly styled "Sydoowalee" in the maps.

‡ As mentioned before in note †, page 317, the Pus'hto letter څ "*ts*" is changed by a few tribes, especially by those of the Dámán, and by the Bannutsís, (whose Pus'hto is more vitiated than that of any other tribe) into ج "*j*" and چ "*ch*," which are common to the Hindí also; and this, perhaps, is owing to their proximity to, and constant contact with, the Hindí speaking Panjábí people, who including the Gakhaṛs, Kaṭhars, and others, do not realize the sound of the Pus'hto "*ts*." By these people, consequently, these Sayyíd-zádahs would be styled Biluj, or Biluch, with short "*u*," instead of Biluts; and this fact appears to have caused some to rush to the conclusion that the word must be "Baloch" and "Baluch."

I find, in MacGregor's "Afghánistán," Part I., page 541, under the heading of "Paníalá," as he styles the village of Puṇḍ-yála'h, the following:—"The inhabitants are of the *Baluch* section of the Daolat Khel."

On the other hand, Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, in his book, entitled "Hai'át-i-Afghání," says, that the "Baluch," as he styles them, "is another small tribe of uncertain origin, sometimes asserting that they are of "the same descent as the Níází, and sometimes the same as the Daulat Khel," but that "they are not able, "except by their own statements, to furnish any proof of either of these assertions."

I will therefore give Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, some information on the subject, and show him that there is no uncertainty in the matter, and that the Biluts are descended from the same common ancestor as the Níází, and the Daulat Khel likewise.

Instead of seven sons, whom Hai'át Khán assigns to Pṛangaey, son of Síánaey, son of Ibráhím, surnamed Lo-daey—on the authority of what he calls "the Makhzan-i-Afghání, *written by* Khán Jahán, Lodi, an Afghán "noble of the Court of Jahangír, of Dihlí, with the assistance of his Secretary, Ni'amat Ullah," which work, after styling it a tissue of falsehoods, he carefully copies and appropriates—Pṛangaey had nine sons, one of whom at least, if not two, was of Sayyid descent, and an adopted son, but whose descendants are still accounted Afgháns, as among other tribes. The eighth and ninth sons, or adopted sons, were Khaṣ-yúr, corrupted in course of time into Khasúr and Khassúr, and Biluts, the descendants of which latter, being of Sayyid descent, are, consequently, venerated by the other Afgháns. Such being their descent, the Biluts are, as they assert, descended from the same common ancestor as the Níází, namely Ibráhím Lo-daey; and, as the Daulat Khel are descended from Níázaey, the progenitor of the Níází, the Biluts are of the same descent as the Daulat Khel.

Hai'át Khán appears to imagine that the "Makhzan-i-Afgháni," which the Khán-i-Jahán, the Lodi, *did not write*, is the only work containing the history of the Afghán tribes, but in this he is much mistaken, for there are some works much older than Ni'amat Ullah's.

At Chúnár-Gaṛh, in the Mírzá-púr district of the North-West Provinces, overlooking the Ganges, and outside that place, there is a noble mausoleum, known as that of Ḳásim, the Sulímání. He was born in 956 H. (1549 A.D.), and died in 1010 H. (1601 A.D.); and his grandson, the Shaikh, 'Abd-ur-Razzáḳ, son of Imám-ud-Dín, that Pír's eldest son, is my authority respecting the Khaṣ-yúr and Biluts Afgháns, and a good deal more of Afghán history, which I hope, before long, will see the light. 'Abd-ur-Razzáḳ was born on the 24th of Rajab, 1039 H. (1629 A.D.). This family was lineally descended from the Shaikh, 'Umar, the eldest son of Khálíl, the progenitor of that tribe of Afgháns. Sulímání, it must be remembered, is a name by which the Afgháns are known as well as Rohilah.

'Abd-ur-Razzaḳ wrote a history of the Afghán tribes, which is in my possession. It was written *several years before* the Makhzan-i-Afghání of Ni'amat Ullah, which was only finished in 1078 H. (1667–68 A.D.); and it is very evident that Ni'amat Ullah was unaware of it. The history of the Ḳhas'his, which I have quoted in the Third Section of this work, was within just a century earlier.

The Biluts Afgháns are descended from Malik Maḥmúd, son of Aḥmad, son of Malik Sáhú, son of Isḥáḳ (not "Ashak") son of 'Umar, who was the brother (by adoption?) of Khaṣ-yúr, one of the nine sons of Pṛangaey, before referred to. Malik Maḥmúd's brother, Malik Bahrám, who was the father of Malik Kálá, who was the father of *the first* Afghán ruler of Dihli—the very first of the Afghán race who attained sovereignty in Hindústán.

"After the Sikhs obtained sway over the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, a few years since, they advanced into the hill country in order to invade and appropriate some more of the Afghán territory, but, in the first encounter, they came in contact with the clan, and at their hands suffered a severe repulse; and the Sikhs took to flight, and have not since* ventured to invade the part in question.

"From Pund-yála'h you proceed a stage of seven kuroh in the direction of south, inclining south-east, to Pahar-púr, a considerable town, under the sway of Kamar-ud-Dín Khán, the Hakim or Governor of the district or province of Dera'h-i-Ismá'íl Khán. North of the town is the high mountain range, part of the Rátá Roh or Koh-i-Surkh, which runs northwards towards the junction of the river of Kurma'h with the Sind, and parallel to the west bank of the latter river. The first half of the way, coming from Pund-yála'h to this place, you pass through a very hilly tract, and the road is like the dry bed of a river, but after that, the *dasht* or barren plain commences. The people speak the Balúchí and Panj-ábí languages. The cultivation around Pahár-púr is carried on by means of wells.

"Setting out from the last-named place, you go two kuroh south to Dá'úd Sháh, a village on the right hand, near the road; and from thence another kuroh south-east to Kálá-Gúr, also lying on the right hand. At this place the road coming from the left hand, from Kálá-Bágh, unites with this one. From Kálá-Gúr you proceed one kuroh south-east, and reach a great *nahr* or canal coming from the left hand. It runs to the right, and is expended in the irrigation of the lands. Another two kuroh from the canal, in the same direction as before, brings you to Dahútar, also on the right-hand side of the road. On the left is a great watercourse, a minor branch of the Sind river, which is impassable without a boat; and on the other side is a large village called Kálrú, which is distant one kuroh from the Sind river. This watercourse, or minor branch of the Sind river, again unites with the main stream after passing near the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán.

"From Dahútar you proceed two kuroh in the direction of south-west to That-Thal, a small place on the left-hand side, near the road. On the right hand is another great watercourse. From the last-named place you next proceed three kuroh to the south-west, inclining south, to near the village of Mandrí,† half a kuroh on the right hand, on the other side of the river branch or watercourse before mentioned. The other road leading from Pahár-púr, also on the right-hand side, at this place unites with the road which has just been described. Leaving Mandrí, you go on to Daulat-púra'h,‡ distant one kuroh south, inclining south-east, on the left hand, and then another kuroh south to Megan, lying some distance off, on the right-hand side of the way. Another two kuroh south-west, inclining south, brings you to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khan; and on the way you meet with much water, many habitations, and numerous date groves.

"The other, or more direct road from Pahár-púr to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khan is fourteen kuroh, and it is well known. It goes by Sháh dá Kot, distant five kuroh south-west, inclining south, from Pahár-púr, and then another five kuroh in the same direction to Mandrí, previously referred to, where the roads unite.

"Having reached the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khan, you proceed from thence two kuroh and a half south-west to Maryálí, near the road on the right-hand side; and by the way you pass numbers of gardens and numerous date groves. Continuing onwards for another six kuroh to the south-west, inclining south, you come to Kúláchí, or, more correctly, Kúlánchí,§ so called after the Balúch tribe of that name; and you go on from thence one kuroh and a half south-west to Drá-bhan,‖ a large village belonging to the Balúchís, which must not be mistaken for the Núhární town near the foot of the range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, although it is spelt the same way. Half a kuroh farther south-west, inclining south, brings you to another Drá-bhan.¶ Both these villages are situated near by, on the right-hand side of the road. From thence you proceed one kuroh in the same direction as before to Lunda'h; and then two kuroh and a half, still in the same direction, to Khánd, which lies near the road on the right-hand side. The village of Sálhún-Wálah lies seven kuroh distant on the left (the

* Up to the time the author wrote.
† "Mundra" of the maps.
‡ "Dowlutwala" of the maps.
§ The "Koolachi" of the maps, and "Kalaichee" of Masson.
‖ The "Chota Drabund" of the maps.
¶ *See* note §, page 327. There is no "Closed Pass" anywhere near this place, and yet it is spelt precisely like the other, and might equally as well be styled the "Closed Pass" as that referred to at that page.

east), and Chaudh-Wa'án, mentioned in the preceding route, eighteen kuroh on the right (the west). From Khánä to the Sind river is seven kuroh to the left, but the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán* is distant three kuroh from the river; and a small branch of the Sind flows half a kuroh to the east of that town.

"From Khánä you proceed two kuroh and a half to the south, to the large village of Parúdhah,† sometimes called Pardúhah; and from that place the village of Kahírí is distant seven kuroh to the south-east, and Bukhárá‡ of Husain, the Kirmání [in one copy Kirhání] is five kuroh to the east. Going on from Parúda'h for a distance of five kuroh south, inclining south-west, you reach Bhaṭi-sar,§ and another four kuroh in the same direction brings you to Míran, which is a good-sized village, and the Sind river flows six kuroh distant on the right hand.|| You then go on two kuroh farther in the same direction to Rammuk,¶ a large village situated on the boundary of the jurisdiction of the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán in this direction [at the period when the author wrote]. The water of the Sind river during the time of the inundations does not reach the part lying between the second Drá-bhan and the village of Rammuk, but lies away six or seven kuroh on the left hand.** The cultivation, therefore, depends upon the water brought down by the hill torrents after rains in the mountains to the west.

"From Rammuk you proceed half a kuroh south, with the Koṭ-i-Sháh Jamál†† lying distant from the road on the right hand, and the village of Ghamsán near by on the left. You next go three kuroh and a half farther south, and reach Chohnián,‡‡ to the south of which is the Wahwá Nadí, or Wahwá river, a river dependent on rain, but always containing water, the waters of which are drawn off for irrigation purposes. From thence you have to go three kuroh south, to Gáḍí, which lies distant from the road on the left hand; and then another kuroh farther south brings you to the Gharak, a considerable river dependent on rain, which issues from the Wahwá river, and, passing below the walls of the fort of Ghar-áng, unites with the Sind river.§§ The people have thrown up embankments in all directions in order to save the water, and use it in irrigating their lands. Having gone half a kuroh farther south, inclining south-east, you reach Ghar-áng, which is a good-sized town, and is the place of residence of Ghulám Muhammad Khán, Balúch, of the Kúlánchí tribe. The town of Wahwá lies nine kuroh distant on the right hand, near the skirt of the mountains, and the Sind river one kuroh to the left. The fort of Ghar-áng|||| is on the right-hand (west) side of the town as you come along.

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* The writer refers to the old town of Ismá'íl Khán, which was destroyed in 1823. I need scarcely mention that the name is not "*Ishmáil* Khán," for there is no "*sh*" in it. The place referred to by the author of these surveys was founded, as stated in note §, page 4, Section First. MacGregor, in his "Central Asia," page 474, says, "In 1469, Sultán Husén, Governor of Multán, made over the Indus frontier to a Baloch Malik, Sohráb, "who founded the towns of Derá Ishmáil Khán, Derá Fateh Khán, and Derá Ghází Khán, naming them after "his three sons," etc., etc. He is, however, very much mistaken, or his authorities are. There was no "Governor of Multán" called "Sultán Husén," but there was an independent sovereign of Multán and its territory, who received it from his father, Rai Sihrah, otherwise Sultán Kutb-ud-Dín, the Langáh, and transmitted the sovereignty to his descendants. His son, named Sultán Husain, who succeeded his father in 874 H. (1469-70, A.D.), bestowed grants of land on the Indus on a Balúch adventurer from Mukrán, who took service with him, who was of the Dúdá'í clan of the Hút tribe. He had no son named "Ghází Khán;" therefore "his "son," so called, did not found "Derá Ghází Khán," for that was founded by the Nawwáb, Ghází Khán, of the Marlání tribe of Balúchís, who are totally distinct from the Húts. [redacted] Sultán Husain, the Langáh, reigned thirty years over the Multán territory.

† "Puroha" of the maps.

‡ "Bookhara" of the maps.

§ "Khera Boolasur" in the maps.

|| "Meerun" of the maps. The river flows much nearer at present, being not much more than half the distance, or five miles.

¶ This place is turned into "Rumuk" in the maps, while Rámak, in which the "*m*" is not doubled, is made into "Rimmuk."

** Rammuk too is now within half the distance.

†† Not to be found in the maps.

‡‡ "Chooni" of the maps.

§§ Here again great changes have taken place since these surveys were made. The Wahwá river, also called the Kálá Pání, and Ghar-áng Nadí, as mentioned at page 4 of Section First, now flows between five and six miles farther south than Chohnián, at the nearest point to it on the south-south-west. About six miles before it unites with the Indus it makes a bend, from a course nearly due west and east, to the south-east, and unites with the Indus about a mile and a half north of the fort of Ghar-áng. There is no river now known as the Gharak.

The Wahwá river is liable to sudden overflows, after heavy rains in the mountains, and then rushes down with violence, causing great damage.

|||| Consequently, "the strong fort of Giráng," which Edwardes ("A Year on the Panjab Frontier," Vol. I., p. 37) imagined was "built by the Sikhs," was not built by them, neither did the fort built by them "thence-"forward give name to the district," because Ghar-áng, as the place is named, and its fort, are here mentioned in several places, some thirty years before the Sikhs obtained a footing therein. *See* page 4.

"Leaving Ghaṛ-áng, you go one kuroh south, inclining south-west, to Dá'úd Sháh dí Wastí, near the road on the left-hand side; and then you go another two kuroh in the same direction, to Sháh dí Wastí, and two kuroh farther in the same direction to Babbí,* a village inhabited by Jats. From thence you proceed two kuroh and a half, still in the same direction, to Laṭ-ṛí,† and two kuroh more, in the same direction, to Tibbí, another village inhabited by Jaṭs,‡ situated on a sandy mound. From Ṙammuk to this place the country is under the sway of Ghulám Muḥammad Khán, Kúlánchí.

"Leaving this place, you continue to proceed for a distance of two kuroh south to Pehaṛ,§ a small village with a mud fort. From this place Wahwá is distant twelve kuroh on the right hand (west); the Sind river three kuroh on the left hand (east); and Layyá eight kuroh to the left, on the other side of the Sind; and on the way thither there is excess of *jangal*. From Pehaṛ you go on a kuroh and a half south, inclining south-east, to Malkání, a village so named after a clan or section of the Balúch tribe of Nutkání; then another kuroh south, inclining south-west, to Mulíání, lying on the right hand; and from thence three kuroh and a half, in the same direction, to Mulbání, both of which villages are also named after Balúch clans. From the last-named place another kuroh south brings you to Matílí,|| which lies on the left hand, and is also named after a Balúch clan. Another two kuroh farther in the direction of south-west, inclining south, is Náṛí, a small place inhabited by Jaṭs; and, going from thence three kuroh and a half south-west, you reach the Sangharp river, which is dependent on rain. It comes from the right hand, runs towards the left, and is expended in the irrigation of the lands.¶ One kuroh more from thence in the direction of south-west, and you reach the town of Mangnoṭha'h, or Mangroṭha'h; and from thence go on to the Dera'h of Ghází Khán, the remainder of the route to which town has been already described.

"From the village of Pehaṛ, the territory of Massú Khán, the chief of the Nutkánís, which is known as Sanghaṛ, commences. On the way onwards from thence you meet with much *jangal*, and scarcity of water. The cultivation depends on the water collected after rains in the mountains, which lie distant about ten or twelve kuroh on the right hand. The Sind river flows about six or seven kuroh on the left."

Seventy-sixth Route. From the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to Chauḍh-Wa'án.

"From the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to Chauḍh-Wa'án there are two routes. The left-hand one is as follows. Leaving the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, you proceed five kuroh in the direction of west, inclining a little to the north-west, to Gumul, the name by which several small villages are known, situated on the river of that name, which issues from the mountain tracts bounding the territory of Ghaznín on the east. From Gumul you go on three kuroh farther, in the direction of west, to Kahoiyán,** also the name of several villages, on the extreme boundary of the province dependent on the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán.

"Setting out from thence (Kahoiyán), you go four kuroh, in much the same direction as before, and reach the village of Ḍarbaṛí-Wálah Gaṛ,†† also known as Ḍarbaṛ-Gaṛ; and then two kuroh more in the same direction to Kalerí, after which another four kuroh in the same direction brings you to Kúlánchí, a town called after the Balúch tribe of that name. The mountain ranges of Koh-i-Surkh and the great range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah (described at page 5), lie near by on the

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* "Rubbeh" of the maps. The "*r*" is probably an error for "*b*."

† "Litri" in the maps.

‡ Now belonging to the Lunḍ Balúchís.

§ "Pahur" of the maps.

|| These four places do not appear in our maps: they have probably gone to decay, or their names have been changed.

¶ Here is another indication of the changes that have also taken place in this direction. The Sangharp river now flows nearly five miles farther south, and passes immediately under the walls of the fort of Mangroṭha'h, passing also to the south of Toṇsá. It unites with the Indus just under the walls of the village of Langáh on the south side, and about a mile north of the Dera'h of Fatḥ Khán. *See* page 3, Section First.

At this time, between Náṛí and Mangroṭha'h, there is no river; for the river issuing from, and whose bed forms, the Kháṇwah pass (incorrectly called the "*Khouanah*" and "*Khaona*" by different writers, and in our maps), passes under Koṭ Khasrání, and, except on rare occasions, and after heavy rains, when it becomes flooded, merely skirts the direct road between Náṛí and Mangroṭha'h. It appears in our maps as the "Nae N." *See* page 8, Section First.

** "Khooee" in the maps.

†† Called "Durburi" in the maps, and "Dabra" by others.

west; and, on the way from the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to this town, you pass numerous villages, and much cultivation. The road from this place to Chaudh-Wa'án has been already described.

"By the right-hand route from the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán you go from thence to Kahoiyán, mentioned before in the left-hand route, and from that place to Búṭí dá Koṭ,* four kuroh distant in the direction of north-west, inclining west. From thence you proceed another four kuroh, in much the same direction as before, to Koṭ-i-'Ísá Khán, which is a large village. Next you go two kuroh, in the same direction, to the village of Aṭal dá Koṭ,† and another five kuroh in the direction of south-west brings you to Kúlánchí. The remainder of the route from that town to Chauḍh-Wa'án of the Bábaṟs has been previously described."

Seventy-seventh Route. From Paháṟ-púr to Chauḍh-Wa'án.

"Setting out from Paháṟ-púr, you proceed twelve kuroh west to Ṭak-wárah, a large village, or rather cluster of villages, belonging to the Afghán clan of Ganḍah-púr Úsh-taránís, which is also known as Ganḍah-púr after them. It is under the sway of 'Azád Khán, the Sardár of this clan, whose place of residence is Kúlánchí. Ṭak-wárah is situated on a river dependent on rain, known as the Dzamad or Jamad, previously referred to;‡ and the village of Wihdar lies about one kuroh on the left hand. The tract passed through on the way is rough, and contains many ups and downs.

"From the last-named place you go one kuroh to the south, and reach another river dependent on rain, running on the right hand. It comes from the direction of Ṭak-wárah, and, running towards the left, is expended in the irrigation of the lands.§

"From this point you proceed four kuroh to the south, to Buḍh,‖ and then another two kuroh south, inclining south-west, to Koṭ-i-'Ísá Khán, mentioned in the preceding route, situated on the banks of the Gumul. From this place to Kúlánchí, and from that town to Chauḍh-Wa'án, the road has been before described. On the way you meet with much rough ground, and many ascents and descents."

Seventy-eighth Route. From Kábul to the Dera'h of Ghází Khán by way of Bázár-i-Aḥmad Khán, the chief town of Bannú, and to Ṭák, a distance of two hundred and sixty kuroh.

"The route from Kábul to Bázár-i-Aḥmad Khán has been already given (at page 80). From the last-named town you proceed eight kuroh south, inclining south-east, to Wallí, a place of abode of the *ilát* or nomad Marwats. By the way there is scarcity of water; and the country is rough and undulating, with many elevations and depressions. Continuing onwards from thence for a distance of six kuroh in the same direction as before, you reach the Gamílá or Gamíla'h¶ river, the water in which never fails. It comes down from the mountains on the right hand, and runs to the left towards Laka'í. From that point you go two kuroh south, and reach Kalaey-i-Bázíd Khán—'Bázíd Khán's Village'—which is peopled by the Marwat tribe; and the country passed through is much the same as before described. The next stage is eight kuroh south to Ṭák; and on the road there is great scarcity of water, and the country is rough and hilly. The route from Ṭák to the Dera'h of Ghází Khán has been before described.

"This route likewise leads to Káṟní-Grám, which lies three *manzils* or stages to the right hand [the west], inclining a little to the north-west, from Ṭák."

Seventy-ninth Route. From Multán to Kábul by way of Layyá and the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, a distance of near upon three hundred kuroh.

"Setting out from the city of Multán by the Láhorí gate, and passing through the *maḥalla'h* or quarter of the suburbs known as the Maḥalla'h of Koṭ-i-Túlí Khán, you

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* Turned into "Potha," in the maps.

† "Utul" in the maps.

‡ The name of this river has been previously mentioned. *See* note ‖, page 332.

§ Here, too, vast changes have occurred. Ṭak-wárah is now watered by a stream formed by several others rising in the mountains to the north and north-west, which unite a few miles north-west of that place. The other river dependent on rain, one kuroh to the south, still exists, and runs towards Buḍh, some miles north-west of which other watercourses unite with it.

‖ "Boodh" of the maps.

¶ Also called and written Ganbíla'h and Gambíla'h, "*n*" being often used in place of "*m*," and *vice versâ*.

go on for a distance of five kuroh north-west, and reach the banks of the river Chín-áb. Having crossed over at the ferry by means of a boat, you go one kuroh in the same direction, and reach Pakká or Pakka'h Sandíla'h, a large village in the Sind-Ságar Do-ába'h; and the ferry is known as the Sandíla'h Paṭan. The territory of the Nawwáb, Muẓaffar Khán, Sadozí,* ruler of the territory of Multán, terminates at Sandíla'h. The Ráj Gháṭ, another ferry over the Chín-áb, lies about two kuroh on the left hand.

"From Sandíla'h you proceed twelve kuroh west, inclining north-west, to Kháe, which is a large village under the sway of Muḥammadú-Khán, Balúch; and by the way you pass through a great sandy waste, in which there is great scarcity of water. This *dasht* or desert they style the Chúl-i-Jalálí in the Fársí idiom, but, in the idiom of the people of the Panj-áb, it is called by the Hindí name of *Thal*, which I will here describe."

The Chúl-i-Jalálí, or The Thal.

"This great tract extends from near Makhad on the north, to Ŭchchh-i-Sharíf, or Ŭchchh-i-Jalálí, on the south, about two hundred kuroh in length; and from the Wihat or Jhilam river on the east, to the Abáe-Sin, which is known as 'the Sind,' on the west, about fifty kuroh in breadth. It is called the Chúl-i-Jalálí by Muḥammadan writers after the feat performed by the gallant Sulṭán, Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, the Khwárazm Sháh, who, after his handful of troops, which had kept the whole Mughal host, led by the Chingiz Khán, at bay for some hours, had been overwhelmed, plunged on horseback into the Abáe-Sin, as related in the chronicles of this period.† It is peopled chiefly by Balúchís, who came hither in the time of the Langáh rulers of Multán,‡ and some of the Awán-Kár tribe, but, in former times, the chief portion of it was held by the very powerful tribe of Khokhar, of the Jaṭ race, but not to be mistaken for Gakhars, who are a totally distinct people.

"For a distance of about one kuroh more or less along the banks of both rivers this tract is well peopled, and is exceedingly productive. Towards the west, known as Layyá, Bhakhar, and Daryá Khán, they have cut deep canals from the Sind river, and rice and wheat are produced, but the latter in the greatest proportion. Such parts as the waters of the Sind do not reach, consisting of very sandy tracts, are cultivated by means of wells, and *bájrá* (*holcus spicatus*), *jowár* (*holcus sorgum*) *múṭhh* (lentils), wheat, and barley, are grown. In former times the revenue was assessed under the system called '*cháh-bandí*,' or, according to the number of wells, which were rated at from ten to twenty rúpís each well yearly, but, at the present time, the assessment is according to the system termed '*dána'h-bandí*,' whereby the government, or ruler, receives a certain share of the crop.

"The Sardárs and Zamíndárs of this part having drank of the water of independence and unrestraint, do not bend their necks to any one's authority, with the exception of a few Sardárs of the Balúch tribes, such as Muḥammadú Khán, before mentioned, who, with hands uplifted (submissively), renders obedience to Tímúr Sháh, Durrání, Bádsháh of Kábul, and pays a small sum yearly by way of *'ushr* or a tenth. Others of the Balúch Sardárs, and some of the Awán-Kár, who dwell in the direction of Khúsh-áb, adjoining the Sikhs, pay a little money in cash by way of *rakhí*, that is to say, *ḥifáẓat-i-mulk* [protection of country],§ to Ran-jít Singh, the Sikh, son of Mahá Singh, and are masters within their own districts.

"To return to the description of the route. Leaving Kháe, you next proceed twelve kuroh west, inclining north-west, to Addhú dá Koṭ;‖ and, by the way, you pass through the same sandy desert tract in which water is scarce. Your next stage of four kuroh north, inclining a little to the north-west, is to the Dá'írah-i-Dín-Panáh,¶ a great Khánḳah or chapel, containing the *mazár* [tomb and shrine] of a Muḥammadan saint;

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* I shall have to refer more fully to Multán and its rulers in the next and concluding Section of these "Notes."

† *See* the notes on this subject in the account of the Eighty-sixth Route farther on, and my translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 291.

‡ *See* note *, page 335.

§ Rakhí is the term particularly used to signify a tribute paid to a Sikh chieftain for protection, from *rakhná*, the verb, to keep, preserve, etc. Mahá (not "Muha," as most people write it) Singh died in 1792, a short time after these surveys were made; and his son, Ran-jít, afterwards the Mahá-rájah, was then rising into notice. Other Sikh chiefs, besides Ran-jít, thus gave their protection for a small yearly sum of money.

‖ Not "Oodoo Kee Kote," as in Edwardes' book.

¶ This place appears in the Indian Atlas map as "Dairah" merely; and Edwardes, and others, style it "Dera Deen Punnah." [redacted]

and over the shrine there is a lofty dome. The tract of country passed through is of the same description as before. The Sind river flows between three and four kuroh on the left hand (the west); and in that direction, likewise, are numerous villages and much cultivation, and canals and wells, while on the right-hand side is desert and sand, scarcity of water, and paucity of inhabitants and villages, hence the great length of the different stages.* From the Dá'írah-i-Dín-Panáh you proceed eighteen kuroh to Layyá,† a large town, and the place of residence of the before-mentioned Muhammadú Khán, the Jaskání. On the west side of this town there is a large canal cut from the Sind river, and brought into the cultivated lands. In the cold season, they raise *bands* or embankments on the water of this canal for irrigation purposes, and erect water-wheels to conduct the water into their fields, and these, when the inundation begins, in the hot season, are set going.

"Leaving Layyá, you proceed four kuroh to the north to Noh-shahra'h. This also is a large village, and the before-mentioned canal runs on the left of it. From this village you go two kuroh farther to Úlak, then to Rájah-sar, distant three kuroh; and after proceeding two kuroh farther, the direction being still north, you reach Sargání, a village named after a Balúch clan. Another two kuroh, in the same direction, brings you to Karúr of La'l 'Ísá‡ Sháh, a town of some size, situated on the canal

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* This tract is much better cultivated and more populous at the present time.

† The name of this place is generally written "Leia," and never correctly. The above is the proper way, and as given in the original with the vowel points, as the people write it whatever the "system" may be.

Layyá was the scene of a tragedy in the time of Sháh-i-Zamán, Durrání, subsequent to the time these surveys were made. Prince Humáyún, the Sháh's brother, having rebelled and been defeated, took to the hills between Kal'át-i-Násir and the Indus. Sháh-i-Zamán, after his flight, again turned his attention to a campaign east of the Indus against the Sikhs; and in 1210 H. (1795–96 A.D.), set out from Kábul, crossed the river by a bridge of boats at Atak, and advanced to Hasan-i-Abdál and the vicinity of Ruhtás. From thence he detached a force of about 7,000 cavalry under Ahmad Khán, Bárakzí, the Sháhanchí-Báshí, and other Sardárs, southward, to take possession of the Do-ábah between the Jhilam and the Chín-áb. It so happened, that, at this time, Prince Humáyún had come out of the hills, with the object of gaining Kash-mír by way of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and had halted in the neighbourhood of the kasbah of Layyá; and along with him were about one hundred horsemen, all Afghán Sardárs or their sons. His own son, Sultán Ahmad by name, a youth of great personal beauty and promise, just springing into manhood, who, previously, had been the means of saving the life of the little Prince, Sultán Kaisar, son of Sháh-i-Zamán, was also with him. They were assembled under a great tree, and had disguised themselves as well as their circumstances would allow.

Sháh-i-Zamán had issued strict orders to all the frontier authorities to endeavour to secure the fugitive. Muhammad Khán, Sadozí, a brave and intrepid young man, who held the government of the Layyá district, obtained information of the whereabouts of the party, and proceeded to endeavour to secure the person of Humáyún. Taking with him a body of 500 horse, he proceeded to the spot where they had halted. He first invited the Prince to enter the town, and take up his quarters there for a time, that he might show him the attention due to his rank, but Humáyún, from the tone of his voice, and the number of men with him, knew he was acting deceitfully. The horses of his small party were still saddled, and they themselves still armed, and, therefore, they resolved to resist. They fought bravely until most of them were either killed or wounded, and, among the former, was the young Prince, Sultán Ahmad, who was struck by a bullet, and fell dead from his horse. Humáyún, beholding the fate of the son whom he adored, threw himself from his horse, and hung over the body, uttering the most heart-rending lamentations; on which, Muhammad Khán, and his followers, drawing nearer, the former approached Humáyún, and took him in his arms, thus securing him. He was then taken to Layyá, and news of his capture sent to Sháh-i-Zamán. Hasan Khán, Kazil-Básh, who was the Sháh's Pesh-Khidmat, was despatched, with orders to deprive Humáyún of his sight, after which he was to be placed in a *pálkí*, and taken to Kábul to be immured in the Bálá-Hisár along with the other Princes, the brothers of the Sháh. This having been done, Hasan Khán returned to the Sháh's camp at Hasan-i-Abdál. Almost immediately after, the Sháh had to abandon the expedition against the Sikhs, and march back to crush an outbreak at Herát, raised by his other brother, Mahmúd.

The author of the Fawá'id-i-Safawíyah, Abú-l-Hasan, the Kazwíní, who is very hostile towards Sháh-i-Zamán, and gives him a much worse character than he deserves, says, that Hasan Khán, the Khurásání Í-rání, was sent to deprive Humáyún of his sight, "because no other rascal would undertake it." He adds that, from information which he received from a friend from that quarter, he was told that, when Prince Humáyún heard that Hasan Khán had been sent to deprive him of his sight, he drew a knife from his girdle and destroyed his own eyesight.

It is a rather curious coincidence that two princes, who rebelled against their brothers and sovereigns, should have been deprived of their sight in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and that, in each instance, the name Humáyún should occur. Kámrán Mirzá, the rebellious brother of Humáyún Bádsháh, was betrayed by a petty Gakhar chief, and blinded near Parh-álah, and Prince Humáyún, brother of Sháh-i-Zamán, blinded at Layyá, as above related.

The Sayyid, Ghulám Muhammad, previously mentioned at page 36, when returning to Hindústán from Kábul about ten years before these surveys were made, crossed the Chúl-i-Jalálí from the Dera'h of Ismá'il Khán to Baháwal-púr. He halted at Layyá on his way. He says, "It is a large town, 12 kurohs south from "Pír Sáhib, built of unburnt bricks and mud mortar."

‡ But not "*Eesan*" as in the maps. La'l Í'sá *Sháh*, like the so-called "King of Swat," was only a Sayyid, as indicated by his name.

The Sayyid, Ghulám Muhammad, calls this place Pír Sáhib (the shrine of the Pír Sáhib or Saint), and says, "It is the name of a tomb and shrine, and, therefore, the town which has sprung up around it bears the same "name. It is a large town, and the tomb is within a lofty building. The buildings of the bázár are of burnt "brick, but the houses are of mud mortar, or unburnt brick. Pír Sáhib is distant twelve *kos* north of "Layyá," and is quite a different place from that mentioned in the next page.

before referred to;* and, on the way to it, this canal lies on the left hand, and on the right is the great desert tract. Setting out from Karúr, you proceed three kuroh to Ṭibíán, and three farther to Jhargal. Then you go five kuroh more and reach Pehal;† and then on to Nútak,‡ the ancient seat of the Nútkání, or, more correctly, Nútakání, Balúch tribe.§

"Setting out from Nútak, you have to go two kuroh to Chhiní,|| and a similar distance to Pír Ṣáḥib, after which you go another five kuroh and reach the large town of Bhakhar.¶ On the way thither are numerous villages, and much cultivation; and the canal of Layyá runs near by on the left hand.** The distance from Layyá to Karúr of La'l 'Ísá Sháh is fifteen kuroh, and from it to Bhakhar, twenty-five; and, the direction is to the north.

"The Balúch inhabitants in this Do-ábah number near upon 100,000 families, who are divided into many sections, and numerous lesser branches. The chieftain-ship over this part centres in the family of the Jaskání, who, in ancient times, were subject to the family of the Laṭíán, who were *Wális* of Sind.†† At the present time, Muḥammadú Khán, the Jaskání, owns allegiance to the Durrání sovereign of Kábul, and pays 40,000 rúpís into his treasury as *'ushr* or tithe. In case of a war with Hindústán he has to furnish a Balúch contingent of 2,000 cavalry and infantry to the Bádsháh's army."

The other tribes of this Do-ábah, not dwelling within the limits of the present route, need not be noticed here.

To return to the route.

"At Bhakhar, two roads diverge. The left-hand one is as follows:—Having passed the Abáe-Sín west of Bhakhar by means of a boat, you proceed one kuroh, and reach the second branch of the great river. This you also cross by boat, and, having proceeded four kuroh in the direction of north-west, arrive at the third branch.‡‡ After crossing this by boat also, you have to go another kuroh in the same direction, and reach the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán.

"This is a large town [called a city by most native writers] possessing many large and lofty buildings, and a large bázár. It is the seat of authority of the Balúch chief of the tribe of Húṭ,§§ and is distant from Bhakhar twelve kuroh. In the hot season, when the river rises, the whole distance from near the last-named town to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán is inundated, and you have to go the whole distance by boat.

"From the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to Kábul there are three well known routes. The left-hand route is called the Ghwi-larí, and also the Ghwey-larí route [subsequently to be described];|||| the middle one goes by Marwat and Bannú, and is exceedingly difficult;¶¶ and the right-hand route, which goes by Pes'háwar, is as follows:—

"Leaving the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, you proceed two kuroh in the direction of north-east, inclining north, to Maigan, lying on the left hand, at a distance from the

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* There is no canal now nearer than two miles west of Karúr of La'l 'Ísá Sháh, and that is called the Múrhan Nálá. The features of the country round show that considerable changes have taken place here too, and also show the former course of the canal above referred to.

† Ghulám Muḥammad says, "It is twelve *kos* south-east from Bhakhar, and is a fort (or fortified or walled "place) upon a mound, and there is a sandy tract all round it. The Governor of the place is a Durrání, placed "there by Tímúr Sháh, Bádsháh of Kábul." It is the *Behul* of the maps.

‡ Nútak is correct, not "*Notuk*" as in the maps.

§ *See* page 3, Section First.

|| "Cheena" of the maps.

¶ Spelt invariably wrong in the maps, and thus turned into "*Bukkur.*" The name of this place is precisely the same as that opposite Rúṛhí in Sind.

Ghulám Muḥammad halted here on his journey. He says, "It is an old town, built of unburnt bricks. The "Governor of the place is Hai'át Khán, Balúch. The Layyá district is a sandy tract of country, but it has "sweet and pure water in many places. The chiefs of the district are also of the Balúch nation."

** The direction of it can be traced here likewise, but the canal no longer exists. What is now called the Dáe-wálah has taken its place.

†† I shall have to refer to these again in the next Section.

‡‡ Here, too, vast changes have taken place. The nearest branch, and that but a very small one, is now five miles away from Bhakhar; the second does not exist, for the main branch now contains numbers of channels, but on the way from this place to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, at the Paṭan or Ferry, it unites into one channel, and that in no less than between eleven or twelve miles from Bhakhar. No other intervenes between the main stream and the present Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, while the old town lay nearer the Indus banks. Constant changes are taking place in its course to a greater or less degree; and it was its encroachments to the westward which destroyed the old town, and changed what the author of these surveys above describes.

§§ For further information respecting the Balúch tribes of this part, and their history, *see* pages 3 and 4.

|||| *See* page 5, Section First. It is sometimes spelt Ghwalírí, but it is very evident that the last syllable of this word is from *lár*, the Pus'hto for road, shortened as I shall show in the next Section.

¶¶ *See* the Seventy-third and Seventy-fourth Routes.

road; and by the way you meet with canals, many date groves, and much cultivation. You then continue onwards for another kuroh north to Daulat-púra'h,* which lies near by on the right hand, and two and a half kuroh farther north, inclining north-west, to Mandrey.† Half a kuroh farther on, to the left, there is a little canal cut from the Sind river for purposes of irrigation. From the last-named village you go three kuroh north, inclining north-east, and reach That-Thal (referred to in a previous route) which is situated near by on the right hand. Here two roads diverge. One, the right-hand road, leads to Dahútar, and the left one to Kálá-Gúr, a small village lying on the right-hand side of the road, distant four kuroh to the north, inclining north-west; and the canal before mentioned passes near to That-Thal. Here also two roads branch off. The left-hand one leads by Pahár-púr into Marwat and Bannú: by the right-hand one you proceed one kuroh and a half north to Rang-púr, and then two kuroh more in the direction of north, inclining north-west, to Káṭhh-gar,‡ a small village lying at the foot of the mountain range, the easternmost of the two ridges of the Rátá Roh or Koh-i-Surkh, which run up parallel to the west bank of the Abáe-Sín from this point towards the place of junction of the river of Kurma'h with the great river; and on the right hand is some rough ground, consisting of low hills, and bluffs, and outlying spurs from the mountains referred to above. From Káṭhh-gar you proceed four kuroh, in the direction of north-east, to the village of Bágh Wálí; and the mountain range on the left-hand side rises near by, but the Sind river flows on the right hand distant some six or seven kuroh.§ From this place you go on for a distance of a kuroh and a half north-east to Koṭla'h; and on the left-hand side, situated on a slope of the mountains, is a large village named Sayyid-Wálah,|| and distant from Koṭla'h about a kuroh and a half. After leaving Koṭla'h, and continuing onward in the direction of north for one kuroh, you reach a small village called Dhakí;¶ and here the Dera'h-ját terminates, and the Afghán country commences. You next go two kuroh north to Koṭ-i-Káfirán, a large village belonging to Sayyids, and in the possession of Ghulám Sháh, the Sayyid. The Sind river flows about three or four kuroh distant on the right hand;** and the mountain range, before alluded to, rises close by on the left. From thence you go another kuroh north to Bilúṭ,†† but, correctly, Biluts, or Bilúts, built on a ridge of the mountains, and likewise inhabited by Sayyids of Afghán descent—the Biluts—after whom the place takes its name. At this place is the *mazár* [the tomb and shrine], of Sháh 'Isá.‡‡ The village lies at some distance from the road on the left-hand side. You next proceed two kuroh to the north, to Shínkaey, a village situated on a hill, on the left-hand side of the road, but at an interval from it. It is in the possession of Sher Khán, of the Afghán tribe of Khassúr,§§ whose territory commences here. From thence you continue onwards for another half a kuroh farther north, and reach Khassúr itself, which is a large village, named after the Afghán tribe before mentioned. It is situated on the slope of the mountains, on the left-hand side, but at some distance from the road. From the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to this place is a distance of twenty-seven kuroh; and the road is well known."

The Khassúr Tribe of Afgháns.

"The Khassúr tribe of Afgháns are of the Matí division of that nation, being descended from Ibráhím, surnamed Lo-e daey |||| [*i.e.*, he is the greatest or superior],

* "Dowlatwala" in the maps.

† "Mandra" of the maps.

‡ Turned into "Katgurh" in the maps.

§ Here again vast changes have taken place. The main branch of the river is not much more than a couple of kuroh distant now; and, a few miles above, it has approached close to the mountains.

|| "Sydoowalee" in the maps.

¶ "Dhukee" of the maps.

** The river now flows just below it. By some it is considered an old site.

†† "Billote" of the maps. The father of Sulṭán Bahlúl, the first Afghán who sat on the throne of Dihlí, Bahrám by name, and brother of Sulṭán Sháh, of the Sháhú Khel clan, of the Lúdí tribe, who received the title of Islám Khán from the Sayyid, Khiẓr Khán, ruler of Dihlí, came originally from the neighbourhood of Bilúts, or Biluts. The Bilúts *maḥáll* is mentioned in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí; and its inhabitants, the Bilúts, or Biluts, are set down as being able to furnish 100 horsemen, and 1,000 foot, for militia purposes.

According to the latest Panj-áb Revenue Survey map, one of the two main branches of the Indus flows, at present, close under the walls of the village.

‡‡ Not a sovereign, but a Sayyid, like the so-called "King of Swát."

§§ Neither this place, nor the Afgháns who inhabit it, are called "*Khasor*," nor "*Khyssore*." In the maps it is styled "*Khusore*," and "*Keeree Khusore*," neither of which is correct. Here "*keeree*," meant for *girá'í*, is also intended to mean a place of encampment or habitation, and is correct, except in the mode of spelling. *See* page 325, note *.

|||| From constant use the word is now generally pronounced and written Lúdí, but Lo-dí or Lo-e dí, in the plural, as applied to the tribe collectively, is correct in Pus'hto, and Lo-daey or Lo-e daey in the singular. The feminine form is Lo-da'í or Lo-e da'í, both singular and plural.

A great many errors are contained in notices of this work, especially in the notice preceding the extracts taken from it contained in Elliot's "Indian Historians," Vol. V., wherein it is supposed that the "Makhzan-i-Afghání" is one work, and "Khán Jahán Lodí" another, but, as above mentioned, the title of the work is "Táríkh-i-Khán Jahání,* or Makhzan-i-Afghání, and the word *Lodí* does not occur in it.†

That great chief, Malik Aḥmad by name, and the Khán-i-Jahán by title, however, *did write* a history of the Afgháns himself, a good old copy of which is now before me. In the Introduction to this volume he says: "The servant of the Most High "God, the Khán-i-Jahán, the Lodí, the author of these pages, despatched in the year "1030 H. (1621 A.D.) persons of experience in the world, who had been, of old, in "the service of the author, men who were distinguished for their great knowledge "and intellect, into the Kohistán of Ghúr, the Diyár-i-Maghrab, the Ḥijáz, "Khurásán, and other parts, the ancient and present places of residence of this "people [*i.e.* the Afgháns or Pus'htúns], to obtain information and collect their "genealogies, which had hitherto never been systematically arranged; and these he "[the Khán-i-Jahán] having arranged and written out, this work has been entitled "[by the author] '*Mir'át-ul-Afághinah,*'—the Mirror of the Afgháns—and consists "of three *báb* or chapters, and three *daftars* or books."

His account of the descent of the Níází tribe agrees with that of 'Abd-ur-Razzák, the Sulímání, and that in the Makhzan-i-Afghání, and with that given by the Nawwáb, Ḥáfiẓ Ráḥmat Khán, in his Khuláṣat-ul-Ansáb; but, since their days, other branches have struck out from the various divisions of it, and new sections have been formed in some instances, while, in others, sections have declined and become very few in point of numbers.

Their account of the 'Ísá Khel is, briefly, that Dzám or Dzál ("*l*" being substituted for "*m*" in some cases), son of Níázaey—the plural form of the word, namely, Níází, is applied to the tribe collectively—son of Ibráhím, *alias* Lo-e daey or Lo-daey, son of Bíbí Mato, by the Ghúrí youth, of the family of the Tájzík Chiefs of Ghúr, had seven sons by three wives, namely, 'Ísá, 'Alí, and Daulat, by the first wife; Sunbal, and Pindár or Pandár, by the second; and Marhel and Jalaey, by some written Jakaey, by the third.

According to another account given by the Sulímání, previously mentioned, which is considered by him and his authorities to be the most authentic, Níázaey, son of Lo-daey, had three sons, Dzám (corrupted into Jám by those tribes who change "*dz*" into "*j*"), Bá'í, and Kháko. Dzám had eight sons, Pindár or Pandár, Sunbal, Khán (?), Daulat, 'Ísá, 'Alí, Marhel, and Jalaey or Jakaey. 'Ísá, last mentioned, is the progenitor of the 'Ísá Khel. Much discrepancy exists, even among the Níází themselves, respecting the sons and some of the grandsons of Níázaey, as the tribe has, from time to time, become much dispersed through the calamities which they have suffered, and through great numbers having emigrated to Hindústán during the reigns of the Sulṭáns of the house of Lodí. The sections of the Níází tribe now dwelling on the banks of the Sind or Indus more particularly referred to here are, the 'Ísá Khel, the Músá Khel, the Sunbals, and Sahrángs, which all contain smaller sections. The Marhels are, like the Sunbals, descended from Dzám; and, according to some accounts, the Sahrángs of Mián-walí, the Mahyárs, the Mechan Khel, and the Músíání Níázís are descended from Kháko, while the descendants of Bá'í, the third son, have remained as they were, and, being few in point of numbers, have, consequently, not formed separate sections.

Besides those dwelling near to and on the Indus, another section of the Kháko Níázís, namely, the Kúndí, dwell in several villages in the north-east corner of the district of Ṭák or Ṭánk; and they used, in former times, to observe the ancient custom of *wesh*, or the re-distribution of lands in their possession, which custom is observed among some tribes. The Powandah, or nomad Níázís, consisting of the 'Alí Khel, and others, five in all, pitch their tents in the cold season in the territory of the 'Ísá

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* Khán Jahání is an adjective here, literally—"The Khán Jahánián Chronicle," or "Afghánián Repository."

† Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, in his book, abuses the Makhzan-i-Afghání, like all things Afghán, but takes care to transfer its contents to his pages, and incorrectly states that it was "written by Khán Jahán (Lodi) "*with the assistance of his Secretary*, Ni'amat Ullah." If the words "Wáḳia'-Nawís" at the court of Jahángír-Bádsháh," which Ni'amat-Ullah was, mean a "Secretary," nothing is impossible. Wáḳí'a-Nawís, however, signifies "an intelligencer," "a news writer;" and I dare say we have one at Kábul at present, at the Court of 'Abd-ur-Ráḥman, the Bárakzí. *See* Priestly's Translation of the "Haiat i Afghani," page 52.

Khel. They will be again referred to in the account of the Powandah Afgháns, in the next Section of these "Notes."

Níázaey, the progenitor of the Níází tribe, was one of the three sons of Ibráhím, surnamed Lo-e daey or Lo-daey, son of Mato, daughter of Baiṭnaey, or Shaikh Baiṭ, by a young man named Sháh Ḥusain, a Shansabání Tájzík of Ghúr;* and Sulṭan Bahlúl, of the Sháhú Khel Lodís, was descended from Síánaey, another brother of Níázaey.

The descendants of Bíbí Mato, including the descendants of Níázaey, first dwelt in the district of Shil-ghaṛ, situated to the south of Ghaznín, but, when the other descendants of Bíbí Mato, especially those of her first-born son, the Ghal-zo-e, or Illicit Son, namely, the tribe of Ghalzí, became more numerous in proportion to the others, the district of Shil-gaṛ was found too small to support them all; quarrels arose about the possession of the lands; and, like other tribes and sections of tribes, when the lands were found insufficient to furnish a subsistence, like bees in the parent hive, the

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* In his "Central Asia," Part I., MacGregor calls this tribe "*Níází Loḥánís*," while a Níází Núḥání or Lúḥání is just as impossible a name as "Kákaṛ Gakhaṛ," or "Ghori Afghán," would be. As herein shown, and, indeed, as shown in all the genealogies of the Afgháns, the Níázís and Lúḥánís, or, more correctly, Núḥánís or Núḥárnís, are totally distinct tribes.

The same compiler is equally unfortunate respecting history. In the same book, page 525, Vol. II., he says, under the heading of "Níází," that "*they are descended from Niáz Khán, second son of Lodí, King of Ghor,* "*by his second wife Takia. Lodi was the Loḥání chief who, in A.H. 955, invaded Hindústán, and, conquering the Dáman, apportioned the lands amongst his sons; the fertile district of Isa Khel fell to the lot* "*of Niáz* [this is 'Niáz' number two] *Khán, whose descendants are settled there to this day.*" He quotes as his authority "*Norman.*"

In Vol. I. of the same book, page 649, under the heading of "Ísá Khel," he says that "Niáz Khán was "*the second son of Lodí, the son of Shah Húsen, King of Ghor,*" and that "*the Niázís were allotted lands in* "*Ísá Khel early in the* 12*th century,*" and that "*the main body of the Niázís have settled down in the country* "*allotted to them* 700 *years ago.*" For this statement likewise "*Norman*" and some others are quoted as authorities.

Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, whose book entitled "Hai'át-i-Afghání" MacGregor constantly quotes and refers to, gives a correct account of the descent of the Níázís from Ibráhím, surnamed Lo-daey, and, copying from the history entitled the "Makhzan-i-Afghání," which he asserts is "a tissue of falsehoods," says that the Mattis, namely the Ghalzí, Lodí, and Sarwání tribes, are descended from "*one Shah Husain, a youth of noble* "*birth,*" descended from a ruler of Ghúr, and in this he is tolerably correct, but he says, respecting the Níázís, including the 'Ísá Khel, that they have only been located in the parts they now occupy *two hundred and seventy years* from the time he wrote, which was in 1865. To this statement I have referred in detail farther on.

Now I beg leave to say that Ibráhím Lo-daey was not a "Lohani," seeing that the Núḥární tribe are the descendants of Núḥ, one of the three sons of Ismá'íl, the *grandson* of Ibráhím, Lo-daey, Núḥ therefore being his *great grandson*, while the Níází tribe are descended from one of Ibráhím Lo-daey's own sons, thus:—

IBRÁHÍM
surnamed Lo-e daey or Lo-daey
(three sons).

- 1. Níázaey (his descendants, Níází).
- 2. Síánaey (two sons).
  - 1. Ismá'íl (three sons).
    - 1. Súr (the section from which Sher Sháh, ruler of the Dihlí kingdom came).
    - 2. Núḥárnaey (vitiated into Láḥárnaey and Lúḥánaey).
    - 3. Mahpál.
  - 2. Pṛangaey.
- 3. Dotánaey.

The matter lies in a nutshell. The Níázís, as well as the Núḥárnís and Súrs, are Lodís, but Níázís cannot possibly be "*Loḥánís*," nor can Súrs nor Núḥárnís be Níázís.

As to the so-called "king of Ghor," I may mention that there never was a chief of Ghúr, much less a

weakest generally had to seek new homes, unless the more numerous ones, as a few tribes have done, chose to do so. The Níází families being too weak to cope with the Andaṛs, the descendants of Andaṛ, son of the Ghal-zo-e, they moved eastwards in the direction of the Sind or Indus; and took up their quarters at the foot of the eastern skirts, or Dámán, as the latter word signifies, of the great range of Mihtar Sulímán, Koh-i-Siyah, in the tract or territory subsequently known as Ták or Ṭáṇk, after a clan or section of the Afghán clan so called, previously referred to at page 325, immediately west of which, in the mountains, their kinsmen, the Baiṭnís, dwell, who are descended from Shpún, or Wuṛ Shpún (the Lesser or Younger Shpún), and Kajín, sons of the Shaikh, Baiṭ, and brothers of Bíbí Mato, who, being weak, like the Níázís, in point of numbers, had been obliged to move eastwards, consequent on the superiority of the Ghalzí tribe. The Andaṛ Ghalzís continue to inhabit Shil-ghaṛ to this day.

Like most of the Afghán tribes at that period, the Níázís were chiefly Powandahs or nomads; and some follow that mode of life, as related above, up to the present time. Arrived in Ṭák, they continued to lead a nomad life, feeding their cattle and flocks; and they likewise engaged in trading, while only a comparative few followed agriculture. They subsequently spread farther to the north-east, towards the Indus; dwelt for some years in the sandy tract or Thal, now known as "Thal of the Marwats," and "Marwat;" and afterwards, through the constant molestation of the Marwat (but not "Maorat," as in the gazetteers) section of the Núḥární, or Lúḥární, they moved farther north-west, to the parts in which the remnant of them (the Níázís) are at present dwelling. I shall refer to these movements from Ṭák farther on.

The Powandah portion of the Níázís, being in the habit of trading to the Panj-áb and Hindústán, when, in after years, an Afghán of their own kin became governor of the Panj-áb, and another of Sahrind, they began, like other Afgháns, to take military service under them. When Sulṭán Bahlul, the Sháhú Khel Lodí, became sovereign of the Dihlí kingdom in 855 H.* (1451 A.D.), he issued proclamations to his countrymen and kinsmen, the descendants of Ibráhím, Lo-daey, in particular, offering them service and free grants of land in Hindústán. The greater part of the Níázís answered to the call, as did numbers of Afgháns of other tribes, some of which, in consequence of so many going, have disappeared altogether, or nearly so, from their mother country, and have become absorbed in Hind.

Among the Afghán tribes and sub-tribes which, at that time, and during the reigns of the subsequent Afghán sovereigns, took service in India, and many of whom attained the highest rank in the State, were Lodís, Núḥarnís, Baiṭnís, Míánahs, Sarwánís, Jalwání Sheránís, Ush-taránís, Gharshíns, Táraṛns,† Aor-maṛs (corrupted into Ormaṛs), Farmulís, Paṛnís, Kánsís (Kásís of others), Tataurs, Kákaṛs, and some sections of the Kaṛlární‡ division of the Afghán nation, and even some of the Sarabarns. It is a curious fact, however, that we do not find among them any Ghalzís or Abdálís, or others of the, at present, more western tribes of Afgháns. The sovereigns of Málwah, however, were Khalj Turks; and, if the Afgháns considered them to be Ghalzís, as some modern philosophers have, for political purposes, or party bias, endeavoured to show, and that Panj-ábí Gakhaṛs are Kákaṛ Afgháns, it is strange that the Ghalzís did not claim those Khalj kings as their own, and take service with them, after the example of other Afgháns with the kings of their own tribes.

One of the greatest and most trusted officers of Sher Sháh, of the Súr section of the Lodí tribe [I would observe that there never was a "Lohani" ruler of Dihlí, but

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"king," called Lodi, neither was there a person among them called "Niáz Khán." Khán is a Turkish title and word, which, in latter days, every upstart adopted. Neither did any "Lohani chief," named "Lodi," "invade Hindústán in A.H. 255," much less "Lodí, king of Ghor," for there was no such person. The year in question was that in which the Á'ẓam Humáyún, the Náízí, was in rebellion against Islám Sháh, also known as Salím Sháh, the Súr, who was ruler of Hindústán. Who "Sháh" Ḥusain really was has been stated above by Hai'át Khán. The same Sháh appears to have led such historians astray, in the same way as the "king of Swát" referred to in note §§, page 250, of these "Notes."

* He was the first of the Afghán race who attained sovereignty in Hindústán, or any part of the continent of India east of the Indus, whatever historians of the kind I have shown above may have written, or may write, and as every native chronicle clearly shows. Khiẓr Khán, the first of the Sayyid dynasty of Dihlí, is, however, supposed to be of Afghán descent, as will be noticed in the account of the Kaṛlárnis farther on.

† The Táraṛns are mentioned before, at page 75 of Section Second.

‡ But not "Kiránís;" there are no Afgháns so called.

Lohárnís ruled for a time in Bangálah. Sher Sháh, Súr, sprang from Ismá'íl, brother of Prangaey, who was the son of Síánaey, son of Ibráhím, surnamed Lo-daey, and, consequently, neither of the two dynasties, for there were only two, founded by Sultáns Bahlúl and Sher Sháh were "*Lohanis*"]* was Haibat Khán, the Níází; and his brothers, 'Ísá Khán, and Sa'íd Khán, likewise, held high positions in the State. There was another 'Ísá Khán, who held the office of Ḥájib or Chamberlain to Sher Sháh, and his son Islám Sháh, who has been mistaken for 'Ísá, the Níází, but he was a totally different person.

Haibat Khán greatly distinguished himself in, and mainly contributed to gain, the victory over Naṣír-ud-Dín, Muḥammad Humáyún Bádsháh, at Chaunsá on the Ganges, in which he sustained a most disastrous defeat, in Muḥarram, 947 H. (May, 1540 A.D.); and, when that unfortunate monarch subsequently had to retire into the Panj-áb, followed by Sher Khán, who had now assumed sovereignty, and the title of Sultán Sher Sháh, 'Ísá Khán, Níází, Haibat's brother, was one of the leaders detached from Sher Sháh's army, encamped near Khush-áb on the Jhilam, in pursuit of Humáyún Bádsháh, who was retreating towards Sind by the west bank of the river Ráwí.

Shortly after, when Sher Sháh had to leave the Panj-áb, consequent upon the aspect of affairs in Bangálah, Haibat Khán, Níází, his brother, 'Ísá, with other Amírs of the tribes of Kákar and Jalwání Sheránís, and Khowáṣ Khán, the house-born slave, but most trusted of Sher Sháh's Amírs, were left in charge of so much of the Pánj-áb as appertained at that period to the Dihlí rulers, that is, as far west as the Már-gala'h pass, and no farther.† The parts farther west were under the sway of, or in alliance with, Khán Kajú, the renowned chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandars, referred to at page 224. The fortress of new Ruhtás was founded at this period, and Haibat Khán subsequently held it with a force of 30,000 Afghán horse, all in his own pay, the like of which no other Amír entertained. The fortress was not finished, however, until some years after.

In 950 H. (1543-44 A.D.), Sultán Sher Sháh received intimation from Khowáṣ Khán that disagreement had arisen between Haibat Khán and himself, which might prove detrimental to the Sultán's interests if one of them was not recalled. Such was the estimation in which Haibat was held, and the trust reposed in him, that Sher Sháh left him in sole charge of the Panj-áb, and recalled Khowáṣ Khán, 'Ísá Khán, Níázi, and Ḥabíb Khán, Kákar. At the same time Haibat was directed to recover Multán and its territory, and deliver it out of the hands of the Balúchís, the events attending which performance, not being part of the present subject, will be found recorded in the notice of the Balúch tribes in the next Section of these "Notes." He carried out his orders, and for his services was raised to the highest rank, with the title of "Masnad-i-'Álá, Á'ẓam Humáyún"—"The Most August, the Occupant of the Exalted Seat [of dignity]," a title which had been conferred by the Afghán sovereigns on two previous occasions. He was likewise assigned a scarlet tent, which only the family of the sovereign was hitherto allowed to use.

After the death of Sher Sháh in Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 952, H. (July, 1545 A.D.), and the accession of his younger son, Jalál, who assumed the title of Islám Sháh, to the exclusion of his eldest son, 'Ádil Khán, who was absent from the Court when his father died, when Khowáṣ Khán, 'Ísá Khán, Níází, and several others among the great Amírs of Sher Sháh, endeavoured to set up the eldest son, because Islám Sháh had broken the covenant entered into with his brother when the latter relinquished his claims to the throne, and Khowáṣ Khán, and others were defeated by Islám Sháh, and retreated towards Sahrind, the Á'ẓam Humáyún was directed to march from the Panj-áb against them. He did so at once, at the head of 40,000 horse, upon which these disaffected Amírs sought shelter in the mountains of Kumáún, the Rájah of which was hostile to the Dihlí sovereigns. After this the Á'ẓam Humáyún returned to Láhor.

Subsequently, several other Afghán feudatories became hostile towards Islám Sháh; for he, considering they were too powerful, and might plot against him, sought to destroy them by treachery. They fled to the Á'ẓam Humáyún, who was directed by Islám Sháh to seize and send them to his presence. He sent several of

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* *See* previous note *, page 345.

† Up to the time of the establishment of an Afghán dynasty on the throne of Dihlí, the whole of the upper part of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and even the country as far east as the town of Shor-Koṭ in the Chin-haṭ Do-ábah, was in the possession of the Mughal Turks. In the time of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh, the last of the Shamsí dynasty of Dihlí, the Mughals held and dominated all the Panj-áb, from Úchchh on the south, to the country of the Ḳárlúgh Hazárah on the north, and as far east as the river Biáh, at which time it flowed in its old bed. *See* "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 815 and 862, note 8, note to page 1130, and page 1136.

them, but, soon after, Sa'íd Khán, the Á'ẕam Humáyún's younger brother, who was in attendance on Islám Sháh, being in danger of his life, fled to his brother's presence at Láhor, leaving his camp standing, and abandoning all his property and effects.

Islám Sháh now peremptorily ordered the Á'ẕam Humáyún to present himself before him, but, finding it was intended to put him to death, he, placing confidence in the 40,000 horse in his pay, Níázís, Yúsufzís, and Mandaṛs, of whom 12,000 were Níázís of his own clan or section, determined to resist the order, and refused to obey. Now, Khowáṣ Khán, and the other old Amírs of Sher Sháh, the partisans of the latter's eldest son, 'Ádil Khán, left their place of shelter in the country of Kumáún, to unite with the Á'ẕam Humáyún against Islám Sháh; and the confederates moved towards Dihlí. Islám Sháh issued from thence, and marched forward to meet them; and the two armies approached each other near Anbálah,* the former being posted near that town on the west, and the latter two kuroh distant on the east side of the place.

Expecting a night attack from the other, each army remained under arms, and on the alert, the whole of the night; and, during this time, Khowáṣ Khán and his party held counsel with the Á'ẕam Humáyún, and his brothers, 'Ísá, and Sa'íd, and others of their party. Returning to his own camp under pretence of preparing for the encounter on the morrow, Khowáṣ Khán merely arranged to desert the Á'ẕam Humáyún during the engagement, so as to cause the defeat of the Níázís, because he was jealous of, and feared him,—he had quarrelled with him before, in Sher Sháh's reign, as before related—lest, in case of Islám Sháh's defeat, the Á'ẕam Humáyún might aspire to sovereignty. Some historians even declare that Khowáṣ Khán sent intimation to Islám Sháh informing him of his intention to desert the Á'ẕam Humáyún.

When the battle began, the Níázís discovered his treachery, finding that he held aloof with his party and their forces; and, though disheartened, and hopeless of victory, they fought with their usual valour. The wily Khowáṣ Khán, and his party, remained as lookers on, lest, by chance, the Níázís might yet win the day, when, making excuses for holding back, they might still take the winning side. Finding, however, that they were giving way, he, and his confederates, retired in all haste towards the mountains of Kumáún again.

The Níázís, and other Afgháns in the Á'ẕam Humáyún's army, finding they could not succeed against the forces opposed to them, that leader gave the order to retreat. At this time, Sa'íd Khán, the youngest of the Níází brothers, with two other valiant youths of his tribe, covered in complete armour, made a gallant attempt to pierce through the living fortress of elephants, chained together, in the midst of which Islám Sháh was posted. Under pretence of offering congratulations to him on his success, Sa'íd, and the others, succeeded in reaching the Ḥiṣár (fortress) of elephants, and requested their drivers to open a way for him. One of them, however, who was nearest to him, recognized him by his voice; and, striking him on the head with the spear he bore, knocked off the steel cap of Sa'íd Khán, and exposed his countenance to view. His object was thus discovered, and frustrated, but, nevertheless, he succeeded in reaching the retreating forces in safety.

The stream west of Anbálah, which was full of mud and bog, was impassable, except at the usual ford, and that was so narrow and contracted, that, there being neither bridge nor boats available, and the victors close upon them, the defeated troops of the Á'ẕam Humáyún threw themselves in to endeavour to cross it. One half of the force perished in the mud and water; and the remainder fled towards the Panj-áb, and made for the Sind Ságar Do-ábah in order to gain Dhan-Koṭ, situated on the east bank of the Sind or Indus.†

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* Another writer says Parnálah, near Anbálah.

† This is the place which constantly appears in the Histories of Tímúr, Bábar, and Humáyún as Dín-Koṭ. Ḥaiʼát Khán, Kaṭhar, who writes the name correctly, says in his book that "it lies on the west bank of the "Indus or Sind, a mile and a half north, inclining east, from Kálá Bágh." The extremity of a range of hills touching the Indus at the point indicated by him certainly appears in the Indian Atlas map as "*Dungote Sir*," and a village below it as "*Dungot*," without the '*e*,' but the Dhan-Koṭ here referred to, lay on the *east* side of the Indus, in the hills opposite the so-called Dungote Sir; for it is nowhere even hinted that the Níázís, or their pursuers, ever crossed the river, which is proved from the fact that the Khwájah, Wais, and his forces, escaped after he had been defeated by the Níázís and pursued as far as Láhor, as related under. Had he crossed the Indus he and his routed forces must have perished.

Referring to the tracts east of the Indus, in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, on the occasion of his advance to Khush-áb and Bharah, Bábar Bádsháh says: "The Koh-i-Júd [or Júd range] lies seven kuroh north from

Islám Sháh despatched, the Khwájah—so called because he was of a family of devotees—Wais, the Sarwání, Afghán, at the head of a large army in pursuit of the Níázís, and himself, returned to Dihlí, where Khowáṣ Khán soon after presented himself. But this desertion of the Á'ẓam Humáyún did not serve his treachery and double dealing; and Islám Sháh commanded that he should be put to death in the Bázár of Dihlí, where his corpse was left exposed for three days; and thus he met his deserts.*

The Khwájah, Wais, the Sarwání, having pursued the Níázís, a severe encounter took place between them near Dhan-Koṭ, in which the Khwájah's forces were overthrown and put to flight, and he himself fell from his elephant wounded in seven places. The Níázís pursued them as far as Láhor—some say as far as Sahrind—after which they returned to Dhán-Koṭ again.

The Khwájah, having been reinforced by fresh and select troops sent by Islám Sháh, again moved against the Níázís. They again encountered each other near Sunbala'h, in the vicinity of Dhan-Koṭ, and a desperate encounter ensued. Weakened by their former losses, the Níázís, on this occasion, were totally defeated; and several of their families, including those of the Á'ẓam Humáyún, and his brother 'Ísá, and a vast deal of property, fell into the hands of the Khwájah's forces. He treated the families with great ignominy, and sent them to the presence of Islám Sháh, where they were treated with still greater ignominy for the space of two years.

The Á'ẓam Humáyún, and his brothers, 'Ísá, Sa'íd, and Sháh Báz, with the remnant of the Níází tribe, then took shelter in the fastnesses of the Gakhaṛ country, north of Ráwal Pindí; and the Gakhaṛs gave them shelter and assistance for nearly two years, during which time they, themselves, in consequence, suffered dire calamities. It will naturally be inquired why they did so, and why they brought these troubles on themselves?

To give shelter to fugitives, and entertain, and take the part of those throwing themselves on others' protection, is a custom which has been more or less prevalent among eastern people, and particularly among the tribes of these parts; and perhaps the Gakhaṛs could not well help themselves; but, while giving them full credit for their faithful support of the Níázís on this occasion, there were other reasons which induced them to shelter them.

The history of the Afghán tribes, and those around them, is so mixed up with the history of India, and the history of India with that of the Afgháns and their country, that no one can write correctly respecting the events in either without being acquainted with both—as this Níází episode will sufficiently demonstrate—and the information required for the purpose is not to be found in incorrect translations of

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" Bharah. It separates the Kohistán of Kash-mír from the Hindú Kush, and, running in a direction west " and south, terminates at Dín-Koṭ [*i.e.* Dhan-Koṭ]." Our maps confirm this last clearly.

Again he says, "When Hindú Beg [whom he had left to hold these parts east of the Indus] found he could " hold them no longer, on account of the Afgháns and Hindústánís, who assembled in great numbers, and " were marching against him, he retired from Bharah to Kush-áb; and, passing through the territory [*wiláyat*] " of Dín-Koṭ [Dhan-Koṭ], reached Nil-áb."

Báyazíd, the Byát Mughal, describing the situation of Darsamand [looking S.E.], says, "It is so situated " that it has Tí-ráh on one side, on the other Bangas'h and Dawaṛ, in the other direction [*i.e.*, beyond those " again or farther S.E.] Sunbalah [the Sunbal Níází territory east of the Indus] on one side, and on the other " Dín-Koṭ [Dhan-Koṭ]," which lies north of the territory of the Sunbals.

Abú-l-Faẓl, in his Á'ín-i-Akbarí, shows us, that "Dhan-Koṭ was situated on the *east* bank of the Mihrán [the Indus]; that it was one of the forty-two *maḥálls* of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah; that it contained a salt mine; that its inhabitants then (in his time) were Janjúhahs; and that they were rated as being able to furnish 150 horsemen and 1,000 foot for militia purposes.

In mentioning the five routes leading into the province of Kábul from Hindústán, he says, "one is the " Bangas'h route; and you cross the Sind river [from the Panj-áb] at the Dhan-Koṭ ferry. Another route " is by Baghzaṇ; and there is likewise the Furmúl route, in taking which you cross the Sind at the " Chaupára'h [Tsautara'h ?] ferry."

The "Dungote Sir" of the map, and Hai'át Khán's Dhan-Koṭ, are the "*Díngot*" of MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I., page 484, and thus names continue to be vitiated. Hai'át Khán says the ruins of the Dhan-Koṭ he refers to, of Islám Sháh's time, are still to be seen, while MacGregor says the ruins are those of a village built by "the grandfather of the present Malik of Kálábágh."

No doubt, the Níázís sent their families across the Indus at the period in question, and, probably, made use of the remarkable rocky eminence there, but it did not follow that that was *the* Dhan-Koṭ of the Níázís, which was situated in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, in the *maháll* to which it gave name.

In the Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí, instead of Dhan-Koṭ, it is called Díw-Koṭ; and, in this, the author of that work differs from all others.

* The Zubdat-ut-Tawáríkh says Islám Sháh sent Táj Khán, the Kaṛlární, at the head of an army against Khowáṣ Khán and his party, who still continued in rebellion in the Kumáún territory. He was directed to spare no pains, and no oaths or promises, in order to secure his person by some means or other; then to finish him, send his head to the royal presence, and his body to Dihlí, and have it hung over one of the gateways. This was done; and, about a year after, Salím—as he is also styled by Hindústánís—Sháh died.

histories in Persian, in the study of Dow and Briggs, and in extracts from the work of a single author, however faithfully he may have been translated: the Afghán writers also require to be consulted. To understand the events of this period we must likewise inquire into the state of the neighbouring countries and districts, and the tribes inhabiting them, as well as the occurrences preceding and coeval with the events in question, and the causes which brought them about.

Naṣír-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, Humáyún Bádsháh, after being compelled to leave Hindústán, retired to Láhor in Rabí'-ul-Awwal—the third month—of 947 H. (July, 1540 A.D.)* He then retired from the Panj-áb between the river Ráwí and the Chin-áb towards Úchchh; and, passing the Panj-Áb, or Panj-Nad, the united stream of the five rivers from whence the Panj-áb derives its name, he proceeded down towards Lúhṛí (also called Rúhṛí), opposite Bhakhar in Sind, which he reached in Ramaẓán—the ninth month—of the same year. He remained in Sind during the remainder of that year, the next two years, 948 and 949 H. (1541–42 and 1542–43 A.D.), and part of 950 H. (1543 A.D.), having left Sind and proceeded towards Ḳandahár in Rabí'-uṣ-Sání—the fourth month—of 950 H. (July, 1543 A.D.), the same year in which the Á'ẓam Humáyún drove the Balúchís out of the Multán territory. In the meantime, Humáyún Bádsháh had proceeded into Í-rán; had received aid from the Ṣafáwiyah monarch; and returned, and regained possession of Ḳandahár in Jamádí-uṣ-Sání—the sixth month—of 952 H. (August—September, 1545 A.D.),† just two months, that is to say, in the third month, before Islám Sháh's accession to the throne of Dihlí. Kábul was recovered by Humáyún Bádsháh in Ramaẓán—the ninth month—of the same year, but he had enough to do to hold his own against his brother, Kámrán Mírzá, in Kábul and its dependencies, without being able to pay any attention to the territories between Kábul and the Indus, until after he had defeated him at Ḳipcháḳ, and in the action at Shutar Grám, in 957 H. (1550 A.D.).

In the meantime the Níází rebellion had broken out; the Á'ẓam Humáyún had been overthrown at Anbálah; the Khwájah, Wais, the Sarwání, had been defeated by the Níázís; he had subsequently defeated them, and had compelled them to fly for protection into the mountain fastnesses of the Gakhaṛ tribe of Panj-ábís.

At this period the tract of country lying along the eastern bank of the Indus, from Harnolí to near Bhakhar‡ south, and farther towards the south on both sides of the river, was peopled by Balúchís; and the Níází Afgháns held the territory on both sides north of the Harnolí district towards Níl-áb and Makhad, on the east side of the Indus, as far as Khush-áb on the Jhilam, and from the junction of the river of Kurma'h with the Indus, to near Ḳará Bágh, or Kálá Bagh, on the west side of that river. Aṭak Banáras was not then founded; other Afghán tribes held the tracts west of the Níázís again, and lower down, but some had only recently reached those parts.§ The Gakhaṛs, and some other Panj-ábí hill tribes of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, were, for the most part, independent; the Dilazák Afgháns had recently been forced across the Indus by the Ghwaríah Khel Afgháns, and were dwelling in and near the Chachh Hazárah district, while the territory of the Ḳárlúgh Hazárah was still in the possession of the remnant of the Ḳárlúgh Turks. The Ghwaríah Khel, after driving out the Dilazáks, held all the country from Jalál-ábád to the Indus on the east, and

* The hottest part of the year, at present; and the wonder is how he managed to march, encumbered with women and children, under such difficulties, in want of almost everything, and all the rivers swollen to their utmost, and however he managed to cross the then mighty rivers united near Úchchh. The idea immediately arises that the heat, at that time, could not have been so great as in the present day, and that great changes in the climate must have taken place since then.

From the Bádsháh's route it would appear that, even up to this period, the Chin-áb and Ráwí flowed *east* of Multán, and united with the Bíáh, which also must have then flowed in its old bed, *west* of Jalálpúr in the Multán district. In this manner, the Bádsháh would arrive opposite Úchchh without having any river to cross until he came to the Panj-Nad, or Panj-Ab, or united Five Rivers; and this is borne out by the description of his march.

† Erskine, in his "History of India," Vol. II., has greatly mistaken the dates here. He makes Humáyún Bádsháh appear before Ḳandahár in "Jam. II., 949," and makes it agree with September, 1542 A.D. Humáyún was in Sind in 949 H. The dates above given are correct.

‡ Bhakhar, north of Layyá, on the way to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, is referred to here.

§ The Khaṭak tribe were only then beginning to make their way upwards towards their present seats on the river of Kábul, for Lower Bangas'h, or Koháṭ, as far east as the Resa'í ferry on the Indus, south of the modern Khush-ḥál-Gaṛh, was then held by the Wurakzí tribe of Kaṛlárnís, while the Dilazáks, the principal Kaṛlární tribe, who had about this time—about 940 or 941 H.—been driven out of their territory by the Ghwaríah Khel, assisted by Kámrán Mírzá, had recently held all the country between the Khaibar and the Indus, and farther east, and from the banks of the river of Kábul to the mountains bounding the Pes'háwar district on the south, now known as the Afrídí and Khaṭak hills. When compelled, at last, to abandon their country, after a deal of fighting, the Dilazáks retired towards the Indus by the Jánah-gaṛ Dara'h and pass, a tract exceedingly well adapted for defence, and the tract now held by the Karmezí Khaṭaks. They then crossed the Indus, and joined the rest of their tribe settled in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah. *See* page 226.

from the river of Kábul on the north, to what are now called the Khaṭak and Afrídí hills bounding the Pes'háwar district on the south, while all the extensive tract of country from Náwa'h-ga'í and Hindú-Ráj on the west, to the Abáe-Sín on the east, and from Suwát and Panj-Korah on the north, to the river of Kábul on the south, was held by the Khas'hí Afgháns and their allied tribes.* The chief of the Khas'hí sept or division of the Afgháns at this time was the renowned Khán Kajú, who had refused to entangle himself with Sher Khán when he began to rebel against Humáyún Bádsháh, and who had now become the most powerful chief of that part, his only rivals being the Ghwaríah Khel, who had been supported by Kámrán Mírzá, and supported him against his sovereign and brother; but the power of these rivals Khán Kajú was now waiting for an opportunity to crush for ever.

This was the state of the adjoining districts and territories when the Á'ẓam Humáyún and the Níázís sought shelter in the mountains of the Gakhars.† But what led or induced him to seek shelter with them?

When Sher Sháh reached Khush-áb in 947 H., in pursuit of Humáyún Bádsháh, the Afgháns of Roh presented themselves, and paid homage to him; and others flocked to his presence from the province of Kábul, and even from Ḳandahár, and as far as the banks of the Hírmand. Among others who came to pay homage were the Balúch chiefs of those parts, Ismá'íl Khán and Fatḥ Khán, of the Dúdá'í clan of Hút, and Ghází Khán, the Marlání, the founders of the three Dera'hs bearing their respective names,‡ who held the northern parts of Sind (all the flat sandy tract of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, stretching as far as the skirt of the Koh-i-Júd, or Salt Range, was called Sind in those days). Likewise came the grandfather of the author of the "Táríkh-i-Sher-Sháhí," the Shaikh, Báyazíd, or Báhzíd, as the name is, at times, shortened, the Gakbúr Sarwání. This Shaikh Báyazíd was the son of the famous and venerated Shaikh, Mulhí Ḳatál,§ son of the Shaikh, Sulímán-i-Dáná, son of the Shaikh, Aḥmad-i-Jawán-mard, son of Súraey (not the Lodí Súr), son of Sarpál, son of Sarwání or Sarwární, son of Mama'í, Kágh the Minstrel's daughter, the second wife of Sháh Ḥusain, the Shansabání Tájzík, a scion of the family of the petty chiefs of Ghúr. The brother of this same Shaikh Báyazíd, named Shaikh 'Alí-i-Sháh-Báz, was the father of Aḥmad-i-Dzandah-púr. As these Sarwánís, as well as the Lodís and Ghalzís, are descended from the sons of Sháh Ḥusain, afore-mentioned, by his wife Bíbí Mato, namely, Sarwánaey and Ibráhím, Lodaey, why not make "*Khilich Turks*" of these likewise, as well as the descendants of his first-born son, the Ghal-Zo-e?||

When the Shaikh, Báyazíd, who was then the head of the Sarwánís of Roh, and whose family, for several generations, had devoted themselves to a religious life, entered the presence of Sher Sháh, and the Shaikh was about to give him his hand—as was usual with the members of his family when they appeared before the Afghán sovereigns, who used to advance a few paces to receive them, and, when they retired, to accompany them a short distance—Sher Sháh said in Pus'hto, "O, Shaikh! let us embrace;" and they did so in the true Afghán style. At the Sulṭán's request, Ismá'íl, the Hút

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* *See* page 224, Section Third.

† I do not refer to the previously very powerful, and still, numerous tribe of Khokhar, from whom the Gakhars, never so numerous nor so powerful, are totally distinct. *See* page 363.

‡ *See* Section First, pages 2—5. In the version of the Táríkh-i-Sher-Sháhí, contained in Elliot's "Historians," the names of the Balúch tribes have been *left out*. Khán-i-Jahán, Lodí, in his Mir-'át-ul-Afághinah, says, "Ismá'íl Khán, Hút, Ghází Khán, Marlání, and Fatḥ Khán, Dúdá'í." More on the subject of these chiefs will be found in the next Section. *See* also note *, page 335.

§ Invariably mistranslated in Elliot's "Historians" into "Shaikh *Malhi Kayál;*" and the well known section of the Sarwánís—the Gakbúr—is turned into "*Kalkapúr.*" All these errors are through want of local knowledge. The Shaikh, Mulhí Ḳatál, is one of the most famous and venerated of the Afghán saints.

|| Writers who appear to be unacquainted with the facts recorded in the native historians, the only sources of our knowledge respecting the history of India and the parts adjacent, or those writers who rush at conclusions, or those who trim their opinions to suit the wind of a particular political policy, assure us that the Ghalzí Afgháns are not Afgháns, but "*of the Turk tribe of Khilich*" from "*the upper course of the Jaxartes.*" Perhaps they imagine that the originals of their respective names are one and the same, or very similar, thus غلزي—Ghalzí, and خلجي—Khaljí, yet, even according to their special historical lights, they consider the Ghalzís to be descended from the youth, Sháh Ḥusain, a scion of the family of one of the petty chiefs of Ghúr, who were subject to the Turk Sulṭáns of Ghaznín, which family are merely called Ghúrís because they dwelt in Ghúr, and they were Tájzíks of the family of Shansab. Since these writers pretend that the descendants of this Sháh Ḥusain, the *Ghúrí's* first-born son, the Ghal-zo-e, or "Illicit Son"—namely, the Ghalzís—are "Khilich Turks," *how is it that they do not make Turks of the descendants of Sháh Ḥusain's two other sons likewise?* The two mothers of the three sons were both Afgháns; and, if one brother's descendants by the same father are "Khilich Turks," those of the others must be "Khilich Turks" likewise. In the latest edition of a very extensive, and also expensive, work now publishing, Black's "Encyclopædia Britannica," much to my surprise, I lately chanced to read the following, from the pen of Col. H. Yule, C.B.:—"The probability of "the identity of the *Khilijis* and *Ghilzais* is obvious, and the question touches others regarding the origin of "the Afghans, but it does not seem to have been gone into."

Balúch, restored to the Shaikh, in lieu of other lands, those of the village of Khokharán, in the Nandanah* *parganah*, which, during the time that the Langáh dynasty held sway over Multán and its dependencies, the Shaikh's family had been deprived of, and had come under the sway of the Balúchís.

Sher Sháh expended a vast sum in money and presents upon the Afgháns who presented themselves before him at Khush-áb, but, although the Balúch and other Zamíndárs, had also done so, the Rá'e, Sárang—mark the purely Hindú title: "Khán" was subsequently adopted—the Gakhaṛ Zamnídár, who depended upon the strength of his country† in the Koh-i-Júd, did not think fit to do so, indeed, he had refused; and, according to the narrative of the Khán-i-'Álam, the Núhární, it is written, that, in reply to his summons, he sent Sher Sháh—*sher* means *lion*‡—some lion and tiger skins,§ signifying that the occupation of himself and tribe was war with those animals. This enraged Sher Sháh so much that he prepared to ravage and desolate the Gakhaṛ country.

In the Mir'át-ul-Afághinah of the Khán-i-Jahán, the Lodí, it is stated that the Rá'e sent him some bundles of hempen cloth, and some loads of millet, saying, that such was the clothing and food his country furnished, and asked what else he expected of him.

Sher Sháh, accordingly, entered the Gakhaṛ country, and devastated it; and, during the raid, two daughters of the Rá'e fell into his hands at Kolí and Parh-álah; and these he made a present of to his house-born slave, Khowáṣ Khán. On this occasion Sher Sháh inspected the kohistán or hill tracts in the part called Gharchhák Nandanah‖, while other writers say Nandanah, and near the Tala'h of Bál-Náṭhh, the Jogí, for a site whereon to erect a fortress, saying, that he would drive such a spike into the breast of the Gakhaṛs as should remain there to the end of time, and likewise close the route between Kábul and Láhor to Mughal invasion of Hindústán.

Another writer says, that (instead of going himself) he left behind him a large force to operate against the Gakhaṛs; that near the Tala'h of Bál-Náṭhh, Jogí, was the chief place and residence of the chiefs of that tribe—for there were more than one—which was harried; and that there the daughters of the Rá'e, Sárang were taken captive.

The spike he referred to was the great fortress of Ruhtás or New Ruhtás, which the A'ẓam Humáyún and his Níázís had charge of, and which took many years to complete.

The Táríkh-i-Khán-Jahání-i-Makhzan-i-Afghání, of Haibat Khán, the Kákaṛ¶ Afghán (which Hai'át Khán asserts is a tissue of falsehoods, but which he, nevertheless, takes care to transfer to his book, entitled "Hai'át-i-Afghání,"** but leaves

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* These names are rather doubtful, the last, more than the first. In the extract given in Elliot, Vol. IV., p. 389, from the Táríkh-i-Sher Sháhí, these same words are translated "the *parganah* of Ninduna in the "Ghakhar country," which was to be given to "Isma'íl Khán Bilúch, instead of the *parganah* of Ninduna," thus reversing matters, or rather, it is no exchange at all. Nandanah belonged, of old, to the Khokhars, but assigning a Gakhaṛ *parganah*, before reducing the Gakhaṛs, was quite out of the question. *See* following note ‖, and page 367.

† A small tract of country only.

‡ The word is Sher, not Sheer, for that means "milk."

§ The original is *palangán*, the plural of *palang*, "a tiger," but, in one place, in Elliot's "Indian Historians," it is "a bundle of arrows," the translator of the passage reading it "*paekánán*," *paekán* signifying "the *head* of an arrow."

‖ The Khuláṣat-ut-Tawáríkh states that Sher Sháh, himself, entered the Gakhaṛ country, and went as far as Ṭhaṭhah, to the stronghold of the tribe, then retraced his steps, and, near the mountain of Bál-Náṭhh, the Jogí, selected a site for the fortress. *See* my note on the site of "Nandanah," in the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 536.

In the Táríkh-i-Sher Sháhí, in "Elliot's Historians," Vol. IV., these words are turned into "*Padmán* and *Garjhak*," although only a page or two before the same words occur as are here mentioned in the note above. Of course "the hills of Padmán" are non-existent: the original is Nandanah. Again, in Vol. V., page 114, although the subject is precisely the same, the editor appears to have been oblivious of it, and we have "Sher "Sháh *threatened* to construct such a fort in that country that it should not only effectually restrain the "Ghakhars, but also the passage of the Mughals. He therefore himself made a tour [raid?] through *the* "*hills of Girjhak Ninduna* [mountains circumjacent], and, finding a fit spot, he laid the foundations of the fort, "which he called Rohtas." So here "Girjhak Ninduna" means "*mountains circumjacent*," perhaps, but in what language is not said, but certainly not in Persian, nor in any Indian dialect. This is amusing, truly! The words are proper names. *See* "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" (Translation), note 4, pages 454–455, note 1, page 481, note 1, page 534, and note 1, page 1129, and page 281 of these "Notes," also Elliot, Vol. II., page 451, where it is stated that "the name of Ninduna cannot be restored." Gharchhák, not "Girjhák," is the name of a *parganah* still well known.

¶ Von Dorn, in his translation of "Neamet Ullah," invariably errs in making "*Kakers*" of the Gakhaṛs and Khokhars, particularly the former. This was through want of *local* knowledge. The consequence is that some compilers make Kákaṛs of the Hindú Gakhaṛs. *See* page 363.

** Hai'át Khán, the author of the above-mentioned work on the Afgháns, belongs to the Kaṭhar tribe of Panj-ábís, consequently he is neither a "*Gakhar*," nor is he of "*Afghan descent*."

out all about the Rá'e of the Gakhaṛs, and his daughters), says, that the "Rá'e, "Sárang, after his country had been desolated, and his family captured, had to submit "to Sher Sháh, upon which Sher Sháh ordered him to be flayed, and his skin stuffed "with hay, for his misdeeds."*

The author of the Táríkh-i-Dá'údí, however, says, that the Rá'e, Sárang, who was the most notable man of his tribe, submitted to Islám Sháh, Sher Sháh's successor, after that sovereign had spent two years in reducing the Níázís, who had taken shelter in the Gakhaṛ country, and that he ordered him to be flayed and his skin stuffed with hay, which is more probable than that he was taken in Sher Sháh's time. It is further stated in that work, that the Rá'e's son, Kamál, was also taken, and was shut up in the fortress of Gwáliyúr;† and that Islám Sháh endeavoured to secure the person of Sulṭán Adam, the other Gakhaṛ chief, who had given intimation to Humáyún Bádsháh respecting his brother, Kámrán Mírzá, and delivered him into his hands, but without success. This, however, is erroneous, because Kámrán was only given up in the eighth month of 959 H. (1551, A.D.), while the Níázís were crushed, and the Gakhaṛs reduced to helplessness, in 956 H. (1549, A.D.); besides, Islám Sháh had not such affection for Kámrán as to feel much, if anything, for his loss.

There is no doubt but that the Gakhaṛs behaved exceedingly well towards the Níázís, and suffered much for them, but their deadly hostility towards the Súr dynasty was one reason for sheltering them, and the facts need not have been suppressed; and to retain their own independence was another reason.

Having thus given a brief summary of the events of this period, I may now bring the account of the Níází rebellion to a conclusion.

After the Gakhaṛs had lost many of their numbers, and their families had been ruined or carried away captive, and reduced to helplessness, the remaining Níázís retired from the Gakhaṛ country, to endeavour to enter Kash-mír, but Mírzá Haidar, the Doghlátí Mughal, who had then gained a footing in and ruled Kash-mír, in order to propitiate Islám Sháh, occupied the routes and passes against them.‡ The Níázís, unable to proceed into Kash-mír, then turned off towards Rájawarí; and Islám Sháh pursued them as far as Madad and Noh-shahrah on the Chin-áb, when, finding how

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* Niẓám-ud-Dín, Aḥmad, in the Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí, says, that Rá'e Sárang fell into Sher Sháh's hands, while Abú-l-Faẓl states, that he fell into the hands of Islám Sháh; and this is, doubtless, correct, and as confirmed in the Táríkh-i-Dá'údí, for, had Sárang been captured in Sher Sháh's time, Islám Sháh would not have been occupied two years in reducing the Gakhaṛs and Níázís.

When Islám Sháh got Rá'e Sárang, and his son, Kamál, into his power, after flaying the Rá'e alive, Kamál was sent to the fortress of Gwáliyúr; and Sulṭán Adam, uncle of Kamál, usurped the chieftain-ship. Let it not be supposed that he was a sovereign prince because of the word Sulṭán here, for, like Rá'e, it is a mere title, as Bádsháh is of the chiefs of Ḳáshḳár, and Sháh and Bádsháh of Sayyids.

† When Islám Sháh had the state prison of Gwáliyúr undermined and blown up with gunpowder, to rid himself of the state prisoners, Kamál, the Gakhaṛ, was found unhurt in a corner of his prison. He was subsequently taken into favour; and, some time after the downfall of the Súr dynasty, Kamál was taken into Akbar Bádsháh's service. Abú-l-Faẓl gives an interesting account of him. He says, "The Gakhaṛ *ulús* or "tribe were always boasting of their loyalty to the state; and the Bádsháh never regarded their territory with "avaricious eyes. Nevertheless, Sulṭán Adam, the Gakhaṛ chief, failed to come and present himself, and make "his obeisance. The Bádsháh, taking into consideration some previous service performed by Sulṭán Adam "[the surrender of Kámrán Mírzá], did not take much notice of this misconduct; but, after the Bádsháh "succeeded to the throne, Kamál, Gakhaṛ, son of the Rá'e, Sárang, the brother of Adam, having entered the "imperial service, greatly distinguished himself in an engagement with Sulṭán 'Adilí, the Afghán, in the "Hansowah *parganah* in the Lakhnau *sarkár*, and the Bádsháh promised to reward him, and asked what he "could do for him. He complained that his uncle, Adam, had usurped the chieftain-ship of his tribe; that "when Salím [otherwise Islám] Sháh, Súr, entered the Panj-áb to reduce the Gakhaṛ tribe, his father and "himself fell into his hands. After causing the father to be flayed alive, he was, himself, sent to Gwáliyúr [as "stated above], and his uncle, Adam, usurped his possessions. On this, Akbar Bádsháh, in the eighth year of "his reign, issued his commands to the authorities in the Panj-áb to signify to Adam that he must resign "one half of the territory to his nephew. He refused to comply, and opposed the imperial forces at Hílán, "west of the Wihat or Jhilam; and the Gakhaṛs were defeated with great slaughter, and Adam was captured. "His son, Lashkarí, escaped to the mountains of Kash-mír, but was subsequently captured likewise. Akbar "Bádsháh caused them both to be made over to Kamál, who put Lashkarí to death, and kept Adam in confine-"ment until he died."

Kamál was permitted to retain possession of his native district, but subject to, and as a feudatory of, the Mughal state. That he, or any belonging to him, before or after, ever were "governors of the Panj-áb," or any other part beyond their own district, is as absurd as that they reigned for sixteen generations in Kash-mír; and such an idea could only have occurred to the Gakhaṛ mind which appropriated the Khokhars and all their works, for self-glorification. Gakhaṛ chiefs, in the service of the Mughals, were constantly employed on the frontier as well as in other parts, and some were Fowj-dárs of Pakhla'í, of Bannú, and Bangas'h. Sa'íd Khán, brother of Kamál, was in the imperial service also, and held the rank of commander of 1,500; and Kamál's sons, Mubárak and Jalál, likewise held the same rank. The Gakhaṛs had interest at Court, for a daughter of Sa'íd was in the *ḥaram* of Jahán-gír Bádsháh before he came to the throne.

‡ Islám Sháh built forts to retain his hold upon their country, and among those founded or repaired, and occupied, were Mán-Koṭ, Rashíd-Koṭ, and some others.

difficult the country in his front was, he was induced to endeavour to come to an accommodation with the Á'ẓam Humáyún and his tribe. He sent him a letter, accordingly, which the Á'ẓam Humáyún, now reduced to helplessness, favourably received. He despatched his mother and his son as hostages for himself, upon which Islám Sháh retired with his forces, and encamped at Ban, near Síál-Koṭ.*

The Kash-mírí feudatories in Rájawarí now plotted to take the Á'ẓam Humáyún into Kash-mír and expel the Mughals; and he held counsel with his Afghán adherents about it. They thought favourably of it, and wished him to consent, but he refused to act hostilely towards Mírzá Ḥaidar, since he had, it is said, received some assistance from him in the shape of a sum of money for his necessities. The perfidious Kash-mírís, finding that the Á'zam Humáyún was helpless, and their objects not attainable by his means, gave intimation to Mírzá Ḥaidar that the Níázís were preparing to come against him with hostile intent. A numerous force of Kash-mírís was then sent to attack them. The small band of Afgháns stood their ground, and fought gallantly; and the wife of the Á'ẓam Humáyún, fighting like a man by the side of her husband, wounded one of the Kash-mírí leaders. Their efforts were of no avail against such odds; and the Á'ẓam Humáyún, his wife, and his brothers, 'Ísá, Sháh-Báz, and Sa'íd, were killed in the fight. Mírzá Ḥaidar is said to have sent the heads of the Níázís, and those of the other Afgháns, to Islám Sháh at Ban, on the Chin-áb; and thus was the Níází outbreak brought to a termination. I may mention that no reference is made to those events in the Táríkh-i-Rashídí of Mírzá Ḥaidar.

About this time—a little before, or shortly after—in 956 or 957 H., for the exact date is not recorded, Khán Kajú overthrew and completely crushed the power of the Gwaríah Khel in the great battle at Shaikh Tapúr, as related at page 227 of Section Third.† At this time Humáyún Bádsháh was fully occupied with his brother, Kámrán Mírzá, but he overthrew him at Ḳabchák and Shutar-Grám‡, north of Kábul, in 957 H. (1550 A.D.). In the following year, 958 H. (1551 A.D.), having taken shelter with the Ghwaríah Khel, Kámrán Mírzá, and his Afghán allies, made the night attack upon Humáyún Bádsháh's camp, near the banks of the Ḳará-Sú or Siyah-Áb, in which Hindál Mírzá was killed, as related at page 54 of Section Second. Unable to continue with the Afgháns beyond the Indus, he presented himself before Islám Sháh at Láhor, after his return thither, subsequent to the reduction of the Gakhaṛs and Níázís. Not meeting with the reception he expected, he made his escape; and, after some more adventures, took shelter with Sulṭán Adam, the Gakhaṛ Zamíndár, who, to protect himself against Islám Sháh, was quite ready to betray his guest, in order to get the support of the Mughals.§ Humáyún Bádsháh being on an

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* It lies nineteen miles nearly N.E. from Síál-Koṭ, and nearly eight miles in the direction of S.W. from Jammúṇ, on the east bank of the Chin-áb.

† It is interesting, as well as important, to note the names of Afghán and other tribes, and sections of Afghán tribes, in alliance with the Ghwaríah Khel, on the one side, and with the Khas'hís on the other, or in the pay of, or acknowledging the sway of, Khán Kajú.

In the great battle of Shaikh Tapúr with the Khalíls and others of the Ghwaríah Khel, were the Zá Khel, Sarghalární, Mulágorí, Shinwárí, and some others. Khán Kajú's sway, after his victory over the Ghwaríah Khel, extended east as far as Níl-áb, Sujanḍa'h, Gahep, Sú-hánah, and as far as the Máṛ-galah Pass, and the Gakhaṛ territory. That tribe, and Pakhla'í, acknowledged his superiority; and, at that time, the ruler of the last-named territory was Sulṭán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, the Turk—a Ḳárlúgh. Sulṭán Adam, the Gakhaṛ, also found it convenient, at that period, to pay allegience to Khán-Kajú, until he thought Humáyún Bádsháh was now becoming strong enough to protect him, and so he delivered up Kámrán Mírzá to him.

The forces Khán Kajú was able to bring into the field numbered upwards of 140,000 men, among which were included the Yúsufzí, Mandaṛ, Gagyání, and Tarkalární Khas'hís, their Muḥammadzí, Jzadún, and Uṭmán Khel allies, and, of other tribes, the Mahyár, Mándoṛí, Waṛdag, Khaṭak, Rawární, Kánsí, Mashwární, Parní, Rogháni, Sarkární, Kákaṛ, Lúrní, Tarín, Daṣyárzí, and even some of the Abdálí. Besides these Afghán tribes, and others of Sayyid descent, there were Kas'hárs, Gibarís, Mutráwís, Mumíálís, Digáns, Gújars, and Áwáns. Besides these, the Dilázáḳ Afgháns of the Ḥazárah territory and Mángaṛáo, Tor-Bela'h, and Ḥasan-i-Abdál, and other parts, would have joined his standard on being summoned.

The names of Afrídís or Wurakzís do not occur. The overthrow of the Ghwaríah Khel by Khán Kajú opened the way for other Afghán tribes settling farther north, and among them was the Khaṭak tribe, which, soon after, began to settle on the river of Kábul and the Indus where they now are.

The Níl-ábís, or people of Níl-áb, on the above occasion, were ranged on the side of the Ghwaríáh Khel. They are now dispersed, and perform the duties of boatmen on the Indus, above and below Aṭak.

‡ This name is what Erskine, "History of India," makes "*Ashterkerám*" of, and thus are names made unintelligible.

§ He also wanted support from them, in order to keep possession of his nephew's patrimony, which, as stated in a previous note, he had usurped. Báyazíd, the Byát, in his history of Humáyún Bádsháh, says, that Adam, the Gakhaṛ, was quite ready to join Humáyún on his crossing the Sind, because his son was in the power of the Afgháns. His son's name was Lashkarí, and has been mentioned in another place. The Gakhaṛs had been hostile to Bábar, who overthrew, and reduced them, on the occasion of his march to Bharah and Khush-áb, for previous to his invasion of those parts they, and one of their chiefs, Tatár, the Gakhaṛ, had submitted to Daulat Khán, the Lodí, governor of Láhor, and done homage to him. *See* also page 365.

expedition against the Karlární Afgháns of Bangas'h at this time, Adam, the Gakhar, gave him information, through his agent, Udharán by name, that Kámrán Mírzá was in his power, and that, if the Bádsháh would come into his territory, he would deliver him up. The Bádsháh accordingly moved to the Indus, crossed it near Dhan-Koṭ of the Níázís, and entered the Gakhar boundary, on which Kámrán Mírzá was given up, and deprived of his sight, in Rajab, the seventh month, of 959 H.* (1552 A.D.); for, in Sha'bán, the eighth month, of 959 H., the Bádsháh was at Bagrám in the Pas'háur district, having, on his way to Kábul, put the fort of Bagrám in repair, and left a garrison therein, with a specific object, and left Sikandar, the Úzbak, in command of the place, who, soon after, was invested therein by Khán Kajú, as related at page 228. The winter of 960 and 961 H. (1552-53 A.D.) the Bádsháh spent at Kábul; Islám Sháh died in Zí-Hijjah, the last month, of 961 H. (November, 1554 A.D.); and Humáyún Bádsháh finally advanced to recover Hindústán at the end of Muḥarram, the first month, of 962 H. (December, 1554 A.D.). Dihlí was re-occupied in Ramaẓán, 962 H. (July, 1555 A.D.); and Humáyún Bádsháh, after a fall from the staircase leading to his library, died in Rabí'-ul-Awwal, the third month, of 963 H. (January, 1555 A.D.).†

Before closing the account of the Níází tribe, I may mention that the Sunbal branch of it was very nearly exterminated by Haibat Khán, the Á'ẓam Humáyún, himself, in doing what he considered his duty to Sher Sháh.

At the time that the Á'ẓam Humáyún was governor of that portion of the Panj-áb appertaining to the Dihlí monarchy, and likewise governing Multán, Sher Sháh nominated his nephew, his brother's son by a slave girl, named Mubárak Khán, to the charge of that part of the territory of Roh—that is, on, and beyond the Indus—which was in the possession of the Níázi tribe.‡ At this time, Khwájah Khiẓr, the Sunbal Níází, dwelt on the banks of the Sind, on the side of Hind, near Makhaḍ,§ in a mud fort which he had founded; and this he gave up to Mubárak Khán for his residence, and went himself elsewhere. The Sunbals continued to wait on him, and some of them to be in attendance, showed him due submission, and carried out his commands.

It so happened that a Sunbal, one Allah-dád by name, had a daughter, who had no equal in beauty throughout the whole of that clan; and her good looks were everywhere the theme of talk. Mubárak Khán, without having seen her, became enamoured on mere report. Not understanding, or perhaps forgetting, the pride of race existing among Afgháns of Roh of reputation and respectability, he despatched some confidential persons of his own to Allah-dád proposing an alliance, and asking the hand of his daughter in marriage. Allah-dád gave a respectful answer, saying, that the Haẓrat-i-Khán held authority over the district, and that he must have in his *ḥaram* noble females and female slaves; that the Khán had grown up in Hind, and possessed a refined taste and understanding, while his (Allah-dád's) child possessed only the rustic temperament and qualities of Roh, and therefore there was such a total inequality between them as rendered such a connection quite unsuitable.

This reply to his demand filled Mubárak Khán with rage and mortification; and he girded up his loins to annoy and vex the Sunbals, thinking, thereby, that they would become embarrassed, and induce Allah-dád to give him his daughter. When these acts reached the height of endurance, three cousins, uncle's sons of Allah-dád, Faríd, Niẓám, and another, came into the presence of Mubárak Khán, and represented that they were held in great respect by the other Sunbals; that they had daughters, and would consent to give him one in marriage; and that he should refrain from his harsh and unjust treatment of the Sunbals. Mubárak Khán replied, "I do not want "a daughter of yours, but you can induce Allah-dád to give me his."

On this, finding he entertained an idea which could never be fulfilled, they told him plainly that "matrimonial alliances had repeatedly taken place between his tribe and "their own, but equal with equal: the free-born with the free-born: the slave with the "slave, as the poet says:—'Birds of a feather fly together: pigeons with pigeons: "'falcons with falcons;' and that although, in point of years, relationship was not "altogether on an equality, nevertheless, as their mother, like his, Mubárak Khán's "mother, was a slave girl, out of reverence for the sovereign, his uncle, they had offered

* Not in 960 H., as Erskine has, because, even by his own account, *after* Kámrán was blinded, Humáyún marched to Bagrám, where he arrived in the eighth month of 959 H.

Some historians have Ramaẓán, which is the *ninth* month, which is evidently a mistake for Rajab, as all agree about his reaching Bagrám in the following month.

† The year 963 H. began on the 15th of November, 1555 A.D.

‡ *See* page 359.

§ Towards, or in the direction of, Makhaḍ is meant.

"him a daughter in marriage, so that the dust of enmity and bad feeling might be "removed; and they were much distressed to find that the great Khán declined their "offer." They, however, exhorted him "to fear God's displeasure, and to cease "oppressing the Afgháns; since Allah-dád was a well-born man, who would never "consent to such an alliance with him, even if he lost his life by so doing."

Mubárak Khán, filled with wrath at the cutting remarks of the brothers, and with the pride of authority, became still more hostile towards the Sunbals; and he began to oppress them more and more. At length, without any reason soever, he plundered the village of Dahwál belonging to them, seized the people, and carried off the daughter of a man named Khairú, who was the house-born slave of one of the Sunbals, who was headman of the village in question, and carried her away to his quarters. On this, the chief men of the Sunbals proceeded in a body to the presence of Mubárak Khán, and said that the honour of their females was to them the same as the honour of his to himself; and requested him to give up the daughter of Khairú, and preserve the honour of their women. All the humble solicitations and entreaties of the Sunbals were of no avail; and, as the fate of Mubárak Khán was about to be fulfilled, he refused to accede to their demand. They, finding that their demand was not going to be complied with, opened their minds to him in very plain terms. They said, "You were born in Hind, and know not the ways and customs of the Afgháns. "The heron, hitherto, has not ventured to tyrannize over the falcon. We, out of "respect to the sovereignty of your uncle, show respect to you, who are the son of a "bond woman. Leave us alone, and do not oppress us beyond bounds, and let this "woman go." Mubárak, boiling with rage, replied, "You constantly refer to the "honour of this house-born slave's son, but you will soon become aware that I will "take the daughter of Allah-dád from his dwelling by force, and carry her away." The wrath of the headmen of the Sunbals, at this speech, became aroused, and they replied to Mubárak Khán fiercely, saying, "Have pity on your own life, and put not your foot "beyond your mark; for, if you dare to cast your eyes towards our females, we will "slay you, even though the chief men of the Sunbals should perish in consequence." Mubárak Khán, on this, directed his Hindí doorkeepers to drive the Sunbals from his presence, that they dared to reply to him in that style; but, when they took up their sticks to carry out his orders, a scuffle ensued, and the Sunbal youths, who were tired of tyranny and oppression, and their anger aroused, fell upon them, and then and there they slew Mubárak Khán and the greater number of his servants.

When information of this reached the ears of Sher Sháh, he wrote to the Á'ẓam Humáyún, Haibat Khán, saying, "Among the Afgháns the family of Súr are but few "in number, and, if every other Afghán should slay a Súr, not one of them will be left "in the world.* The Sunbals are of your own tribe, therefore do you punish them, so "that others may take warning, and not follow their bad example of slaying Ḥákims "or governors."

When this *farmán* reached the Á'ẓam Humáyún, he marched a force against the Sunbals, and the Sunbals, hearing of his coming, abandoned their lands, and took refuge in the strong and difficult tract of Pus'h or Pus'ht,† determining that they would take their families and dependents with them, and retire towards the province of Kábul, and seek a home therein. The Á'ẓam Humáyún, having become aware of their determination, was filled with concern; and he held counsel with his people, saying, "The Sunbals are brave men, and a numerous clan, and cannot be reduced by force; "and, if they depart towards Kábul, Sher Sháh will conclude, that, because they were "of my tribe, I neglected to stop them, and that they left their country at my insti- "gation. Such being the case, it is necessary to have recourse to dissimulation and "stratagem in order to get at them." He accordingly despatched his Wakíl or Agent to the Sunbals; and in his *parwánah* addressed to them stated that he had made investigation, and found that what had happened was no fault of theirs, and that the whole was caused by Mubárak Khán's tyranny and oppression. "I will send you," he said, "to the presence of Sher Sháh, and will solicit him to forgive you for what "has happened; and, as is the custom among the Afgháns, I will give a certain "number of Níází daughters to the Súrs, and so heal the feud, or Sher Sháh will "put two or three of your headmen to death, but for the whole clan to go into exile "is not desirable."

The Sunbals, in reply, stated that they were in a very difficult position. "If the

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* Compare the version in Elliot's "Historians," Vol. IV., pages 428 to 432, which I must say is a *very free* translation of the original.

† *See* page 82, and the remarks on the mountain range, the boundary of the true Afghánistán, in the following Section.

"Súrs," they said, "had come against us to take revenge, we would have met them in "fair fight, and have shown our superiority over them, and thereby left a great name "behind us, the Sunbal Níázís having shown such valour and intrepidity. But, if we "oppose you, who are also a Níází, Níázís on both sides will perish; and, on the other "hand, if we depart [towards Kábul], you will get a bad name; for it will be said "that, as we were of your own tribe, by your favour and connivance we managed to "get away. If you, the Á'ẓam Humáyún, will bind yourself on oath, that you will "not seek to afflict us, then we will come and present ourselves before you." He sent them a reply, saying, "Have I no regard for the honour of my own tribe that I "should seek to afflict and ruin you?" and he swore accordingly not to injure them. The Sunbals, on this, returned with their families and dependents, and appeared before the Á'ẓam Humáyún. He seeing that, by this stratagem, he had got the whole of the Sunbals and their families into his power, brought them to Bahír,* where he put 900 of them to death. At the time of slaying them the other Níázís said to some of the Sunbals to whom they were related: "We will let you escape; fly there-"fore." They, however, were true to the honour of the Afgháns, and replied: "To be "slaughtered along with our clan and families is better for us than to live dis-"honoured; for it is a well known proverb that, 'To die together is like being at a "'feast."

Having put to the sword the greater part of the Sunbal clan, the Á'ẓam Humáyún despatched their families and dependents to the presence of Sher Sháh; and he, being a well-wisher of the Sunbal clan, did not approve of this base act on the part of the Á'ẓam Humáyún, and observed that, among the Afghán tribes, such an act of baseness had never before been committed. "The Á'ẓam Humáyún cannot "nourish thoughts of sovereignty since he has slain so many of his tribe; for, if he "did, he never would have shown such haste in shedding the blood of so many of "his own people so unjustly."† Sher Sháh had been meditating the removal of the Á'ẓam Humáyún from the government of the Panj-áb (being suspicious of his entertaining such an idea apparently), but he had not time, hitherto, to carry out his intention, and shortly after this event he died. After the decease of Sher Sháh the Á'ẓam Humáyún, it is said by the Khowáṣ Khán party, did propose to assume sovereignty, the particulars of which have been already narrated.

To return to the movements of the remaining Níázís, after the suppression of their outbreak, and death of the Á'ẓam Humáyún and his brothers. Their movements are not altogether clear; for there are no records of their doings, but it is very evident that, during that rebellion, some part of the tribe suffered more than others, from the fact that only a portion of the tribe are now found on the banks of the Indus. The account given by Muḥammad Ḥai'át, Kaṭhar, in his book, of their *subsequent movements* is really that of their *first immigration* into these parts, as I have before narrated, and, as I think, I shall presently be able to show. It would seem that great part of those Níázís whose homes were on the west side of the Indus continued to dwell there, even during those troubles, and after the rebellion had been suppressed; for Islám Sháh never molested them there, nor made any attempt to occupy the Níází districts. He had plenty to occupy his attention elsewhere; besides, in case of attack, they had the mountains of Roh, or Pus'h or Pus'ht, to retire to, as the Sunbals had previously done.

The territory west of the Indus did not come under the rule of Akbar Bádsháh

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* Compare "Elliot," Vol. IV., page 432. In the original the word is without points: I cannot find it in our maps.

† The unfortunate Sunbals were again almost exterminated in the reign of Aurang-zeb-i-Á'lam-gír, in the year 1073 H. (1662–63 A.D.). The particulars are as follow:—

"The Sunbal, or, as the word is sometimes written, Sunbhal clan, are an offshoot of the Níázís, and dwell on the western side of the river [the Sind or Indus], but, in times gone by, a small number of them had passed the Níl-áb, and taken up their residence in Dhan-Koṭ [here is another statement showing that Dhan-Koṭ was on the east bank of the river]. As they had evinced a rebellious spirit, Aurang-zeb Bádsháh instructed the Fowjdár of that part to remove them altogether from the district to the opposite side of the river. This had been done. Again it was reported that they had begun to be troublesome; and a large body of them had the boldness to cross the river into the Panj-áb, where they attacked the imperial Thánah or military post on the east bank, slew the Thánah-dár, Khalíl by name, and possessed themselves of the place. The rage of Aurang-zeb Bádsháh was roused; and Fidá'í Khán, the Mír-i-Átash, or Master of the Ordnance [the same who in after years became Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul, and is mentioned elsewhere], with his artillery, and other forces, were despatched from the Bádsháh's camp on the Chin-áb, he being at the time in Kash-mír, to punish them."

The Sunbals, getting information of their coming, had for the most part crossed the Níl-áb, with their families and moveable property, but a portion of them stood their ground and were killed. The rest of their property and cattle fell into the hands of the troops, and must have been considerable and valuable, since it is stated that that portion which was appropriated to the State was valued at two lákhs of rúpís.

"Nakhjír Khán, an officer serving in the Kábul Ṣúbah, had also been directed to co-operate with his troops. On his arrival on the scene, he was made Fowjdár of that part, and Fidá'í Khán was directed to return."

until the the thirtieth year of his reign, although English writers generally imagine that he acquired the province of Kábul at the time of his accession, after his father's death. The territory of Kábul and its dependencies, consisting of the *Tománs* of Ghaznín, Bangas'h, Gardaiz, Nangnahár, and Bagrám, or Pas'háur,* as it was also called, as far east as the Indus, and some other tracts, were the appanage of his brother, Muḥammad Ḥakím Mírzá, who was quite independent of his brother, and, more than once, invaded the Panj-áb. At his death, in 993 H. (1585 A.D.), the Kábul territory was annexed; and it remained in the possession of the Mughal sovereigns of Dihlí until all their territories west of the Indus were ceded to Nádir Sháh.

Subsequently, the territory west of the Indus inhabited by the 'Ísá Khel Níázís, as at present constituted, through which lay the then northern route by Pes'háwar to Kábul—for, until Akbar Bádsháh set out towards Kábul in 989 H. (1581 A.D.), after his brother, Muḥammad Ḥakím Mírzá, had invaded the Panj-áb, when the route by the Khaibar defile, which used to be infested by the Táríkís, was ordered to be improved, Aṭak Banáras was not founded—together with Dawaṛ and Bannú or Bannúṇ, through which the route to Kábul, and the routes to Ghaznín, by Upper Bangas'h, lay, formed, nominally, one *Sarkár*,† but the allegiance of its inhabitants was not implicitly to be depended on, without full power to enforce it. The rest of the tract of mountainous country, stretching downwards to the south from the Níází country, Bannú, and Bangas'h, as far as the northern boundary of the Bhakhar *Sarkár* of Multán, now known as Upper Sind; and from the Indus westwards, as far as the eastern boundaries of the *Tománs* of the Ṣúba'h of Kábul and *Sarkárs* of the Ṣúbah of Kandahár—Síwí was subsequently annexed to Kandahár—constituting the whole of the true Afghánistán, in which was Pus'h or Pus'ht whither the Sunbals had fled, *never* came under the sway of any of the Mughal sovereigns of the house of Tímúr who sat on the throne of Dihlí, save when an army entered any part, on any particular expedition, or for any express purpose; and with its disappearance, often after it had sustained disaster, even such nominal allegiance ceased. Such has been the state of that tract of country down to the present hour: the Afgháns have continued to enjoy their rude independence, which has led a few writers, one copying the other, to christen the Afghánistán "Yághistán"—namely, "the country of rebels," an inconsistency to which I have previously alluded.

Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, says, in his book, that the remnant of the Níázís, *after the outbreak was crushed*, fled to their kinsmen in Tánk, and that they dwelt with them many years; then, that they left that part and dwelt for nearly thirty years in the Thal, now known as Thal of the Marwats and Marwat, and subsequently issued from the Tang Dara'h, and dispersed over the country on either side of the Sind. Then he says, that the Níází rebellion began in 954 H. and lasted six years, thus bringing us to 960 H., as the time they fled to Ták or Ṭánk. Then, if we only allow twenty years for his "many years" that they dwelt there, and "nearly thirty years" for their sojourn in the Thal, we should reach the year 1010 H.‡ But what are the historical facts of which we have undoubted record?

The "Á'ín-i-Akbarí," containing a complete and detailed survey of the empire of Akbar Bádsháh, was completed in the forty-second year of his reign, or the year 1005 H. (1596–97 A.D.). The materials for it had, of course, been obtained some time before, since Rájah Todar Mal, who superintended the revenue system, and carried it out, died in 998 H., seven years previously. At that time, the northern half of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah constituted the Sind-Ságar Sarkár, so called, of the Ṣúbah, or province, of the Panj-áb, or Láhor.§ This Sind-Ságar Sarkár contained forty-two

* But not extending very far from that place, not beyond the river of Kábul northwards. Even nearer the city his rule was but partial, and depended on the number of troops stationed there to enforce it.

† The late Mr. W. H. Blochmann, in the text of his edition of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, through want of local knowledge, has fallen into some great errors respecting people and places in these parts. For example, he calls the Sarkár immediately west of the Sind-Ságar Sarkár, "دورونیون and 'Ísá Khel," which can only be read by the uninitiated, if they can make it out at all, as *Dorúníún*, for he has put three words into one, and the last or third word is incorrect. What is referred to is "*Dawaṛ*—دوڑ *and*—و—*Bannúṇ*—بنوں" but for the latter he has Níún—نیون—instead. He gives various readings, but, in all, the three words are understood as one; and he, of course, could not make it out. The printed text of the Akbar Náma'h is equally defective, and in that we have نیور instead of بنون

Although Bannú or Bannúṇ—the "*n*" being nasal—formed part of the Sarkár above referred to, Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, in his book, asserts that Bannú "was only conquered in Bahádur Sháh's time." Respecting this so-called conquest, which was no conquest at all, but quite the contrary, *see* page 372.

‡ *See* page 355. Sher Sháh's nephew, Mubárak Khán, whom the Sunbal Níázís put to death, was placed in charge of the Níází territory immediately on the Indus, about, or before, 950 H.

§ In the copies of the text I have examined, this Ṣúbah is called the Ṣúbah of the Panj-áb only.

mahálls, or *parganahs*, or districts, one of which was Khush-áb on the Jhilam, the inhabitants of which were 'Ísá Khel and other Níází Afgháns, who paid 1,80,704 *dáms* of revenue, and who are rated as able to furnish 500 horse and 3,000 foot* for militia purposes; and it by no means appears that they were fresh arrivals therein. This is from five to ten years, at least, *before* the time Hai'át, the Kaṭhar, states that they "issued from the Tang Dara'h, and dispersed on either side of the Sind." Furthermore, in the thirty-second year of Akbar Bádsháh, namely, in 995 H. (1587 A.D.), an expedition was sent under the command of 'Abd-ul-Muṭallab† Khán, son of Sháh Budágh, and other commanders, to root out Jalálah and the schismatic Táríkís from Bangas'h. Kábul and its dependencies as far east as the Indus had only been lately annexed, and Akbar Bádsháh was in the Panj-áb. After the Kuṇwar, Mán Singh, had penetrated into the defiles west of Pas'háur, in pursuit of the Táríkís, as related in Section Two, page 46, of these "Notes," and had had such difficulty in withdrawing therefrom, he did not think it advisable to enter them again, and so he took up his station at Jam-Rúd, near the entrance of the Khaibar defile. This inaction on his part was displeasing to the Bádsháh, and, therefore, another force was organized against the Táríkís, which was to enter the mountains from the Panj-áb, by way of Bangas'h, while Mán Singh was ordered to co-operate from the side of Bagrám or Pas'háur.

Early in the month of April the troops set out from their quarters in the Panj-áb; and, when they reached the Sind near Sunbala'h, Zangaey Khán, and others of the Níází Afgháns, who dwelt in that neighbourhood, joined the Bádsháh's officers (with their contingents); and they crossed the Sind at the Chaupárah Ferry, and entered the lands of the 'Ísá Khel. Fírúz Khán, Jamál Khan, 'Alí Khán, and other chief men of that part (Níázís), also came and presented themselves before the Bádsháh's commander. It was deemed advisable, after consultation, that this force should enter Upper Bangas'h, by way of Dawaṛ, to Baghzaṇ; and, after reaching that part, to act against the Táríkís. This was done; and a victory was gained over them which I have not space here to describe.

Here we have the Níázís, including the 'Ísá Khel, dwelling precisely in the same places as they dwelt in immediately before, and, at the time of the Á'ẓam Humáyún's outbreak, fifteen years before the earliest date given by Hai'át, the Kaṭhar, for the remnant of them *first reaching the Indus*, and for the 'Ísá Khel *first taking up* their residence where they are still located on its west bank. It is also very clear that, at the period above referred to, the Níázís had long been settled in these parts.

Subsequent to the expedition before mentioned, in 1003 H. (1594–95 A.D.), seven years before Hai'át, the Kaṭhar, says they first came, the 'Ísá Khel having misbehaved themselves in some way, the particulars of which are not given, and, in the month of August of that year,‡ Tásh Beg Khán, was despatched with a force from the Bádsháh's camp to chastise them, but, through illness, he was unable, effectually, to carry out his instructions. We must suppose he was not successful, otherwise the details would have been given.

But I need not confine myself to Akbar Bádsháh's reign to prove what I before stated, namely, that the Níázís, including the 'Ísá Khel, had been established on the Indus ages before the time Hai'át, the Kaṭhar, pretends they were. I will go back a century or more.

In the very first expedition undertaken by Bábar Bádsháh from Kábul in the direction of Hind, which he undertook in Sha'bán—the eighth month—of 910 H. (February, 1505 A.D.), having reached the province, and visited the city of Bagrám (Pas'háur), he held consultation with his officers as to their next movements. A raid on Kohát, the name of which place, he says, he then heard for the first time, was

* In some copies, 7,000.

† Not "Abd-ul-Maṭlab" Khán: the name is that of the grandfather of the prophet, Muḥammad, and hence Musalmáns have adopted it. He was commander of 2,500, or rather, such was his rank. This, of course, is no criterion of the number of troops he commanded on this occasion, or might be called upon to command. His father, Sháh Budágh—but, although styled "Sháh," he was not a king—was at first in Kámrán Mírzá's service, and came of one of the Turk *í-máḳs* or tribes dwelling in the Mían-Kál district of Bukhárá.

Mr. Blochmann here, again, falls into a terrible error respecting this person. He says, in a notice of him in the "Translation of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí," that he was "*a descendant of Uymáq Kál* of Samarquand." In a note he adds to, and clinches, the error. He says, "There were two tribes of the Qarú Turks called *úymák*. "They were renowned in India as horsemen. Hence ímáḳ, as the word is spelt by Mughal historians, means "*a kind of superior cavalry*. . . . The meaning of *Miyán Kál* is still unclear to me. To judge from "Abulfazl's phrase, it must be the name of the head or founder of a clan," etc. No wonder it was not clear to him. I wonder what he would have made of the Chhár Í-máḳ near Hirát. [redacted]

Mían-Kál is one of the seven *tománs* or districts of Bukhárá, not the "head" nor "founder of a clan," and is situated between that city and Samr-ḳand, and is remarkable for its verdure. It will be further noticed in the last Section of these "Notes." Í-máḳ, which he spells "Uymáq," is merely the Turkish for *tribe*.

‡ Towards its close, for the year commenced 5th September, 1594 A.D.

determined on. Subsequently, after moving in different directions around, making forays, he marched into Bannú, "through which," he says, "the river of Bangas'h [*i.e.*, the Kurma'h] flows and fertilizes." Then he continues: "To the southward of "Bannú is Chaupárah, and the Sind river, to the east is Dín-Koṭ [*i.e.*, Dhan-Koṭ], "and to the west is a *dasht*—a plain or open level country—called Bázár and Ṭák. "These parts are cultivated by the Afghán tribes of Karání [Kaṛlární he means], and "the tribes of Gíwí, Súr, Níází, and [he makes two of them] 'Ísá Khel."* The Gíwí, he says elsewhere, were located in the hills on the north of Bannú, the chief of which tribe, at that time, was Shádaey Khán.†

"When first the raid into Koháṭ was determined upon," he says, "it was agreed "that, having harried the Afgháns of Bannú and Bangas'h, the force should return "either by way of Baghzaṉ to Kábul, or by Furmúl, but, after the Bannú affair, people "acquainted with the country represented that the *dasht* (or plain country) was close at "hand; that the people were well off; the tract of country populous; the routes "good; and that one leading from it came out on the Furmúl route." So it was agreed, first to enter the *dasht*, and afterwards to return by the route to Furmúl. The Bádsháh continues:—"Having marched next day (from the Bannú territory), we "followed the course of the river before mentioned (the river of Kurma'h), and "encamped on the banks thereof at the village of the 'Ísá Khel.‡ The latter, having "heard of our approach, took to the mountains of Chaupárah; and we, having "marched from the village of the 'Ísá Khel, moved towards the foot of the hills (of "Chaupárah),§ and there pitched our camp. The light troops entered the mountains, "and destroyed the *sangars* or breastworks which the 'Ísá Khel had raised, and "brought in numbers of horses, sheep, a quantity of grain, and furniture and "apparel. This same night the Í'sá Khel made a night attack upon our camp, but I "had taken such precautions during this expedition as to advance pickets, and the "going of rounds during the night-time, one of which I always went myself, that the "attack was of no consequence."

"Having marched from the skirts of the mountains towards the west, we encamped "in the dry bed of a river, between Bannú and the *dasht*. The troops dug wells (pits) "for themselves and horses, and found water at the depth of about a *gaz*, or a *gaz* and "a half.|| Having marched from this dry river bed, by the time of afternoon prayer "the light troops had reached the villages of the *dasht*."

Before bringing this subject to a close, it will be well to notice further the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, which constituted a Sarkár of the Ṣúbah of the Panj-áb, or Láhor, in the revenue settlement of Akbar Bádsháh detailed in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí. It contained, as I have before remarked, forty-two *maḥálls* or *parganahs*, one of which was Khush-áb, and another Ḥawelí-i-Ruhtás, that is to say, the small town or cluster of habitations contained near the centre of the area enclosed within the walls of that mighty fortress, and the villages dependent on it. In MSS. of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, Khush-áb and Ḥawelí-i-Ruhtás, being written close to each other, some copyists have confused them, putting one in the place of the other. For example, the inhabitants of the Khush-áb *maḥáll* were 'Ísá Khel and other Níázís, who were rated at 500 horse, and 3,000 foot, for militia purposes, but, for the reason above stated, in some copies, these occur under the head of Ḥawelí-i-Ruhtás instead, whereas its inhabitants were "Bagí-ál Gakhaṛs"¶ in some copies, and "Kangírs" in others.

At this period, Dhan-Koṭ, to which the Níázís fled for shelter after their defeat at

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* Such being the fact, Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, in his book, nevertheless presumes to tell us, that it is "the descendants," of the 'Í'sá Khán, brother of the Á'ẕam Humáyún, who was only born several years after Bábar's raid, "who are known as the 'Ísá Khel." He also says that he ('Ísá Khán) was the Mushír-i-Kháṣ—Privy Councellor—of Sher Sháh, a statement equally incorrect. The 'Ísá Khán referred to was a Sarwání Afghán, not a Níází; and he was the Ḥájib or Chamberlain, not a Mushír, such a title being unknown at that time in India, and among the Afgháns.

† Gíwí is a sub-tribe or section of the Shítak tribe, known as Bannútsís, descended from Gíwaey, son of Shítak, the progenitor of the Shítak Kaṛlárnís.

‡ The ancient village of Ṭíṭa'í is here referred to.

§ He refers to the Lowá-Ghaṛ range mentioned farther on. There were no Khaṭaks in this part at the period in question: they were dwelling farther to the south-west, on the frontier of the Bannú territory.

It seems to me that Chaupárah refers to the present Khaṭak district known as Tsautara'h, for a foreigner would not be likely, at once, to realize the sound of "*ts*" of the Pus'hto. Perhaps it is an error of the copyists, but it is thus written, with long, instead of short, "*a*" in the original Turkish. My reason for this supposition is, that the northern part of the Lowá-Ghaṛ bounds the Tsautara'h district on the south-east.

|| *See* the chukkars mentioned at page 324.

¶ The author of these surveys writes the name more correctly, Bhaghí-ál; and he says they are a large tribe of Jaṭs, not Gakhaṛs, and when he wrote, amounted to close upon 10,000 families, the chief of whom was then called Sarfaráz Khán. They still inhabited the Ruhtás *parganah*. Respecting the termination "*ál*," see note §, page 275.

Anbálah, was inhabited by the Janjúhah or Janhúah; and it is described as situated on the *east* bank of the Mihrán, or Sind-Ságar, or Sind, as it is variously named.

In what the author calls Berún-i-Panj-Nad, that is, apparently, beyond the river, or rather in the deltas of the river,* is the separate *maḥáll* of Bilúṭ [Bilúts],† whose inhabitants are set down as Bilúṭ [Bilúts] Afgháns, who are rated at 100 horsemen, and 1,000 foot, for militia purposes.

The clans of the Hút Balúch tribe inhabited the *maḥáll* of Kul-Bahák, or Kul-Bahálak, as it is also written, and they were rated as able to furnish 200 horsemen, and 1,000 foot. This *maḥáll* occurs in the same column with that of Gahep, the inhabitants of which were the Janhúah or Janjúah; and hence, in the same way that Khush-áb and Ḥawelí-i-Ruhtás have been confounded one with the other, confusion occurs here, and the Húts occasionally appear as inhabiting the Gahep *maḥáll*, but the majority of copies have them as I have entered them, and the printed text generally agrees therewith.

Besides the Hút Balúchís, Níázís, Janhúah or Janjúhah, Gakhaṛs, Dilazáks, Turks, Khokhars, and Kaṭhars, the other tribes inhabiting the Sind-Ságar *Sarkár* of the Ṣúba'h of the Panj-áb, contained in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, are, Awáns, Malánahs, Kangírs, Khamínahs, and Bagí-ál; and in the "Berún-i-Panj-Nad, in the two other *maḥálls* "of Káhlúr and Sahlúr, are Chandels, and some others."‡

In respect to numbers, the Janhúahs—Bábar Bádsháh's Júds and Janjúhahs—Khokhars, Awáns, and Gakhaṛs, appear to predominate. The Khokhars, formerly a far more numerous race, and who, just before the time of the sovereignty of Sulṭán Bahlúl, the Lodí, dominated Láhor and parts around, now appear to be most numerous in the Chin-haṭ§ Do-ábah of the Panj-áb *Sarkár*, and the Bíst-Jálandhar Do-ábah of the Multán *Sarkár*.

English writers, with one or two rare exceptions, as previously remarked, invariably make Gakhaṛs of the Khokhars, and know no difference between them; and now the Gakhaṛ chiefs, since they were "invited" to send in an account of their families, have, to glorify themselves, with rare assurance, begun to follow the example. A specimen of the formers' mistakes is contained in Dr. Hunter's book, entitled "The Indian Empire," previously alluded to. He says, at page 218, that "the wild *Ghakkar* [for so he spells "Gakhaṛ] tribe burst into the camp [of Maḥmúd of Ghaznín], and slaughtered nearly "4,000 Musalmans;" and "Briggs" is quoted. Again, at page 222, he says, respecting the Sulṭán, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, the Ghúrí, whom he calls "Muhammad of Ghor," that, "In 1203, the *Ghakkars* issued from their mountains, took Lahore, "and devastated the whole province." Then, that, "In 1206, a party of the *same* "*clan* swam the Indus, on the bank of which the *Afghan* [another error for Ghúríán] "camp was pitched, and stabbed the Sultan while he was asleep in his tent." This too is "Firishta," according to Briggs: not Muḥammad Ḳásim, surnamed Firishtah, for he has neither "*Afghan camp*," nor "*Ghakkars*," for he knew better. In a foot note Dr. Hunter quotes Sir H. Elliot's "Muhammadan Historians," Vols. II., pp. 233–235, and V., p. 163, to prove this statement, but, unfortunately for the writer's correctness, Sir H. Elliot, *in both instances quoted*, has Khokhars.|| Dr. Hunter's "Imperial Gazetteer," as a matter of course, contains these same great errors, but there are very

* I say deltas between the different branches of the Sind or Indus, because a large tract of country, formerly on the west but *now* on the *east* bank, formed, at the period in question, part of the lands of the 'Ísá Khel and Bannú *Sarkár*. The river for a long period of time has been encroaching westwards, and is now so close to the mountains in the territory of the 'Ísá Khel and Khassúr Afgháns, that it can scarcely encroach more than it has done in that direction.

† Writing the word, as a foreigner and Hindústání would probably do, with Hindí "*ṭ*" for Afghán "*ts*."

‡ In some copies of the text غزال *ghaz-ál*, but, as no such people are named anywhere else, the word has, therefore, been read as two words, namely, غیر آن *ghair-i-án*, signifying "others besides," or "et cetera."

§ In Blochmann's printed text of the Á'ín this word is invariably written or rather printed *Jin-haṭ*; and he gives different readings, showing he was in doubt about it, but they are all wrong. As I have elsewhere mentioned, a scribe writing carelessly, or with a full pen, is liable to turn the three points of چ into ج, but the Chin-haṭ Do-ábah, and the place which takes its name from it, are so well known, that the blunder is the more surprising. Chin-haṭ was taken by the Bengal portion of General Wish's force, immediately after the capture of Multán, in February, 1849, when he was on his way to join Lord Gough. The Bombay column followed soon after. The derivation of Chin-haṭ I have given elsewhere. It appears in the Indian Atlas map as "*Chunceot*."

|| The editor of his work here referred to, the late Mr. Dowson, in one place, however, endeavours to make out Sir H. Elliot in the wrong. After the word Khokhar, and Kokar, as the authors of the Táríkh-i-Alfí write it, had appeared scores of times before in the work, and in different accounts of the very same events, at page 166 of Vol. V., the editor has the following, in a foot note to the word Kokar. "This tribe is variously "denominated by Muhammadan authors, Kúkar, Kokar, Gakkar, Ghikar, Ghakar. The last appears to be "the most correct . . . . Elphinstone in his "Cabul," page 78, says that on the spot they call themselves

many more of a similar kind in the compilation named above.* *See* my " Translation of the Tabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 485, note 3.

It will be well, I think, in the interest of authentic history, to examine this question somewhat further, in order to correct the very erroneous statements respecting these so-called " Ghakkars " and their feats.

In the article on the family of "*Raja* Karim Dad, Ghakkar," contained in Mr. (now Sir) Lepel Griffin's "Panjab Chiefs," page 573, he commences by saying, " No Panjab tribe is more frequently mentioned in Indian history than the *Ghakkars*, " who, for many hundred years, were the possessors of great power, and a wide extent " of country."

It is necessary here, however, to substitute *Khokhars*, or, as non-Indian historians call them, *Kokars*, for they are the powerful people alluded to, who, for a considerable period, dominated the Láhor province, and Díbál-púr, and at times even threatened Dihlí itself, not the Gakhars.

In another place (page 574) Griffin relates what they (the Gakhars) *say of themselves and their antecedents*. They state that their ancestor, Kabil *Khan*, obtained employment under Sabaktugin [the Amír, Náṣir-ud-Dín, whose Turkish name was Sabuk-Tigín, is referred to], long previous to which they had become Musalmans; and that Kabil *Khan's* son, " *Ghakkar Shah*, from whom the tribe derived its name, " accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni to India, at the beginning of the eleventh century, " and obtained leave to settle his tribe, then very numerous, at Chana Ponir, now Ram " Kot, on the Jhelam." In a foot note, Griffin says, that " their early history, as " related by themselves, is purely fabulous." Of this there can be no question when one of them is styled " Khan," before such a word was ever used, except for purely Turkish rulers, and his son " Shah," a title applicable to sovereigns and Sayyids.

Griffin adds, however, that, " where Ghakkar history makes the *founder of the tribe* " to be an officer in Mahmud Shah's [*sic*] army, Firishta records [or rather, Dow and " Briggs for him], that 30,000 *Ghakkars* penetrated the Muhamadan camp, and were " with difficulty repulsed after Mahmud had lost 5,000 men."

Here is the primary cause of all the succeeding blunders respecting them. Firishtah's chronicle has *Khokhars*, not " Ghakkars," but Dow has " *Gickers* " and Briggs " *Gukkurs*." It is the powerful tribe of Khokhar who are referred to.

In another place (p. 589), Griffin says, respecting the *Kokhar* tribe—for *he* does mention them separately—that " nothing is known of them previous to 1623, when " Dadan *Khan*, a Kokhar *Rajput* in the service of Jahangir, settled on the Jhelam " at the foot of the Salt Range, then known as the hills of Jodh [Koh-i-Júd, or Júd " Mountains]," while at page 562 he had already stated, that " The Awans, the " *Khokars* [he spells the word in two different ways], and the Khattars, seem to have " had a common origin, all tracing their pedigree back to Kutb *Shah*, who may have " lived about the beginning of the eleventh century, and who probably came to India " with one of the invading armies of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznivi."

Here, Gakhar should have been substituted for Khokhar, according to Griffin's own previous statements. This Kutb *Shah* is said, by him, to have had nine sons, one of whom was " *Khokar*." Then he continues, " From *Khokar* have descended the " *Khokars* of Hafizabad in the Gujranwala district, in no way connected with the " *Kokhars* of Pind Dadan Khan who are of Rujput descent."

Here it will be noticed that he makes two tribes out of one people—the " Khokars " and the " Kokhars "—but he is quite mistaken; the Khokhars or Kokars are one tribe, and one people, although now separately located.

There are Khokhars in the Chin-haṭ Do-ábah of the Panj-áb, located in the most northern part of it, and some, to the number of about 20,000 families, were dwelling along the east bank of the Wihat or Jhilam, when these surveys, which I have been describing in these " Notes," were made. About the same number of Khokhars then dwelt in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, in and around Khúsh-áb, Bharah, and Aḥmad-ábád, while the Gakhars dwell in and about Khán-púr and Sayyid-Wálah, farther north-west.

There are numbers of Khokhars scattered about in other parts of the Panj-áb, some of whom dwell among the Sí-áls in the Rich-náb Do-ábah.

Captain Wace, a Settlement Officer in the Panj-áb, some years since, in his Report on the Settlement of a part of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, tells us " that the *Gakhars*

" Gukkhúr; Khokars are quite different. But it is evident that in this passage, as in others, the Kokars are " meant for Ghakars."

[redacted]

* *See* note ††, page 287.

"*were one of the oldest and most powerful of the Hindu dynasties* of the Panjab *at* "*the time* when Mahamadanism (as he spells Muḥammadanism) was first introduced "into India, about A.D. 1000, by Mahmud of Ghazni, *has been well established* [this, "it will be observed, is *directly contrary* to the Gakhar account of themselves] by all of India's historians;" and, immediately after, "all of India's historians" turn out to be "*Murray's History of India*," which is a mere compilation from Dow and Briggs, for "*all* of India's" native "historians" say differently. Captain Wace has fallen into the usual error, and has mistaken *Khokhars* for Gakhars, for the former are the powerful race referred to by the historians.

Another proof of how the two people have been mistaken one for the other and their histories confused is shown in MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I., in which several pages are devoted to the *Gakhars*, who, he says, "inhabit portions of the "Hazára, Jhelam, and Ráwal Pindí districts of the Panjab;" and the name of *Khokhar* is not to be found in his work, but their history, such as it is, has been given to the Gakhars.

In Part II. of the same work, in an article on the "Kákar" Afgháns, page 475, we are told that a "strong branch of them, *now known* as the *Gákars*, are located on "the Jhélam in Kashmir." This astounding statement, however, can scarcely be meant to refer to the Hindí "*Gakhars*" of the previous paragraph.

Here is another specimen of the very misty ideas which still prevail respecting these two peoples and their history. In Elliot's "Memoirs on the History, Folk-lore, and Distribution of the Races of the North-West Provinces of India," vol. 1, page 99, he says, respecting the Gújar clan of the North-West Provinces, that "the Ráwul "Gújars of Panípat say that they are descended from a *Khokhar* Rajput (*a clan which* "*has been considered to be the same as the notorious* Ghakkar)." Here too the "notorious clan" refers to the Khokhars; and I may add that they have only been *considered to be the same*, because Dow and Briggs, in their versions of Firishtah's chronicle, not knowing the difference, invariably turned Khokhars into "*Gickers*" and "*Gukkurs*" respectively; and because compilers of Indian history constantly quote their versions since no others are accessible to them, but the original, notwithstanding, has *Khokhars*, not "Gickers," nor "Gukkurs."

In Elliot's work, just referred to, page 113, Major-General A. Cunningham is quoted, but the editor (Mr. J. Beames, Bengal Civil Service) adds "without in the "least committing myself to approval of the General's opinions (which appear to me "to be in many cases ill founded)." The quotation is, that, "The Takkas are "denominated by the above-named writer [Gen. C.] 'early Turanians,' and he ascribes "to them a connection with 'the famous city of Takkasila or Taxila.' They were "formerly, he thinks, in possession of the Sindh Ságar Doáb, or the country between "the Indus and Jhelum rivers in the Panjáb, but must have been expelled thence by "the *Gakkars* (who are also said to be Turanians) during the reign of *Darius* "*Hystaspes* or thereabouts [this is *a little* earlier than the time of Maḥmúd of "Ghaznín, at which period the Gakhars themselves say they came]. The reason for "this supposition would seem to be that 'in the first century of our era, the district "'of Taxila was already called Amanda or Amandra, a name which at once recalls the "'Awáns of the present day [*see* my note on Kálá Bágh of the Awáns, page 370].' In "another place (page 8), the Awáns are said to have been in possession of Taxila at "the time of Alexander's invasion, and to have been expelled by the Indo-Scythians "two centuries later. These speculations, however, are confessedly rather uncertain, "and some confusion exists in this part of the report."

Elphinstone, in his "History of India," falls into the very same errors as others I have named about the "*Gakkars*," as he writes the word, because he quotes "Ferishta" from "Briggs."

I may now observe that the Gakhars are never mentioned in any of the available native historians up to the time of Bábar Bádsháh, who came into actual contact with them when he invaded the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah and marched to Khúsh-áb and Bharah, in 925 H. (1519 A.D.). He writes their name, like all foreigners would who do not realize the sound of the Sanskrit letter घ, represented by گھ—"*gh*" of the Muḥammadans,—ککر—Gakar, with two "*k*s," and, in the same way, foreigners seldom or never mark the difference between ک *k* and گ *g*. He describes them and their country as follows.

After first noticing that the tract of country in which were included the districts of Khúsh-áb, Bharah, Chán-áb, and Chínút (Chin-haṭ), had previously been under the sway of his ancestor, Tímúr Beg (Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán), he says, that, in 910 H. (1505-6 A.D.), when he made a raid on Kuhat (as he spells Koháṭ), that territory was

under the nominal sway of a grandson of the Mír, 'Alí Beg, known as Bábá, the Kábulí, who was an officer in the service of Sulṯán Mas'úd, Kábulí, a grandson of Sháh Rukh Mírzá, and who, during the convulsions which arose about that time, had appropriated that territory to himself. This is the same person with whom the Langáh Jaṯ ruler of Multán came into contact, as mentioned elsewhere. The grandson of this 'Alí Beg was named Ápáḵ Khán, otherwise known as Sayyid 'Alí Khán, son of Ghází Khán. This Sayyid 'Alí Khán read the *khutbah* at that time for Sulṯán Sikandar, Lodí, who had succeeded his father, Sulṯán Bahlúl, but since that time (Bábar Bádsháh's raid on Koháṯ), he had been ousted; and the Afgháns had taken possession of it for themselves, and made it dependent on the Láhor province.*

The Bádsháh then mentions that a son of this same Sayyid 'Alí Khán, Mino-chihr Khán by name, had made his way out of Hindústán, in a forlorn state, a short time previous to his own movement towards Khúsh-áb and Bharah, on his way to join him by the upper route (across the Indus), and had been fallen in with by Tatár Khán, the Gakar; that he wished to detain him there, and, in order to induce him to stay, made him his son-in-law, by giving him a daughter in marriage, but that now, hearing of his, the Bádsháh's, arrival in those parts, Mino-chihr Beg (as it is written in some MSS. of Bábar's work), left him, and had now come and presented himself.

The Bádsháh then says:—"Seven kuroh north from Bharah there lies a range of "mountains, which, in the Ẕafar Námah (the history of Tímúr), and other books, is "called the Koh-i-Júd. The reason thereof was not known at first (to him), but, at "length, it was cleared up. It appears that, in this range, two *khels* (septs or clans) "of people, the descendants of one father (progenitor), have long been dwelling,—one "named Júd, and the other Janjhúhah.† In half of this range are the Júd, and in "the other the Janjhúhah; and, from ancient times, these (two khels) have been "Ḥákims (governors) and Farmán-rawás (rulers) over the *ils* and *ulúses* which are "located between Bharah and Níl-áb, but, after a friendly and brotherly manner, not "able to do what they like and demand what they choose, but, according to customs "fixed in former times, for the one to receive and the other to give. These consist of "one *sháh-rukhí* (2½ rúpís) yearly for every head of cattle (or animal), and seven "*sháh-rukhís* in cases of marriages; and they accompany the fighting men (of those "whom they govern) in the field. The Júds are subdivided into several sections or "divisions, as are likewise the Janjhúhahs."

"This range of mountains, seven kuroh distant from Bharah, is an offshoot jutting "out from the mountain range of Kash-mír, which is the Koh (or range) of Hindú "Kush. It runs in the direction of south-west, and below Dín-Koṯ (*i.e.*, Dhan-"Koṯ) terminates at (the bank of) the Sind river.‡ In half of this range (first men-"tioned) dwell the Júd, and in the other the Janjhúhah; and the range itself is "named after the Júd (*i.e.*, Koh-i-Júd). A *kalán-tar* (chief man) of respectability "and probity among them receives the title of Rá'e [the same purely Hindú title is "used by the Khokhars, and was also taken by the Gakhaṟs]; and the younger "brothers and sons (of the Rá'e) they style Malik."

"These Janjhúhah are subject to Sangar Khán; and the Ḥákim (ruler) of the *ils* "and *ulúses* (tribes and clans) on and near the Sú-hán river was Malik Hast."

Again he says:—"In the mountain tract between Níl-áb and Bharah, but quite "distinct from the Júd and Janjhúhah people, and adjoining the mountain range "of Kash-mír (the Pír-Pinjál or Koh-i-Ḵárlúgh is referred to), there are Jaṯs and "Gajúrs (Gújars); and of these there are many septs of people, who, on every hill, "and in every *dara'h*, have founded villages, and therein have taken up their abode. "The Ḥákim (ruler) of these is of the *ḵabílah* (family or tribe) of the Gakars; and "the authority of these is the same as that of the chiefs of the Júd and Janjhúhah "(over their people)."

"At the period in question, the rule over these people (Jaṯs and Gújars), dwelling at the "skirt of the mountain range of Kash-mír, was in the hands of the sons [of the sons ?] "of one father (*sic* in MSS.), namely, Tatár, the Gakar, and Ḥátí, the Gakar, who were "cousins german (*sic* in MSS.).§ Their strongholds are situated among the ravines "and clefts and gorges (of this mountain tract), and the name of Tatár's place is "Par-álah, at a considerable distance below (that is, south of) the Koh-i-Ḵárlúgh (or

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* *See* note †, page 347, and page 350.

† These people had been settled there centuries before, for the Koh-i-Júd is mentioned by the author of the Ṯabaḵát-i-Náṣirí, and Khokhars and others as dwelling therein, in his time, but there is no mention whatever of Gakhaṟs. *See* pages 481 and 678.

‡ Thus confirming, if such confirmation were necessary, the statements of other historians, that Dhan-Koṯ lay on the eastern bank of the Indus. *See* page 348.

§ The tree of Gakhaṟ descent given in Griffin's book does not agree with this.

"Snowy Mountains), while that of Ḥátí adjoins them. Kálinjar,* which appertained "to Bábú Khán, Bisút (a Mughal tribe), Hátí had succeeded in gaining possession of. "Tatár, on the other hand, had presented himself and done homage to Daulat Khán, "the Lodí (then ruler of that part of the Panj-áb subject to Dihlí); and, after "a manner, he pays allegiance to him, and acknowledges subjection to him. Hátí "had not done so, and was seditious and contumacious; and Tatár, on the requisition "of some of the Amírs of Hindústán (subjects of the Afghán Sulṭán of Dihlí), had "come along with them, and, in a manner, had invested Hátí (in his stronghold).

"At the identical time that I was in Bharah, by some stratagem, and when Tatár "was off his guard, Hátí came upon him, and slew him, took possession of his territory, "his ḥaram, and whatsoever he possessed."

Bábar Bádsháh subsequently mentions that the Janjhúhah and Júd chiefs were attached by him to serve under Hindú Beg, whom he had nominated to the charge of Khúsh-áb and Bharah, and that they were named, respectively, Sangar Khán and Malik Hast (whose father, Hátí, the Gakhaṛ, had killed). When on his way back towards Kábul, by way of Kaldah Kahár, "the Janjhúhah, who are the ancient enemies "of the Gakars, and others dwelling around them, represented that Hátí, the Gakar, "whose stronghold lay in the direction of the Bádsháh's route, was hostile, and was "infesting the roads, devastating the country, and plundering the people; and that it "was necessary to punish him adequately." The Bádsháh, consequently, despatched a portion of his small force in advance, and followed with the remainder (of those then accompanying him; for a portion remained behind at Kaldah Kahár, and will be again referred to) towards Par-álah, situated among the defiles of this part, which Hátí, Gakar, who had lately assassinated Tatár, Gakar, and seized upon his country, had now occupied.

Although the route was exceedingly narrow and difficult, and the place very strong and not easily approached, it was attacked and captured; and Hátí alone, flying by the north-west gate, escaped. Subsequently, at Andaránah, Pratáp (a good Hindú name), a kinsman of Hátí, presented himself. He had, some time before, after Hátí had killed Tatár (his cousin), and appropriated Par-álah, been despatched by him to the Bádsháh's presence with *pesh-kash* (tributary offerings to a sovereign prince from an inferior, tendering submission and allegiance). He had been detained behind with that portion of the Bádsháh's forces which had separated from him, and remained for the time at Kaldah Kahár, and had only now reached the Bádsháh's camp. He received Pratáp after he had crossed the Sú-hán river, and, having dismissed him, endeavoured to conciliate and assure Hátí through him. He sent a person of his own with him to Hátí; and, by the time the Bádsháh reached the banks of the Sind, Pratáp returned bearing other offerings, and he was subsequently dismissed with presents for Hátí, who had thus tendered his submission.

Such is Bábar Bádsháh's notice of, and transactions with, the "powerful dynasty" descended from "the" so-called "conqueror of Badakshan and part of Thibet," who ruled for "seven generations therein," "conquered Kashmir," and for "thirteen "generations held Kashmir." *See* Griffin's work, page 574.

Humáyún Bádsháh, Bábar's son, had further transactions with the Gakhaṛs, but, at that period, Hátí had disappeared from the scene.

But what says Abú-l-Faẓl respecting them? He was well disposed towards the Gakhaṛ tribe, because the Afghán Sulṭáns had coerced them, and because the then Gakhaṛ chief, thinking the time was now come that the Mughals could protect him from the Afgháns, took the strongest side, and tendered submission to Humáyún Bádsháh. Referring to them in the Akbar Námah, under the reign of Humáyún Bádsháh, he styles "Sulṭán Sárang, Gakhaṛ, and Sulṭán Adam, Gakhaṛ," among the "respectable and trustworthy *Zamín-dárs*" of the upper parts of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and mentions Hátiá-púr, as one of the *maḥálls* named after them. This place, from its name, doubtless, refers to Hátí, the Gakhaṛ, of Bábar Bádsháh's time. In another place Abú-l-Faẓl mentions "Sulṭán Adam, the Gakhaṛ, as the *sar* and "*sardár* (head and chief) of that *guroh* (people, or tribe)." In another place, referring to the affair of Kamál Khán, Gakhaṛ (related at page 353, note †), he gives their history as follows, and this account, in all probability, he had from Kamál, Gakhaṛ, himself.

"Let it not be concealed that the Gakhaṛs are a numerous *ṭawá-if* (people), and "dwell between the river Bihat (Jhilam) and the Sind (Indus). In the time of the

* *See* page 274, note **.

"Sulṭán, Zain-ul-'Ábidain, of Kash-mír,* a person named *Malik Kad*, one among the "*umará* (chiefs, leaders, commanders, governors, etc.) of Ghaznín (the province "of Ghaznín as then constituted), who was related to the (then) Ḥákim (governor, "ruler, etc.) of Kábul, having come, dispossessed the Kash-mírís of this place or part "(the tract lying between the Bihat and Sind, before referred to, not all Kash-mír) "by force. After him (Malik Kad), his son, Malik *Kalán*, sat in his father's place; "and, after him again, his son, *Bír*, by name, obtained the authority over this *ulús* "(tribe or clan). After him, Tatár became the Niẓám (administrator or governor) of "his own *ḳabílah* (family or clan); and it was he who opposed Sher Khán and "Salím Khán, considering himself connected and associated with this dynasty (*see* "note †, page 353, how, according to Abú-l-Faẓl himself, they showed their attach-"ment and loyalty), and accompanied Bábar Bádsháh (with a contingent) to "Hindústán, and was engaged in the affair with the Ráná, Sanká, of Chítúr.† He "had two sons, Sulṭán Sárang, and Sulṭán Adam; and, after Sárang (had fallen "into the hands of Salím Sháh, *see* note above referred to), the chieftain-ship passed "to Adam." Kamál and Sa'íd, mentioned previously at page 353, were Sárang's sons.

It is, therefore, from Abú-l-Faẓl's simple account that the Gakhaṛs have concocted the fables which Griffin relates in his book (page 574), and justly condemns them as such; and the seizure, in troublous times, of the small, but difficult, mountain tract now held by them, from the Kash-mírís, is what has been turned into "*Sultan Kab*, "the eighth in descent from Kaid, *conquered Kashmir* from *Manowar Khan*, whose "daughter he married to his son Farukh. For *thirteen generations* the Ghakkars "held Kashmir, Farukh, Amir, Mir Dad, Khair-ud-din, Goharganj, Nur-ud-din, "Murad, Bakhtyar, Alam, Sammad, Mehrab, and Rustam, *ruling in succession*. In "this last reign the Kashmiris revolted, and put Rustam to death, while his son, "Kabil, fled to the court of Nasir-ud-din Sabaktugin, who was then ruling in Kabul, "987 A.D."

The composers of these fables forgot, apparently, that Kash-mír possessed a history of its own, and that, at the time of the Amír, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, *and for more than four centuries after his time*, all the rulers of Kash-mír were Hindús, and professed the Hindú faith. Yet, it will be noticed, that here we have a purely 'Arabic or Musalmán name, with a Turkish title, namely, "Manowar Khan," thirteen generations, or some *three hundred and ninety years* before "987 A.D.," or just a quarter of a century *before the* Muḥammad era, and actually *before the dawn of Islám itself!*

Kash-mír never had a ruler named "Manowar Khan," nor any rulers bearing such names as are mentioned above. What a pity it is that real Indian history is not better known, for, if it had been, the refutation of such nonsense as the Gakhaṛs appear to have furnished would have been easy enough. The tree of descent given in Griffin's book at the head of the article is, likewise, quite different from the other statements in the article following it. [redacted]

Now let us turn to the Khokhars. Griffin, in his work, page 589, in the article on the Khokhar Rájah's of Piṇd-i-Dádan Khán, says, that "*nothing is known of the* "*Kokhars previous to* 1623 (A.D.), *in Jahangir's reign*." In this he is quite in error. Let us refer to the Revenue Survey of the Mughal empire of Akbar Bádsháh, *father* of Jahán-gír Bádsháh. In the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, with all the details before him, Abú-l-Faẓl shows, that, in the Láhor *Sarkár* of the Ṣúbah of Láhor, or the Panj-áb, as it is also styled, there were, in his time, paying revenue to the government, out of 52 *maḥálls* (districts) contained in the Bárí Do-ábah, five *maḥálls* peopled by Khokhars, who are rated as being able to furnish 345 horsemen, and 4,600 footmen, for militia purposes. In the Chin-hat Do-ábah, consisting of 21 *parganahs*, there were seven *parganahs* inhabited by Khokhars, rated at 1,360 horsemen, and 10,000 footmen; and in the Bíst-Jálandhar Do-ábah, one *maḥáll* out of 60, rated at 60 horse and 4,000 foot. In the Rich-náb Do-ábah, out of 57 *maḥálls*, one was peopled by Khokhars, who could

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* Sulṭán Ẕain-ul-'Ábidain ruled over Kash-mír and its dependencies for a period of fifty-two years, and died in 878 H. (1473–74 A.D.).

† Tatár had been previously killed by his cousin, Hátí, whom Bábar tried to conciliate. Abú-l-Faẓl has confused the two.

furnish 560 horsemen, and 4,000 foot, for militia duties. There was not a single Gakhar, at that time, dwelling in those districts.

In the Díbál-púr *Sarkár* of the Şúbah of Multán there were likewise numbers of Khokhars. In the Bíst-Jálandhar Do-ábah of that *Sarkár*, containing but 10 *maḥálls*, there were three inhabited by them, who could furnish 750 horsemen, and 10,000 foot. There were a few other people, of different clans, dwelling along with them. In the tract styled Berún-i-Panj-Nad, containing 6 *maḥálls*, they inhabited the *maḥáll* of Muḥammadoṭ, and were rated at 100 horsemen, and 3,600 foot. Here likewise, a few others dwelt along with them.

The sum total of this assessment amounts to 3,175 horsemen, and 37,600 foot, which, at the average rate of one fighting man to a family, and the average of a family at five persons, represents a population of 203,875 people "of whom," we are told, "nothing was known" until the following reign.

We must now compare the statistics of the Gakhar tribe at the same period. As before stated, they dwelt in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah of the Láhor Sarkár only, which consisted of 42 *maḥálls*. They were located in seven of them; some others also dwelt along with them; and they were rated as able to furnish 3,300 horsemen, and 28,500 footmen, which is 125 horsemen *more* and 9,000 footmen *less* than the Khokhars could furnish, notwithstanding that the strength and power of the latter had been declining for more than a century and a half previously.

To conclude this subject as briefly as possible, I may mention that the people with whom Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghaznín came into contact were Khokhars, not Gakhars; those who rebelled in the time of Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, the Shansabání Tájzík Ghúrí, when Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, joined him from Láhor, and on which occasion the latter's slave, I-yal-timish, afterwards Sulṭán of Dihlí, greatly distinguished himself by riding into the river Jhilam after them (*see* Tabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," my Translation, pages 481 and 604, and Elliot's version, page 322, Vol. II.), were likewise Khokhars or Kokars, not Gakhars, and their chief was Rá'e Sál. They had also aided the last of the house of Ghaznín against Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín on a previous occasion (*see* my "Tabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" note 4, page 453), and, subsequently, according to some accounts, *but not all*, they assassinated him at Dam-yak (*ibid.*, page 486).

The people who aided Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, against Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Kabá-jah, ruler of Multán and Sindh, and whose chief, Rá'e Sanká, gave Jalál-ud-Dín a daughter in marriage, were Khokhars, not Gakhars (*ibid.*, pp. 294 and 537); and it was this people who, styled "Hindú Khokhar and Gabr wretches," in the work above quoted (*see* page 1106, and note to page 656), took possession of Láhor after the Mughals sacked it in 639 H. (1241–42 A. D.). It was the Khokhars against whom the Ulúgh Khán-i-A'ẓam, afterwards Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, was sent in 644 H. (1246-47 A.D.), from the banks of the Súḍhará, into the Júd Hills and Jhilam (*ibid.*, page 678. *See also* Elliot, Vol. II., page 347).

The severe punishment inflicted on the Khokhar tribe upon the occasions above referred to, had tended to break their strength for a time, but, in the reign of Sulṭán Muḥammad, Tughlaḳ Sháh, they again began to be troublesome. At length, in the year 743 H. (1342–43 A.D.), following the example of others in Tughlaḳ Sháh's dominions, under Chandar, their then chief, the Khokhars revolted against the Sulṭán's authority. The outbreak began to assume such threatening proportions, that Malik Tatár Khán, the Governor of the Panj-áb, had to move against them. He subsequently succeeded in suppressing the outbreak for the time, but they were the cause of great disorders in the Láhor province during the reigns of the last Tughlaḳ kings of Dihlí, and in the reign of Sulṭán Mubárak Sháh of the Sayyid dynasty. The notorious Shaikhá and Jasrath were Khokhars, not Gakhars. Shaikhá is said to have been the general name by which the chiefs of the tribe styled themselves, because, as the historian says, "being Hindús by descent, they had "become converts to Islám;* hence Jasrath is often styled Jasrath Shaikhá." In every history in which they are named the word is written Khokhar, Kokar, or Kukár, as already noticed. In 796 H. (1393–94 A.D.), Shaikhá, the father, gained possession of Láhor. The Khokhars defeated the royal troops upon several occasions, and were also sometimes defeated themselves and dispersed to their fastnesses in the hills, but the distraction which prevailed in all the provinces of the Dihlí empire at that period enabled them again to recover themselves.

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* Hindú proselytes to Muḥammadanism were always styled "Shaikh."

When the Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, in 801 H. (1398–99 A.D.) crossed the Indus to invade Hindústán, Shaikhá, the Kokar, as the word is written in the Zafar-Námah, had reduced the provinces of Láhor and Díbál-púr under his sway; and, when Tímúr marched from Tulambah (in the Multán district) eastwards towards the Bíáh, he encountered Nuṣrat, the Kokar, brother of Shaikhá, who retired, with 2,000 of his followers, into a stronghold situated on a great *kol* or lake, north of Multán, but he was attacked and overthrown, and he disappeared.

Shaikhá, his brother, subsequently, presented himself to Tímúr, who treated him with honour, and allowed him to retain possession of Láhor and its dependencies; and the Khokhar chief acted as his guide, and accompanied him everywhere during his incursion into Hindústán, as far as the Do-ábah between the rivers Jún (Jamna) and Gang (Ganges). From thence, at his own request, in order to regulate the affairs of his possessions, Shaikhá was permitted to return to Láhor, promising that on the Amír reaching the Bíáh, or river of Láhor, as it is also called, on his return, he would present himself again. "In Hindústán," says the author of the Zafar-Námah, "wherever "Hindús had pleaded connection with the Kokars, or of being their clients or de- "pendents, their lives and property were always spared."

Amír Tímúr set out on his return to the Panj-áb along the skirts of the Siwálikh mountains (the outer Himálayas, bounding the Panj-áb and Hindústán on the north and north-west), sending bodies of his troops into the different Dara'hs, devastating the country and slaying the infidels.

Shaikhá, however, for some reason or other, had neglected to present himself, as he promised; and, moreover, several officers of rank, on their way from Máwará-un-Nahr to join Tímúr in Hindústán, who had passed through Láhor, he also neglected to pay any attention to, or even to notice. Tímúr's wrath was roused; and he determined to punish him for his ingratitude. At first, a relative of Shaikhá was encountered; and he was attacked, and some 2,000 of his followers, who are styled "Gabrs" by the author (but he did not intend them to be taken for "fire worshippers," merely meaning infidels), were put to the sword. A force was then despatched against Láhor, with directions to take possession of it, seize Shaikhá, the Kokar, and bring him in. This was done; and he and his family were captured. What became of him does not appear; but some say he died a natural death, while others state that Shaikhá was put to death by Tímúr's command, and that Jasrath was imprisoned at Samr-ḳand, and, some years subsequently, was set at liberty, and returned home again, but there is no mention that the father was carried away captive, and it is very improbable that he was spared; but he is not again mentioned in the Zafar-Námah.

Jasrath, his son, having put his brother, Shátí by name, to death, seized upon Jálandhar and Kalánúr, and began to aspire to the sovereignty of Hindústán. He endeavoured to gain possession of Sahrind, but that strong place was defended by Sulṭán Sháh, Lodí, and Jasrath was unable to take it. In Rajab, the seventh month, 824 H. (1421 A.D.), Sulṭán Mubárak Sháh moved from Dihlí against him; and as the Sulṭán advanced Jasrath retired, until he reached the Sutlaj, crossed to the west bank, and secured all the boats. For forty days the opposing forces remained facing each other; and, at last, Mubárak Sháh marched along the banks to Kábul-púr, Jasrath and his forces marching parallel to him. In Shawwál, the tenth month, Mubárak Sháh succeeded in crossing; and Jasrath was defeated, and compelled to retire upon Jálandhar with considerable loss of men and baggage. Mubárak Sháh pursued him, upon which Jasrath crossed the Chin-áb, and retired into the hills. The Hindú Rájah of Jammún, Rá'e Bhalím, presented himself to the Sulṭán, and guided him to Thankir, the greatest of the Khokhar strongholds. This was occupied, and devastated, and Jasrath's followers dispersed among the hills; but numbers of them were taken prisoners.

In the first month of 825 H. (1422 A.D.), having quelled this rebellion, as he imagined, Mubárak Sháh marched to Láhor, which had been reduced to a state of utter desolation—a complete wilderness, it is said. He remained there some time to allow of its being put into a state of defence again, gave orders for its restoration, and returned to Dihlí, leaving at Láhor a garrison of 2,000 cavalry.

The acquirement of such power as Jasrath, the Khokhar, had now attained was owing to the disorder which had reigned in the Dihlí kingdom for many years past, and in the countries north and west. Sulṭán 'Alí Sháh of Kash-mír, son of Sikandar-i-But-Shikan, or "The Idol Breaker," who succeeded the latter in 820 H. (1417 A.D.), subsequently set out on a pilgrimage, delegating his authority to his brother, Zain-ul-'Ábidain. When Sulṭán 'Alí Sháh returned, he wished to resume it, but his brother refused to resign the sovereignty. 'Alí Sháh determined to recover it; and he sought

the aid of the Rájah of Jammún, whose daughter he had married. With his help, Sulṭán 'Alí Sháh succeeded in dispossessing Zain-ul-'Ábidain, but his success was merely temporary, for Zain-ul-'Ábidain sought the aid of Jasrath, the Khokhar, whose brother, it is stated, Sulṭán 'Alí Sháh, had previously slain. Indeed, some writers affirm that Jasrath had, previous to this, waylaid Sulṭán 'Alí Sháh on his return from his pilgrimage, had defeated the Sulṭán and his followers, and plundered him of all he possessed.

Zain-ul-'Ábidain, and his Khokhar ally, marched from Síál-Koṭ against Sulṭán 'Alí Sháh, encountered him in battle, overthrew him, and made him captive. Zain-ul-'Ábidain imprisoned his brother in the Pakhla'í district, a part of the Kash-mír dominions at that period; and, in confinement, he died in 826 H. (1423 A.D.), but some say in the following year.

It must not be forgotten that it was at this period of disturbance, in the beginning of the reign of Zain-ul-'Ábidain, who ruled for fifty-two years, that the Gakhaṛs, according to Abú-l-Fazl, obtained the difficult tract of country lying immediately below the Snowy Mountains referred to by Bábar Bádsháh.

It was with Sulṭán Zain-ul-'Ábidain's aid and connivance, for the efficient aid rendered to him by Jasrath, that the latter was able to carry on war against the Sulṭáns of Dihlí, whose kingdom was rent by internal disorder: consequently, after the departure of Sulṭán Mubárak Sháh, Jasrath's rebellion still continued, and went on during the whole thirteen years of that Sulṭán's stormy reign, who died in 837 H. (1423 A.D.); and once he penetrated as far east as Sámánah. Muḥammad Sháh, the nephew and adopted son of Mubárak Sháh, succeeded; and the Khokhars were still unsubdued. In 845 H. (1441–42 A.D.), when the Langáh Jaṭs broke out at Multán, the affairs of the Dihlí empire became still more distracted, and there was a general scramble for power. In that year, the Sulṭán made Malik Bahlúl, the Lodí, governor of Láhor and Díbál-púr, and directed him to reduce Jasrath, the Khokhar. The latter now entered into an understanding with Malik Bahlúl, and flattered him with hopes of occupying the Dihlí throne; and now, it is said, that hope first entered the breast of Bahlúl, who began to summon his Afghán tribesmen to join him, which they did in great numbers.

From this time we hear no more of Jasrath's rebellion, and he disappears from the arena, and the power of the Khokhars rapidly declined. Sulṭán Muḥammad Sháh died in 847 H. (1443–44 A.D.); Sulṭán 'Álá-ud-Dín, his son, a very weak prince, succeeded him; but, in 852 H. (1448–49 A.D.), he abandoned Dihlí, and retired to Budá'ún. In 855 H. (1451 A.D.), Malik Bahlúl was invited to come and take possession of Dihlí; and 'Álá-ud-Dín resigned the sovereignty to him, contenting himself with Budá'ún.

Such is a brief outline of the history of the two best known Khokhar chiefs, who, and whose tribe, have hitherto been mistaken, except by the native writers, for Gakhaṛs.

The reason why persons unacquainted with the existence of the two distinct tribes, and their history, have fallen into these terrible errors, like Dow and Briggs, is, that, in the Persian language, in which ninety and nine histories of India are written, it is not usual to make any distinction between the letters ک "*k*" and گ "*g*:" consequently, these two translators, having probably heard of Gakhaṛs from their being better known in modern times, immediately jumped to the conclusion that the word they found in the original of their author, Firishtah, must be "*Gickers*" and "*Ghukkurs*," whereas, in the original, the word is written کھوکھر and sometimes کھکھر. Those Muḥammadan writers, on the other hand, who were of foreign descent, or had come from the west and taken up their residence in Hind, pass over the Persian equivalent of the Sanskrit letters "*kh*" and "*gh*," and write the word Kokar,—کوکر and sometimes Kokár,—کوکار as in the Táríkh-i-Alfí, and other histories, but those, who knew the sound of the Sanskrit letter, always write کھوکھر or کھکھر. Abú-l-Fazl invariably writes it according to the first mode, as well as many other writers, while some, again, write it according to the latter form. The word Gakhaṛ, on the contrary, by such writers as Abú-l-Fazl, is invariably written گکھر and گکھڑ, marking the "*g*" and "*ṛ*," so that there can be no mistake, while some, foreigners chiefly, write it ککھر and ککر: hence Gakhaṛs might be mistaken for Khokhars, but not the latter for Gakhaṛs.

In nearly every volume of Elliot's "Historians of India," the words Khokhar, Khokar, Kokar, and Kukár, appear as they are written in the various original histories from which his extracts were taken, but, in many places, he, or his editor for him, has

put "*Gakkhurs*" in brackets, and, sometimes, "*Gakars*," thus altering the originals which had been correctly translated, as at pages 232, 233, 235, 294, 297, 322, 347, of Vol. II.; while, in the Appendix, page 447, Briggs' translation is used. In one place occurs the foolish note referred to at page 361 of these "Notes," while in the same events, related in extracts taken from other native writers, in that very same volume, the words are allowed to stand without turning them into "Gakkhurs," as at pages 396, 553, and 563, thus showing the state of uncertainty the translator was in. See, for example, Vol. III., at pages 415, 485, 516, and 520, and in Vol. IV., pages 35, 54, and 55, where the originals are not altered, but, in Vol. VI., pages 219 and 568, they are again made "Gukkurs" and "Gakkhars" of. In Vol. V., page 11, the Gakhaṛs are turned into Kákaṛ Afgháns, but, at pages 163 to 166, we have "Kokars" again.

I hope, before long, if time permits, to make use of the materials which, for the greater part of my life, I have been collecting for a history of Muḥammadan India, when I shall be able to enter more fully into the subject of Khokhars and Gakhaṛs; but, in the meantime, I am quite prepared to show, from the Muḥammadan authors, in the original, that in nearly, if not in every instance, from the earliest times up to the invasion of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah in 925 H. (1519 A.D.), by Bábar Bádsháh, the Gakhaṛs have been mistaken for the once very powerful tribe of Khokhar, by every English translator or writer, save Sir H. Elliot, who, after rendering the word correctly, with rare inconsistency, altered it incorrectly.

Inquire of a Khokhar whether he accounts himself a Gakhaṛ:—a good test of the correctness of what I have herein stated.

To return to the details of the route, after this long, but necessary digression.*

"Leaving Ṭíṭa'í, or Ṭíṭa'í Mena'h, you proceed six kuroh in the direction of north-east, to Trag, a village peopled by the Awán-Kár Jaṭs; and from Trag another kuroh and a half farther in the same direction brings you to Mihr Sháh.† You then go another two kuroh in the same direction to Músíání;‡ then two kuroh farther, still in the same direction as before, to Mando Khel, and, midway on the road thither, you cross a little river, which comes from the left hand, runs to the right, and unites with the Sind. From Mando Khel you proceed one kuroh and a half to Khaddúzí,§ situated on the banks of the Sind; then you go one kuroh and a half in the direction of north, to Chichálí;‖ two kuroh farther in the same direction to Koṭ;¶ and another two kuroh, in much the same direction as before, to Kálá-Bágh, formerly called Ḳará-Bágh.

"This is a considerable town situated on the west bank** of the Sind, and is under the rule of Surkh-rú Khán, Afghán, of the Bangí Khel branch of the Khaṭaks. The

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* *See* page 343.

† "Mehur Shahwalee" of the maps. In former times, about the period that the Níází tribe first settled in these parts, the bed of the river of Kurma'h was very much higher than now, and cutting for itself a deeper channel through the Tangaey or Tang Dara'h. When in flood, the waters are said to have spread, at times, as far north as this place, laying the country under water, the channel of the before-mentioned river, likewise, not being sufficiently large to carry off the overflow, while the waters of the Indus, meeting those of the Kurmah river, also tended to force them back. Since the Ko-e Wála'h has existed, these floods have greatly lessened, or altogether ceased, except under exceptional circumstances.

Wála'h, as already noticed, means a canal cut from a river, but, in the vitiated Pus'hto of these parts, it is turned into *Wi'ál.*

‡ Músíání, now corrupted into Múshání, is the name of a section of the Níází tribe; and this village, or rather, cluster of villages, is also known as Kamar Múshání, but, in the Indian Atlas map, it appears as "Kummare" only. Mando Khel is the name of another offshoot of the Níází tribe: "Manda" Khel is incorrect.

The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, referred to at page 36, and in other places in this work, when returning from Kábul by way of Pes'háwar, Koháṭ, Makhaḍ, and Kálá-Bágh, mentioned farther on (at page 379, note ‡), proceeded down the Indus from Kálá-Bágh, by land, for the 'Ísá Khel village. He says: "On the way there "was a village of the Múshání Afgháns, who are highway robbers. It is called Deh-i-Ḳanbar (the Kamar or "Kambar of others). The country round is densely covered with tamarisk *jangals;* and travellers and "*ḳáfilahs*, having to pass through these *jangals*, are waylaid and plundered by the Músháńís, who attacked me "and my party likewise, and carried off great part of our property. I was wounded in defending my own; and "ten persons, among my servants and companions, and two camels, were also wounded. I was obliged to halt "for fourteen days at the 'Ísá Khel village, which is eighteen *kos* below Kálá-Bágh, to get cured of my wounds. "The 'Ísá Khel are most kind, friendly, and worthy people. We then proceeded to Khassúr, from which place "the village known as Bilúts-i-Sádát (Bilúts of the Sayyids) is distant four *kos;* and then continued our "journey towards the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán."

§ This is turned into "Bhodazaie" in the map referred to.

‖ Chichálí is the name of a long and difficult pass, the bed of a water-course, leading into Tsautara'h from 'Ísá Khel, and to Koháṭ by the Kúna'h-i-Gáo Pass, noticed farther on. *See* Bábar's raid mentioned at page 360.

¶ Koṭ is the "Kot Chundana" of the map.

** This place was formerly known as Ḳará-Bágh, and betokens Turkish occupation. I have already mentioned, that, from the time of the downfall of the Khwárazmí Turks in the time of the Chingiz Khán, down

most valuable commodities of the Kohistán are brought here for sale, and the commodities of Kábul and Hind are also disposed of.

"West of the town is a range of lofty hills, in which rock salt of a red colour is produced, and also a reddish earth from which they extract native alum, like unto sugar-candy in appearance, which is called *zágh-i-safed* in Persian, and *phaṭkirí* in Hindí; and in the manufacture thereof the inhabitants are occupied. These products are taken away by traders into all parts for sale.

"On the way from the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to Rang-púr, the mountain tracts on the left hand show themselves at some distance off, and the Sind river, likewise, flows at a considerable distance on the right hand. From Káṭhh-gar to Bilúts, the mountains on the left hand rise near by; and the Sind flows on the right, at about seven or eight kuroh distance. In the same manner, as far as Jindá or Jinda'h* the river is similarly distant, and the mountains on the left lie away from the road, while from Ṭíṭa'í to Mando Khel, on the contrary, the mountains rise near, and the river flows at a distance on the right. From Khaddúzí to Kálá-Bágh you proceed along by the river bank.

"From Kálá-Bágh two roads branch off. The right-hand one leads to Makhad across the Sind: the left-hand one, now to be described, leads to Kábul. From Kálá-Bágh you proceed four kuroh in the direction of north, and reach the Berán Wání,† which is a small river, running from west to east, and falling into the Sind. This river, from it proximity to the salt hills, is also salt; and a hill containing a mine of salt lies near by on the left-hand side of the road. Here also they obtain the red earth from which alum is extracted.

"At this point the territory of the Bangí Khel Khaṭaks terminates in this direction, and it may be well therefore to briefly notice them and their country."

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to within a short period of the accession of the Lodí dynasty, great part of the western Panj-áb was held by Turks, as Bábar Bádsháh likewise mentions. The Hindí translation of Ḳará, the Turkish for black, etc., is Kálá—Kálá-Bágh. As the Turks became weak, through the breaking up of the empire of the direct descendants of Tímúr, consequent on the inroads of the Úzbak portion of the Turkish race, and just before the acquisition of Kábul by Bábar Bádsháh, the Afghán tribes and Hindkís began to wax strong; and they, especially the former, began to appropriate large tracts of country towards the Indus. When the Níází Afgháns had been nearly annihilated, as related in the notice of that tribe, the Hindkís around began to raise their heads, and to follow the example of the Afgháns.

According to Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, Kálá-Bágh has not been in existence three hundred years; and he states that it was founded subsequent to the destruction of Dhan-Koṭ, which was swept away by an inundation of the Indus. It is strange that, in saying this, he did not discover that he completely contradicted a former statement, and that he did not correct his previous blunder. It will be remembered that Dhan-Koṭ is the place whither the Níázís fled after their defeat at Anbálah, and it was at Dhan-Koṭ that the Khwájah, Wais, the Sarwání, Islám Sháh's commander, sent in pursuit, was defeated by them. Now, as Dhan-Koṭ was swept away *subsequent* to that time (956 H.=1549 A.D.), it is very evident that what Hai'át Khán now calls "Dhan-"Koṭ, a mile and a half N.E. of Kálá-Bágh" (the "*Dungote Sir*" of the maps, and "*Dingot*" of MacGregor), which he says is "the identical place in which the Níázís took shelter," cannot possibly be the identical place, because he himself states that it *was subsequently swept away by the Indus*. He, however, did not perceive his mistake, neither did it occur to him that Dhan-Koṭ and "Dín-goṭah" were two totally different places.

After Dhan-Koṭ of the Níázís had been swept away, one of the head men of the Awán tribe of Hindkís, who appear to have been vassals of the Níázís, took up his residence, and built for himself a dwelling, on the spot where Kálá-Bágh now stands, which site must, evidently, have previously borne the same name. By degrees, a town sprung up around, which, on account of its favourable position, and nearness to the salt mines, went on increasing.

* As previously noticed, this place is written Chinda'h or Chindá, in two copies of the original. *See* note **, page 342.

Let us see what changes have taken place since 1864, much less since these surveys were made. The Indus in that year flowed close under Bilúts, and was but five miles distant from Káṭhh-gar; and instead of being distant on the right hand (east), as in the time of these surveys, between Ṭíṭa'í and Mando Khel, it was as close to it as it was to Khaddúzí immediately above. The river now makes a bend towards the west, in the direction of the mountains, and separates into several channels just above Khaddúzí, one of which flows close to Mando Khel. The whole unite just to the north of the point of junction of the river of Kurma'h with the Indus, and, a few miles lower down, the Indus again separates into several channels. One channel, which appears to have been the main one at the time these surveys were made, lies about two miles west of Mián-walí, and is no less than eighteen miles east of the westernmost channel at the present time. If such be the changes in the space of less than a century, how can we expect to find on or near the banks of the Indus places mentioned as situated thereon eight centuries ago, or even two centuries since, much less over two thousand years ago, unless the river carried such places, uninjured, along with it in all its changes? During a period of six or seven years before 1864, the Indus again began to encroach eastwards, submerging many villages; and, during that period, it shifted its course just eight miles from west to east. This part of its course, where it issues from its narrow, rocky channel, into a flat country, is more liable to change.

Between Káṭhh-gar and Bilúts the river, which, when these surveys were made, was *seven* or *eight kuroh* distant from the road, is now within *one*.

† This river's bed is indicated in the map, but it is not mentioned by name. This is a branch of what Wood calls the "Lun rivulet." Salt, in Sanskrit, is *lon*, and it would be, correctly, the Lon or Salt rivulet.

The Bangí Khel Khaṭaks.

"The Bangí Khel section of the Khaṭak tribe is descended from Ságharaey, son of Boláḳ, one of the two sons of Luḳmán, *alias* Khaṭak. The other brother, and the eldest, was named Tormán; and from him the main branch of the Khaṭak tribe is descended. The other branches of the Ságharí Boláḳs are not so well known as the Bangí Khel, nor are they so numerous. Both branches of the Khaṭaks, the Tormán Tarís and the Ságharí Bangí Khel, used, in former times, to carry their depredations across the Sind into the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah of the Panj-áb, as far east as Bharah and Khúsh-áb on the Jhilam, but, subsequently, they had to withdraw again to the banks of the Sind, where some of the Ságharís are still located about Níl-áb.*

"The Bangí Khel amount to about 6,000 or 7,000 families, and dwell in the mountain tracts to the west of the Sind river. Their territory, from north to south, is just thirty kuroh in length, and between ten and twelve kuroh in breadth, from west to east. The sardár or chief of this sub-tribe, Surkh-rú Khán by name, dwells at the town of Kálá-Bágh. He pays a sum of 5,000 rúpís yearly, as *'ushr* or a tenth, into the treasury of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání, Bádsháh of Kábul; and he has to furnish a contingent of 200 horsemen to the Bádsháh's army."

The Khaṭak historian, Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, in his work, calls this place Bágh of the Awáns, not because it was ever "granted to them rent free for ever by the Emperor "Súltán Mahmúd," as some have lately assured us, but because it was chiefly peopled by Awáns, who also held lands at this period in the Zeṛán Dara'h, as mentioned at page 81. Bágh had been held by the Khaṭaks in *jágír* or feudal tenure, for nearly a century before these surveys were made, and was still held by a Khaṭak, as previously stated above.

The Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, who subsequently succeeded to the throne of Dihlí, under the title of Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, while acting as Ṣúbah-dár of the Kábul province immediately before his father's death, sustained many losses at the hands of the Afghán tribes of these parts.

Afẓal Khán gives graphic and interesting accounts of the events of this period, and of the Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur's movements in these parts, at which time, however, he did *not* "settle Kábul," neither did he "reduce Banu, Khost, and Daur," as Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, tells us in his book; for they were never reduced by him. Kábul, in fact all the territories west of the Indus appertaining to the Dihlí empire, as well as other parts, were, at this time in a most unsettled state.

Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, was induced by Bahrám, Khaṭak, Khush-ḥál Khán's degenerate son, in order to ingratiate himself if possible with the Mughals to the detriment of his nephew, Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, to proceed into Bannú, and to annex that territory, pretending that he would put the Prince in possession of it. He advised him to take the Bangas'h route; and by that way he took him into Dawaṛ, and then into Bannú. This was in 1112 H. (1700–1701 A.D.). By the time the Prince entered the Bannú territory he had expended four *lákhs* of rúpís in bribing the Afgháns—getting them "to come in," as it was lately called—and, after all, he found things quite different from what Bahrám had represented to him.

Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, passed the winter in Bannú, and afterwards retired towards Kábul. It was on this occasion, on reaching the Ḥasan Tangaey, that he met with the opposition mentioned previously at page 90, note ‡. †

Afẓal Khán says—and he was an actor in, and eye-witness of, most of the events he relates—"soon after, on the Prince returning through the Khaibar to Akoṛah, I "[Afẓal] received instructions to hasten to Kohát, and join the imperial officers sent to "the relief of Iṣálat Khán, the Gakhaṛ, who had been expelled by the Bunnútsís, and "had been obliged to take shelter in the fort of Tang.

"When the Prince passed through Dawaṛ from Bannú, on his march to Kábul, "previously referred to, he left a *thánah* or post there, under the Sayyid, Ḥusain, "one of the Sayyids of Báṛhah, who were famed for their valour, but he, likewise, "was blockaded in the fort—the erection of which had been commenced on that

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* The Bangí Khel now inhabit the tract of country extending from the Berán-Wání river to within a few miles of Makhaḍ on the opposite side of the Indus. *See* Route Eighty-seven. A short account of the descent of the Khaṭak tribe will be found farther on, at the end of the Eighty-first Route.

† *See also* note ‡, page 376, and MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I., Vol. 1, page 406, for some strange historical information.

"occasion by Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, but which had not been quite completed—by "the Shítaks of Bannú, in combination with the Marwats, who had combined to "expel the Mughal commanders from the Bannú territory. After several encounters "had taken place, Sayyid Ḥusain and his troops had to capitulate; and the Afghán "Maliks of Bannú and Marwat, according to the terms, conducted him and his "force safely out of Dawaṛ and the Bannú district, as far as the defile of the "'Ísá Khel Níázís, on the Mu'aẓẓam Nagar route." The Tangaey, or Tang Dara'h, where the river of Kurma'h pierces the Koh-i-Surkh, or Rátá Roh, to join the Indus, is here referred to.*

Nothing, therefore, could be effected with regard to Bannú, although the Prince had moved to Kohát to support his officers there; and he gave orders to abandon the attempt; dismissed Afẓal Khán to provide for keeping open the Resa'í route leading to Pes'háwar and Kábul, saying, that he, himself, would pass the summer of 1113 H. (1701–2 A.D.) in Zeṛán and Kaṛmán, which he did, as related in Section Second, note †, page 82.

He subsequently determined to make another effort to settle the Bannú territory. Having passed the summer as proposed, he despatched the chief part of his force, under 'Alí Riẓá, an incapable upstart, in advance, by way of Buland Khel, as previously related at page 84, note ‡, but, his troops having been defeated, he set out, in person, to endeavour to reach Bannú by the Dawaṛ route from Khost. The Wazírís occupied the road in his front; and it was only by means of Náṣir Khán [subsequently, Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul], who accompanied him, and was well acquainted with the country and people, that an arrangement was entered into with the Wazírís,† and he brought the Prince into Bannú.

Afẓal Khán says:—

"Without making any stay therein, the Prince moved by Laka'í of the Marwats into the 'Ísá Khel country; and, in 1114 H. (1702–3 A.D.‡), moved to Bágh of the Awáns [in order to get to Pes'háwar that way], but both routes were closed against him; and the forces accompanying him [the number not mentioned] were reduced to great straits, for every day the Bangí Khel, and other Ságharí Khaṭaks, and the Tsautara'h§ people, attacked and harassed them, and very few of the camels, horses, and other cattle belonging to the troops, were left to them: nearly the whole were carried off.

"I was repeatedly sent for [he was a feudatory of the Mughals], but did not wish to go, as I was not on good terms with the Bakáwal [Purveyor], Muḥammad Ḥusain, but I had a sincere regard for Náṣir Khán, and sent a message to him by one of my horsemen, intimating that, if he thought it advisable to send for me, I would come, but that I could not obey the summons of any one else. The different Amírs with the Prince asked him to summon me; and the Prince conferred with Náṣir Khán about it, who promised to produce me in five days. Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, was surprised to find that Náṣir Khán could effect what others could not, and commanded him to write to me, which he did.

"I had gone from S'hádí-púr to Khair-ábád at the time, so I rode post haste to Láchí. Some of the Prince's families, who were at Kohát, and were unable to get out therefrom, I sent for from thence, and, escorting them by the Ságharí and Bangí Khel route, had them conducted to the Prince's camp at Bágh. I then marched from Láchí to Búṭ; and from thence to Fatḥ-púr of Tsautara'h, by the Kúnah-i-Gáo [defile and pass].‖ Bahrám,¶ on this, fled from Tsautara'h, with the Khwaṛama'h people,

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* *See also* note **, page 440.

† That is to say, they had to be bought over to allow the Prince to proceed.

‡ The year 1114 H. began on the 16th May, 1702, A.D.

§ Tsautara'h is the name of a small tract of the Khaṭak territory, surrounded by stony hills, chiefly peopled by the Bárak section of that tribe. It is nearly nineteen miles in length from west to east, and varies in breadth from about four miles to over eight. It contains a number of ravines. The Chicháluey pass, mentioned farther on, leads out of it into 'Ísá Khel. It is always incorrectly spelt in our maps and gazetteers, in local, and other, reports, and by those who cannot pronounce the Pus'hto letters, as "*Chaoutra*," which is quite unknown to its people. It was to the hills of Tsautara'h that the 'Ísá Khel retired when Bábar Bádsháh made a raid upon them, as related in the notice of the Níázís at page 360.

‖ Signifying, in Persian, but not in Pus'hto, the "Cow's Podex." This is the name of a long and narrow defile and pass, between low hills, on the road between Tsautara'h and Kohát, and is a little over ten miles in length altogether. The pass itself, or the podex, is a great cleft in the rocks about fifty feet in depth; and, in some places, it is so narrow that wheeled carriages could not pass, but it was, and still is, as here shown, quite practicable for horse and foot, and camels, and is capable of much improvement. In the possession of a determined enemy it would be very difficult to force.

¶ Bahrám here referred to is the uncle of the writer, and the degenerate son of Khush-ḥál Khán, the famous Khaṭak chief, who suffered so much, as well as the Khaṭak tribe, through the intrigues and misconduct of this

and entered the Lowá-Ghar, and most of the Tarís* came over to me. I left my followers at Fatḥ-púr; and, on the 9th of Ramazán [of same year], by way of Chichálaey [mentioned in this route], with 40 horsemen, I set out for the Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam Bahádur's camp.

"When I reached the Chichálaey Dara'h, the Tsautara'h people were then actually bringing along by the very road I was proceeding herds of horses; and when I came up to them I took them from them and secured the animals. When we reached the entrance to the Chichálaey Ghás'haey,* I found that the Tsautara'h people had carried off from the Sháh-Zádah's camp a whole caravan of horses, mules, and other cattle, and the owners of them remained at the place where the cattle had been stolen from them. It was the time of afternoon prayer; and when the caravan people saw me they cried out that I would help them. I set out after the Tsautara'h people, and, when it was dark, I came up with them; and they, knowing we were Afgháns, though not how few men I had along with me, gave up the cattle upon my ordering them to do so, and saying who I was. They numbered about 300 men, and were armed with firearms. Having laden the property of the caravan people on the restored cattle, I set out, and reached Náṣir Khán's camp [his quarters in the Prince's camp] when one watch of the night had passed. Náṣir Khán came forth to receive me, embraced me, and kissed me on the beard. He then wrote, reporting my arrival to the Sháh-Zádah; and, next morning, according to his command, I waited on him, and was well received, but Muḥammad Ḥusain, the Bakáwal, was much vexed thereat. That same day he had had a seizure, and his eyes, mouth, and hands, were all distorted. He tried to get me to come to him, but I would not; and, out of revenge, he sent for Bahrám, who had been reduced to straits; for the forces I had left in Tsautara'h had completely hemmed him in. He arrived, and presented himself before the Sháh-Zádah; and the latter sent for me, and directed me to make arrangements so that

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son in particular. More respecting him will be found farther on, and in the notice of Khush-ḥál Khán, prefixed to his poems in my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 142.

* The river, known as the Chichálaey, gives name to this long defile and ghás'haey or pass, which leads from the 'Ísá Khel country into Tsautara'h, and from thence to Kohát by the Kúnah-i-Gáo, previously described. The river takes its rise in the mountain range of the Lowá-Ghar, bounding Tsautara'h on the south and south-east, and about a mile and a half north of Saṛ-aobey—the "*Surrobee*" of the map—near which place it receives a feeder from the westward. This river's bed on leaving the mountains, on the south side of the pass towards 'Ísá Khel, separates into a number of channels, spreading out like a fan towards the banks of the Indus, which channels extend along its banks from Koṭ to Khaddúzí, a distance of nearly six miles, thus indicating the volume of water that rushes down in time of floods. At other times its bed, before separating into channels, is from about one hundred and eighty to two hundred yards in breadth, and the stream, which is clear and shallow, not more than about three or four yards broad, sometimes more.

The pass follows the course of the river, and near the village of Koṭ-ka'í, on the right-hand side as you proceed, the defile begins to narrow. At the crest of the first range crossed, it is only from six to seven feet wide, and in this manner extends for about sixty yards or more, with high cliffs on either side. At one place, in front of the chasm, where the passage is about six or seven yards broad, there are the holes in which great wooden beams were placed when the Afgháns raised *sangars* or breastworks to close the pass. After one has passed through this narrow chasm, the hills begin to recede on either hand, and are much lower.

You continue to follow the course of the Chichálaey river, which is now a considerable stream; and, after it receives a tributary from the small dara'h on the left hand, bends to the right, towards the hamlet of Ja'far Mela'h, and the defile again narrows, with cliffs towering over head, to about six or seven yards, in some places winding considerably, down which, when the stream rises, the water rushes, rendering it highly dangerous. This is a very strong part of the defile, and would be difficult to force.

The road, if such it can be called, continues in much the same manner, widening in some places, until you reach Saṛ-aobey, within a mile or two of which the height of the hills decreases, and the way becomes more open. At Saṛ-aobey another track branches off to the eastwards of that village, called the Wala'h road, which is sometimes followed in preference.

After leaving Saṛ-aobey, still following the course of the Chichálaey river, the defile again begins to narrow very much, and winds and turns considerably, but, towards the crest of the last part of the Lowá-Ghar range, bounding Tsautara'h on the south-west, distant about four miles, and styled the Anghásháey Sar, the road winds between high cliffs. Sometimes it runs at the sides of steep spurs, where the path narrows occasionally to a few feet, and two or three ravines have to be crossed, then, winding through low hills, the crest is reached. The road downwards into Tsautara'h lies in the bed of a watercourse, which is very stony for about three miles or over, until you get clear of the defile altogether. The total distance from the entrance on the 'Ísá Khel side, until you finally clear the defile, is computed at twenty miles.

It must be allowed that this pass is difficult enough at the present time, but, from what Muḥammad Afẓal Khán says above, it was considered practicable for laden animals. I have given a brief description of it here because, without doubt, this is the pass entered by the light troops of Bábar Bádsháh when he made the raid upon the 'Ísá Khel, who retired to the hills of Chaubárah or Chaupárah, as he styles them in his narrative, which, evidently, from the direction given, can be no other than the hills of Chautara'h, as non-Afgháns, who would substitute "*ch*" for "*ts*," would pronounce Tsautara'h, and "*p*" or "*b*," in the second syllable, is a common error of writing پ or ب for ت, *e.g.* Tsautara'h—څوتره, and Chaubára'h—چوباره, or Chaupára'h چوپاره. *See* page 360, where this raid is referred to.

Upon the whole, I am inclined to believe that this route was not so difficult in former times as it has since become, and that some great physical changes have made it worse than it was at the period in question.

people might be able to proceed by the Tsautara'h road to Pas'háur. I therefore sent for the Kad-khudás of the Bangí Khel, the Ságharís, and Gúdí Khel, and placed small parties of them on the road, stationed my own men with them, provided escorts, and protected the Sháh-Zádah's camp from plunderers by stationing my own people around it about two kuroh off. With these arrangements the Sháh-Zádah was well pleased.

"By the removal of Iṣálat Khán, the Gakhaṛ, Mubáriz Khán, the Gakháṛ, got the Sulṭání of Dánglaey, together with the Fowj-dárí of Jál.* Iṣalát Khán had then left the Sháh-Zádah, and had withdrawn to Láhor. When the Dánglaey Sulṭání was conferred on Mubáriz Khán, Gakhaṛ, through the means of Muḥammad Ḥusain, the Baḳáwal, it was understood that he should accept the Fowj-dárí of Bannú, which he agreed to do. Now, however, he said he would proceed to Pothwár,† and arrange affairs there, and, that when the Sháh-Zádah marched from Bágh towards Kábul, he would return, and proceed to Bannú.

"After the Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, had marched from Bágh into 'Ísá Khel, Bahrám again endeavoured to raise trouble for me in Tsautara'h, but Námdár Khán, who was there with my men, behaved well, and routed and dispersed, but did not kill, any of the Tsautara'h rebels. I sent him a reinforcement of 40 or 50 horsemen from 'Ísá Khel.

"When the Sháh-Zádah marched from thence, we proceeded to Laka'í of the Marwats, and encamped there. Whilst at Bágh, I had solicited that the *jágír* or fief of Bágh might be given to me; and here, at Laka'í, I received the *sanad* or patent of investiture thereof, bearing the seals of the Bakhshís or Paymasters.

"Iṣálat Khán, who had retired to Láhor, not liking, apparently, the Bannú appointment, again returned; and, at Laka'í, he had an interview with the Sháh-Zádah. I was directed by him to proceed from thence next day to Bannú, in advance of himself, and inspect the old fort there [Akara'h ?]; and, if I thought it a good site, he would despatch 200 *beldárs* [sappers—*lit.* excavators], and put it again into a state of defence, but if not, I was to select another site for a fort. I reached it the same day, and remained some days there. The Sháh-Zádah arrived in due time, and encamped on the other [west] side of the Bannú district. Náṣir Khán was then directed to take my place in the fort; and I was sent to Kohát, to escort treasure, which had arrived there from the Bádsháh [Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír] for the use of the forces of the Sháh-Zádah. I accordingly set out towards Tsautara'h; and when I got to Damí Málí, between Bannú and Laṭi-Mar,‡ I had an adventure with three lions.§ It was

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* It will be noticed from this that the "Sulṭání" did not rest on descent, but with the will of the Bádsháh, even at this period.

The chiefs of the Gakhaṛ tribe, being feudatories of the Mughal empire of Dihlí, and by no means independent as they now pretend to have been, had to furnish a contingent to the forces of the State; and it was found convenient to station them, and give them employment, near their own district: hence they were often employed west of the Indus. Moreover, they were bitter enemies of the Afgháns generally.

The Sulṭání of Dánglaey must not be supposed to refer to a sovereign state, or to imply that Mubáriz, the Gakhaṛ, was a Sulṭán. The chiefs of the Gakhaṛs bore the titles of Rá'e and Rájah, and likewise Malik and Sulṭán, as already related in the notice of the Níází Afgháns. Sulṭán and Rá'e are likewise the titles the Khokhars bore, and by these they are still designated. *See* page 362. The name of this chief will not be found in the tree of descent given in Griffin's "Panjab Chiefs," page 573.

At the time these surveys were made, the two chiefs of the Gakhaṛs—for there were generally two, apparently, as in the case of Tatár and Hátí in Bábar's time, and Rá'e Sáraṅg, and his brother, Sulṭán Adam, in Akbar's—were Manṣúr 'Alí, and Ja'far. *See* Griffin's "Panjab Chiefs," page 573.

† Pothwár, the Gakhaṛ territory, formerly extended from Ruhtás to Ráwal Pindí in one direction, a distance of about fifty kuroh; and about the same distance from Dánglaey to Chakkú-wál in the other direction, a very mountainous tract of country. At the time these surveys were made it was under the sway of the Sikhs. Dánglaey is an old town, but was then for the most part in ruins. It is situated on a mountain spur about one kuroh west of the Wihat or Jhilam, the noise of whose waters can be distinctly heard from the town.

‡ When the Khaṭaks came out of the tract known as Shú-ál or Shuh-ál Ghar, mentioned at pages 328 and 329, and came into Bannú to their Karlární kinsmen, the Shítaks, they are said to have held the lands lying on the Ṣadrawan Wela'h or Watercourse. This is "supposed" by some to have been situated "between "two branches of the river Khuram," about eight miles east of the present town of Bannú; and it is also "supposed" that what appears in the maps as "the *Ahdhummee Nala*" is the *Wela'h* in question. This stream, however, is not a branch of the river of Kurmah: it is merely a tributary. If the supposition is correct, it is strange that a Khaṭak chief should not have even referred to a place so celebrated in his tribe's history. He was close upon it here, for it runs just midway between Laṭi-Mar and Bannú, and he *must* have crossed the so-called "Ahdhummee N." on his way. *See* note †, page 429.

§ The word used in the original, namely, *m'zaraey*, is the name applied to the panther, as well as to the lion. The lions in question are probably much the same as those to be found in the province of Guzarát in the Presidency of Bombay, and in other parts farther north.

It is curious to note that it was not very many miles to the northward of this spot, and not far from

the spring season, about No-roz [the vernal equinox]. Rain had fallen during the night, and we consequently discovered their footmarks [in the sandy ground]. I got out of my *pálkí*, and mounted a horse, in order to follow them up; for I had long desired to have a chance of hunting them. We came upon them, and surrounded them. One fled to the *jangal*, but the other two stood at bay, and confronted us, and, after killing one, we wounded the other, but it managed to escape, or, rather, we could not find it.

"I conveyed the treasure to Bannú in due course; and I was left there to collect revenue, and wait until Mubáriz Khán, the Gakhaṛ [appointed Fowj-dár], should arrive, after whom a *Gurz-bardár* or mace-bearer had gone to Jál. I was left without any means, or troops to afford assistance, to enable me to collect the *lákh* of rúpís [the 'revenue' referred to above] which Náṣir Khán had imposed, and of which 30,000 or 40,000 rúpís had been collected by my means. Náṣir Khán had proceeded into Dawaṛ by the Ḥasan Tangaey;* and, after he left, even the Taḥṣíl horsemen deserted, and followed him. I left it likewise, and went and halted at Lati-Mar; and from that place I despatched one of the Gurz-bardárs [left with me], along with Abd-ur-Raḥmán, to Bágh, to receive charge of the *jágír*, according to the terms of the *sanad* or patent of investiture, and summon Mubáriz Khán to come into Bannú. When 'Abd-ur Raḥmán arrived at Bágh, he would not comply; and wrote decidedly that he had not taken the Sulṭání of Dánglaey under promise of accepting the charge of Bannú.

"I had been knocked about on journeys enough, and was in want of funds; the time of harvest, too, was come: so I went with my people to Ṭíraey. I was obliged to impose a *pesh-kash* upon them there† for my expenses; and there I dismissed my force to their homes. Having stayed a month at Ṭíraey to enable the pesh-kash to be presented, I set out for Saráe.

"Arrived there, I heard that the Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, had marched from Khost towards Kábul by the Shawák route;‡ and that the Afgháns of Shawák had occupied the Dara'h and Ghás'haey to bar his advance. He sent forward his troops to dislodge them and force a passage. Jamál-ud-Dín, son of Kamál-ud-Dín, and grandson of Dalíl Khán, was killed by a bullet; and many others fell along with him. The Afghán position was a very strong and difficult one, and fights went on daily in endeavouring to force it, but the Afgháns, in their turn, assailed the

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Dzalúzí, that Bábar Bádsháh, when returning from his expedition to Bharah and Khush-áb, fell in with and killed a *babar*, which word is equivalent to Pus'hto *m'zaraey*. He had passed the Sind or Indus half way between the place where the river of Kábul unites with the Sind, and Níl-áb-i-Kuhnah, or Old Níl-áb [I think Bábar knew best where he did cross, although some compilers have asserted to the contrary], and was proceeding to Bagrám, which he reached in two marches. His route must have been by the Súniála'h Ghás'haey or Pass, the direct road; and, when moving from his first halting ground, a *babar* or tiger rushed out roaring from the *jangal* on the banks of a river. The rush frightened the horses so, that, for a time, they were beyond the control of their riders, rushing every here and there. The tiger was, however, soon surrounded, but turned to the *jangal* again. Bábar directed that a buffalo should be driven into the *jangal*, which was done, and the *babar's* position was discovered. Arrows were discharged against the animal, several of which struck it; and it was brought to bay in a bush (or clump of bushes). Bábá, the Yasáwal, drew his sword, and approached it, but, at the time of attacking, stumbled, on which 'Alí, the Sístání, struck the *babar* on the loins; and it then threw itself into the water, and was therein finally killed, brought out, and the skin taken. Next morning the Bádsháh resumed his march, and came to Bagrám.

* *See* page 86.

† That is to say, "impose a voluntary offering or contribution," although a paradox. They were people of his own Khaṭak tribe.

‡ The word Shawák or Sh'wák occurs in several places in the original MS., written by Muḥammad Afẓal Khán himself, a copy of which I have. The very oldest settlement of the Khaṭak tribe, that we know of, was called Shuh-ál Ghar or Shú-ál, referred to in a preceding note, not Shawák, which is the same, apparently, as referred to by Elphinstone under the name of "Sohauk."

Captain T. C. Plowden, B.S.C., in his "Translation" of a book compiled by a Pes'háwar missionary, entitled "Kalíd-i-Afghání," calls the old Khaṭak locality "*Shwál*," and says, in a note to the Translation, that "the text has *Shamál*, a misprint."

Captain Plowden adds that, "according to Háiát [Hai'át?] Khán, *Shwál* is a valley [the Khaṭak historian "says 'Ghar,' a mountain tract] 16 miles long by 8 miles broad, and lies to the west of Bannú near the Pír Ghúl "Peak." What Shuh-ál or Shú-ál refers to may be seen at pages 328 and 329. It will be again noticed in the last Section of these "Notes." What I want to point out here is, that Shawák, mentioned above, cannot possibly refer to Shuh-ál or Shú-ál, for it only requires a glance at the map to show that Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, never attempted to proceed to Kábul by that route, which lay in a direct line between Bannú and Kandahár; for the Pír Ghúl peak is only eight miles from Kární-Grám, and the Prince's object was to reach Kábul from Bannú by the shortest route. The fact of his turning off to Ghaznín when unable to proceed by it finally disposes of the "Shwál" route being referred to. To have attempted to reach Kábul by Shú-ál would have been to go some hundreds of miles out of his way, besides putting himself, knowingly, into a very hornet's nest throughout the whole way. *See* note ‡, page 90, and page 428.

Sháh-Zádah's position on all sides, and many of his men were plundered. After a month had passed in this wise, unable to force the pass and march to Kábul, the Sháh-Zádah had to take another route, and proceed through another dara'h to Ghaznín.* Allah-yár Khán, who was Fowj-dár of that place, came forth to receive him; and, after visiting the shrines at Ghaznín, the Sháh-Zádah set out from thence for Kábul. From the latter place, in the winter, he set out for Jalál-ábád, and at Khurd Kábul encountered a fall of snow, and numbers of his men perished. He continued his journey to Jalál-ábád, and there he passed the remainder of that winter."

Such is the account of an eye-witness, and prominent actor in the events he records, of the so-called "settlement of Kabul," and "reduction to nominal allegiance" of "Banu, Khost, and Daur," the exaction of "enormous sums as arrears from the people of Dáwar," and a specimen of the manner in which "the heirs and successors" of one Kalgán did *not* "hold the lands of Kálábágh free of revenue for ever."*

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* *See* note ‡, page 90, and MacGregor's "Central Asia," Vol. 1, page 406, paragraph 4.

† Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, says, with regard to the Awáns, that they cannot trace back their ancestry beyond "one Uddo," on whom, after his conversion to Islám, his spiritual guide, 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán, Núrí, conferred the title of Shaikh [this so-called "title" is what Hindú converts to Islám always take. *See* the "title" Shaikhá, of the Khokhars, page 367]; and, that it was this person who built himself a dwelling where Kálá-Bágh now stands. This account, he says, is *what he heard from the Awáns themselves, and that he inspected all their documents.*

Referring to the claim of the Awán Maliks to be descended from "one Kutb Sháh," whom they manage to connect with the family of the Khalífah 'Alí [much after the same fashion, and with equally as much truth, as the Balúch claim to be descended from Mír Hamzah, son of 'Abd-ul-Muṭṭalab, the paternal uncle of the Prophet of Islám, noticed in the next Section of these "Notes"], and put forth claim to Kuraish 'Arab descent, Hai'át Khán, very pertinently remarks, that "such clear names as 'Rá'e,' 'Har-Karan,' and the like, "do not confirm it." He might have added that the words "Rá'e Sárang," in Gakhar names, *likewise show Hindú origin.* The time of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghaznín is a favourite period with these petty Hindkí tribes in search of an ancestor or a pedigree, to fall back upon, or the time of, what English writers style, "Shabudin Gori:" it is like "coming over with the Conqueror" in this country.

According to some of the Awán accounts, the "Rá'e, Har-Karan," above referred to, was of Ráj-pút descent, and a person of respectability; and, having "*accepted*" Islám, he "*adopted*" the name of Kuṭb Sháh—a Ráj-pút thus making a Sayyid of himself,—and the present Awán Maliks are descended from him.

In Sir Lepel Griffin's work, entitled "the Panj-áb Chiefs," previously referred to in the account of the Khokhars, the author says that the heads of various tribes "were invited to send in an account of their "families and descent;" and at page 570 he says that "the descent of the Awán tribe has been the subject of "much speculation. At one time the Awáns have been considered of Hindú, at another of Afghán, descent "[but by whom such an astounding statement has been made is not mentioned, and certainly the Afgháns "do not say so, nor does history either], and by some as the descendants of the so-called Bactrian Greeks. "But there is nothing in the traditions of the Awáns themselves to favour the last supposition [or the Afghán "descent either?], and, indeed, it is very doubtful whether any Greeks settled in Bactria at all. The probability "is that every Greek in Alexander's army turned his back with joy upon India and the East, while the detach-"ment of the army which remained behind in Bactria was composed of barbarian auxiliaries, from whom no "historian or philologist would care to derive any tribe whatever. [*See* the 'Translation of Hai'át Khán, "'Kaṭhar's,' book by Priestly, pages 23 and 24]. . . . But all branches of the tribe are unanimous in "stating that they originally came from the neighbourhood of *Ghazni* to India [all come 'from Ghazni': it "is the same with the Gakhaṛs], and all trace their genealogy to *Hasrat* Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet "[the respectable *Ráj-pút* who *accepted* Islám, and *adopted* the *name* of Kuṭb Sháh, notwithstanding?]. "Kutb Shah, who came from Ghazni with Sultan Mahmud, *was the common ancestor of the Awans, the "Khokars, and the Khattars* [*see* the note on the Khokars and Gakhaṛs: the name of this last-mentioned "people is Kaṭhar, not *Khattar*], and in the history of Fatah [Fatḥ?] Khan Drek will be found some mention "of Awán connection with these tribes."

At page 561, Griffin also states, that "the Drek Khattars" trace "their genealogy up to Kutb Shah or "Kutb-ud-din, nicknamed 'Aibak,' from his broken finger [*see* my 'Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí,' "page 513], and 'Lakh baksh' from his liberality, who was for many years the Viceroy of Shahab-ud-din "Ghori, in India, and who afterwards himself reigned the first of the slave kings. But this story is certainly "false."

I quite agree. It only shows what a muddle these people are in respecting their antecedents, their ignorance of history in which they are often mentioned, and their great assurance in supposing that we are equally ignorant of history. Kuṭb-ud-Dín, Ī-bak—not Aibak—was a Turk, and was not called Kuṭb Sháh at all. Ī-bak was his Turkish name, and Kuṭb-ud-Dín his Musalmán name. The Awán "Kutb Shah" must have lived to a great age; for between Maḥmúd of Ghaznín's death and Kuṭb-ud-Dín being left as his master's deputy in Hindústán is a period of only *one hundred and fifty-seven years.* Kuṭb-ud-Dín, Ī-bak, was the slave of the Sulṭán, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, the Shansabání Tájzík ruler of the Ghaznín state, whose brother, and suzerain, the Sulṭán, Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, ruled over Ghúr and its dependencies. After his master's death in 602 H. (1205 A.D.), Kuṭb-ud-Dín, Ī-bak, having been manumitted by his master's nephew and successor, Sulṭán Maḥmúd, son of Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, succeeded to the sovereignty of the Dihlí kingdom of which he had so long held charge.

Seeing that the Khaṭak Afgháns, for a long period of time, held the *jágír* of Bágh—that is Kará or Kálá-Bágh, as mentioned in the text above, *and were still holding it when these surveys were made* (*see* page 372), it is amusing, but, at the same time, very distressing, to read such "history" as the following:—

"The Maliks of Kálábágh have always been men of weight and distinction [by their own account?]; the importance of their town *has necessitated their friendship or co-operation being either sought or coerced by*

To resume the account of the route.

"The road through this defile (the Shakar Dara'h) is tortuous and rugged, and is in some parts difficult, narrowing as you ascend, until you reach the crest, which is a

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successive invaders of the Trans-Indus provinces [but what history says so? Were the Chingiz Khán, Tímúr, Bábar, or Humáyún, or Nádir Sháh, Aḥmad Sháh, Tímúr Sháh, or Sháh-i-Zamán, so 'necessitated;' or Akbar, Jahán-gír, Sháh-i-Jahán, or Aurang-zeb? history proving the contrary]. The present man, Malik Muzafar [Muẓaffar?] Khán, Khán Bahadúr [Bahádur?], is a lineal descendant of one Kalgán, who, in the commencement of the *eleventh century*, came down in the train of Súltán [Sulṭán?] Mahmúd of Gházni [Ghazní?], accompanied by a body of Awáns [according to their own account, mentioned by Griffin, their ancestor was the respectable 'Ráj-pút, who adopted the name of Kutb Sháh,' or 'Kutb-ud-din Aibak, 'Viceroy of India.' Firishtah too, says 'Afgháns,' not 'a body of Awáns']; as a reward for their assistance [what an army he must have had, if all the various Hindkí tribes in search of a pedigree 'came down' with him! there could have been no room for his Turkish troops], and probably to secure a safe passage over the Indus in case of reverses, Mahmúd gave the lands round Kálábágh free of revenue to Kalgán, his heirs and successors for ever [a system which the Maliks would like, no doubt, to see carried out by the British Government 'for ever']. Settled in a strange country, and surrounded by *strange and barbarous people* [we must, consequently, conclude that the Awáns themselves were *highly civilized* at this period], Kalgán first established his head-quarters at Dingot, a natural fortress on the right bank of the Indus, four miles north of the town of Kálábágh. He laboured hard to conciliate the neighbouring tribes; this accomplished, he left his fortress [in another place, in the very same book that the above is contained in, it is stated that '*the grandfather of the present Malik built the village* once existing on Dingot'] *and laid the foundations of what has been for centuries* one of the most thriving commercial towns [Kálá or Ḳará-Bágh is referred to] on the river Indus."—MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I., Vol. II., page 85.

But let us now turn to another part of the work above referred to, under the head of "Awáns," Vol. II., p. 119. There they are said to be "a tribe found scattered in Yúsafzái and the Kohát district, as well as in "Hazára and other districts on the left bank of the Indus. . . . . *They are said to be emigrants from "the Panjáb.*" Immediately follows the following from Cracroft's "Settlement Report" of the Ráwal Pindí district, as though the Awáns here were a different tribe altogether from those of Kálá-Bágh, who "came down" with Maḥmúd:—

"The west of this district is entirely held by a tribe called the Awáns, who have probably not been here "250 years [they submitted to Bábar in 925 H. (1519 A.D.), and that is just *three hundred and sixty-four "years ago*, and they had long been located there before his time]; they are said to have come from *Herat* "[Ghazni of the other accounts], and may possibly be the descendants of the Bactrian Greeks [or very possibly "*may not*] driven south from Balkh by Tartar hordes, and turning from Herat to India. *They came as a "conquering army under leaders of their own*," etc., etc. So here "Kutb Shah" and "Kalgán," who "came down with Súltán Mahmúd of Gházni" and "Shaikh Uddo," are thrown overboard altogether.

Here, however, is a still more amusing account of the Awáns, which is totally contrary to all the others given above. Captain T. C. Plowden, in his translation of the compilation styled "Kalíd-i-Afghání," previously referred to, page 200, note 9, quoting Major-General A. Cunningham's "Archæological Survey of India," Vol. 2, tells us, that "The Awáns are a people of Hindú origin descended from one Ana (hence their name "Anú-wán), the son of Yayátí, the founder of the Innar race [only they are called Awáns, not Anú-wáns]. "They hold at the present day, and have done so for centuries (probably from 100 B.C.), the western half of "the Panjab Salt Range towards Níláb. They are the Júd tribe mentioned by Babar, Júd being another "name for the Salt Range."

If Major-General Cunningham had only studied the translation of Bábar's work by Leyden and Erskine he would have found that the Júds and Janjhúhahs were descended from a common ancestor, and that they were distinct from the Awáns. Further, Abú-l-Fazl also makes a distinction between them. The Janjhúhahs are the only tribe, I may say, in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, who give a sober, and tolerably correct, account of themselves. *See* under "*Janjoah*" in Griffin's "Panjab Chiefs," pages 602—606.

Thorburn, in his book on Bannú and its Settlement, on the other hand, says, that the 'Ísá Khel Níázís, when they arrived on the Indus, *expelled the Awáns and Jats from it*. All were not expelled, however, for there were Awáns there in Afẓal Khán, Khaṭak's time, when he held the *jágír* or fief, and are there still.

It is very strange that Bábar Bádsháh, who gives such full and interesting details respecting the tribes dwelling on this part of the Indus, and in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, did not find out those important Awán personages "whose friendship or co-operation" it was so necessary for the invaders of the Trans-Indus provinces "to seek or to coerce." Neither was Abú-l-Fazl, the author of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, aware of their importance; and such a "thriving town" as Kálá-Bágh, which has been founded "centuries," is not once mentioned throughout his work for very good reasons, but he mentions the villages peopled by the Awáns in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and informs us that, among them, they held the *maḥáll* dependent on Dhan-Ḳot, on the *east* bank of the Mihrán or Sind, and that they were rated at 150 horsemen and 5,000 footmen for militia purposes.

The inhabitants of the Sarkár or district which included 'Ísá Khel, Bannú, and Dawaṛ, mentioned by him, I have previously noticed, and he has no Awáns therein. They were subject to, or owned allegiance to Khán Kajú, the renowned chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, as mentioned in note †, page 354, as well as other Hindkí tribes.

When the Khaṭaks, under Malik Ako, began to push northwards and eastwards towards the Shakar Dara'h, the Awáns of Bágh—by which name, and Bágh of the Awáns, the Khaṭaks style Kálá or Ḳará-Bágh—as soon as they became aware of their movements, concluding that they had designs upon their district, made an attack upon them, and many were killed on either side. The Khaṭaks, however, were not checked in their movements, and they took possession of (what was subsequently called) the Khwaṛa'h and Súníála'h.

The Khaṭaks after this waged war with many of the surrounding tribes, and among them were the Awáns of Súh-an Sakesara, whom they did not consider it necessary to "conciliate." They crossed the Indus into the Sind-Ságar Do-ába'h, ravaged and wasted the country round Sakesara, and took both males and females

cleft in the hills,* rather less than half way from Kálá-Bágh, after which the hills begin to recede, and the country becomes more open.

"Following the course of this little river [the Ber-án Wání], for a distance of six or seven kuroh in the direction of north, you ascend the mountains [the Salt Range] on the right-hand side, the said river being on the left, and, having reached the crest, you go on for another two kuroh and a half, and reach Shakar Dara'h, a village† belonging to the Sághari section of the Khaṭak tribe of Afgháns.

"From this place Makhaḍ is distant fifteen kuroh to the east, inclining south-east, and the road to it is well known.‡ Leaving the village of the Shakar Dara'h, you continue to proceed in the direction of north for a distance of ten kuroh, and reach Málg-ín. In the Pus'hto or Afghán language salt is called *málga'h*, and whatever salt is found in this mountain tract is brought to this *ḳaṣba'h*§ (town) and sold, and the income derived therefrom appertains to the Wálí or Chief of this place and territory: hence the adjective formed from the above noun, namely, Malg-ín—Salt—is the name by which the place is known to the Afgháns. On the way from the Shakar Dara'h to this village there are numerous steep and difficult ascents, gorges, and ravines, and a high mountain range. The whole range from the Shakar Dara'h to Malg-ín contains salt; and south of the *ḳaṣba'h*, likewise, is a great mountain range running from west to east for a considerable distance, just before you reach which, you cross the bed of the Ṭíraey To-e. The salt of this mountainous tract, although it is not quite white, nevertheless, is of excellent savour, and it is taken away and sold as far off as Kábul and Chitrál.

"Leaving Malg-ín, you proceed eight kuroh in the direction of north, inclining north-west, to S'hádí Khel,‖ the name by which three or four villages are known, and

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captive; indeed 40,000 Awáns more or less fell into captivity. Such is Khush-ḥál Khaṭak's account of his tribe's invasion of the Awáns' territory, in his grandfather's time.

A comparison of the above accounts will show what a terrible jumble has been made of the history of these Jaṭ or Hindkí tribes of the Panj-áb, all the accounts being as wild and exaggerated as they are different from each other and contrary to history and fact. Herodotus, however, as yet, has not been introduced among them.

* This defile is locally known as the Gháso-e Pass.

† The Shakar Dara'h is not a village, but it gives name to a village, or rather "the village in the Shakar Dara'h," which is thirteen miles from Kálá-Bágh.

‡ The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, when returning from Kábul to Dihlí by way of Pes'háwar, Akhoṛ, and Kohát, in 1198 H. (1783–84 A.D.) left the latter place with an escort provided by Nawwáb Khán, the Bá'izí chief of the Lower Bangas'h Kaṛlárnís, and proceeded to Láchí, then to Shewah-kí ("*Shuwáki*" of the maps), a small village of Sayyids, situated at the foot of the hills east of the former place. "Here," he says, "two roads branch off, one of which leads to Makhaḍ, in the direction of east, distant sixteen *kos*: the "other to Kálá-Bágh, in the direction of south-east, and distant twenty-four *kos*. The latter route was "declared dangerous, being infested by the Bhangí Khel, who are arrant thieves. The road, likewise, is "difficult, as it contains many *kotals*, and no guides were procurable. The Makhaḍ route, on the contrary, "was less difficult, and less in danger of robbers; so I proceeded to the chief village in the Shakar Dara'h, "and from thence went twelve *kos* to Makhaḍ. The head-man there procured boats for us; and we dropped "down to Kálá-Bágh, the distance by river being twenty-five *kos*, and, by land, twelve." From thence he went by land to 'Ísá Khel, and paid dearly for so doing, as mentioned at page 370, note ‡.

§ This place is now a small village. It is now called "*Malgheen*," however. A collector and seller of salt is called Málg-bah.

‖ This is the identical route followed by Elphinstone, and, subsequently, by Wood. The former, after describing the defile, says (Introduction, page 62): "We afterwards went through the hills, and crossed two "cotuls or passes; from the last and steepest of which we descended into Malgeen. This was a green and "pleasant valley, about twelve miles long, and five broad, surrounded by mountains. . . . We marched "again on the 21st of February; and, after crossing a low rocky pass, descended into the country of the "Shaudee Khail, whose principal village we passed. It was very pleasingly situated among trees on the banks "of the Toe, a deep and clear stream, flowing rapidly through a picturesque valley, the view of which was "terminated at no great distance by snowy mountains."

Wood says, after reaching "Shukur Durah," as he calls the Shakar Dara'h, "On the 10th (August) we set "out together for Kohat. The first halt we called was at the fine large village of *Kurrilsun*, [this is the "*Kureerosum* of the map, and *Karírosum* of MacGregor], three miles before entering which we crossed the "Lun rivulet."

so called after a section or clan of the Bá'ízí tribe of Karlární Afgháns. The narrow Dara'h in which they are situated, which is seven kuroh in length from west to east, is also called S'hádí Khel. It has lofty hills both on the north and south; and the river of Kohát, or Kághzí river, flows through this dara'h, runs to the eastward, and unites with the Abáe-Sind or Abáe-Sín. For the first quarter of the distance between Malg-ín and S'hádí Khel, the road lies along the dry bed of a small river dependent on rain, which comes from the westward, and, after passing north of Malg-ín, unites with the Abáe-Sind. To the east of S'hádí Khel are several villages belonging to the Kamál Khel clan of the Bá'ízís. From S'hádí Khel you continue on for a distance of three kuroh and a half in the direction of north-west to Dhodha'h,* a small village, built on the skirt of the hills, belonging to the clan of the Bá'ízís so called; and on the way to it you have to cross a steep gorge or *kotal*. South of the village a considerable river flows, which you cross, and which comes from the right hand, and, flowing towards the left, unites with the Kághzí river. Setting out from Dhodhah, and going downwards in the direction of north-west for the distance of half a kuroh, you reach a river depending on rain, which comes from the right hand, from the direction of Togh, and, running to the left, unites with the river of the Kághzís.† On the road you have to cross a small *kotal*; and from the river before mentioned you proceed three kuroh north-west, inclining north, to Tappí, belonging to, and named after, a clan of the Afgháns of Bangas'h; and from this point the Khatak territory terminates, and the territories known as the Bangas'hát or the Bangas'hes‡ commence."

The Karlární Afghán Tribes of Bangas'h.

A brief account of the sub-tribes inhabiting Upper Bangas'h has been already given in Section Second, page 74, and the Afgháns now to be noticed are known generally as the tribes *of*, or *inhabiting*, Lower Bangas'h. But as I may not have clearly explained before that there are no tribe or tribes or sections of tribes *named* Bangas'h, I must do so here, because ignorance of the true application of this word has led many into terrible blunders.

Bangas'h, called by the Eastern Afgháns Bangak'h, is the name of the extensive territory before noticed; and the tribes, and sections of tribes, dwelling within it, are known as the tribes *of*, or *inhabiting*, Bangas'h. These, with very few exceptions, are exclusively Karlárnís, the descendants of Karlárnaey, whose descent I shall presently relate. The Afgháns, when they first entered these parts, displaced the original inhabitants, or, at least, the people they then found dwelling therein, and they were known as Budlí, and Budní, "*l*" and "*n*" being, at times, interchangeable. They consisted of several tribes, and held a large tract of country, extending from Nangnahár to the Indus.§ We might just as well call all the Afgháns inhabiting the

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* Dhodha'h is now a good sized village. Elphinstone says: "The roads near this were crowded with "Afghauns, some of whom welcomed us, while all behaved with civility. At our encamping ground near the "very large village of Dodeh [so he calls Dhodha'h, which is the *Doda* of Wood, and Dhoda of the map and "MacGregor], we were met by Omar Khaun (the son of the Bungush chief), with seven or eight hundred "matchlock men, dressed in blue. This place was in the plain of Cohaut," etc. The general dress of the Afgháns of these parts is dark blue.

Wood says: "In the evening we moved forward to the village of Doda, the country continuing "beautiful. . . . The long narrow valleys, rich and sheltered, lying between these lateral chains, looked "the very abodes of peace and comfort. In one of these valleys which we crossed during this day's march, a "village called Shadí Kyl [S'hádí Khel] was built on the slope of its northern ridge. Before the doors of the "houses a small clear brook glided by in a shallow bed, bordered with grass and with a row of mulberry trees. "From the banks of this rivulet the fields spread out, clothing the region with one sheet of green." Compare MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part 1, Vol. 1, page 85.

† Considerable changes have taken place in parts of the course of this stream, which does not reach the river of the Kághzí now. *See* note ‡, page 421.

‡ Considerable changes have taken place in the boundaries too since these surveys were made. The present boundary on the south is the river of Kohát or river of the Kághzí.

§ The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, who is, I believe, the only writer who mentions these people, says they were Káfirs, that is non-Musalmáns, but he does not refer to Buddhists. I think it necessary to mention this, so that there may be no "jumping at conclusions," referred to farther on, on a slight similarity between names.

Ghaznín district and the Kábul province the Ghazní tribe and the Kábulí tribe, as the Afgháns dwelling in Bangas'h, the Bangas'h tribe.*

These tribes, or rather sub-tribes of Afgháns, known to the chroniclers of these people as the "Akwám-i-Bangas'h-i-Pá'ín," or "tribes *of* or *inhabiting* Lower Bangas'h," are, as stated above, of the sept of Kaṛlární. With respect to the names of their immediate progenitors for one or two generations after their forefather, Kaṛlárnaey, and his foster father, there is some discrepancy, and, possibly, a little confusion in this genealogical account, caused, in all probability, by the emigration of a great number of persons of these tribes into Hindústán during the reigns of the Afghán sovereigns, and in more recent times.

In most of the native accounts which have been written of the Afgháns, the traditions respecting the descent of Kaṛlárnaey have been more or less confused, and, in some instances, mutilated; while some of the tribes descended from him, especially those of the present day, relate separate and different portions of it and rarely know the whole: hence, probably, the confused accounts which I have before referred to.

The first tradition is, that two persons of the family of Aor-Maṛ [son of Amar-ud-Dín, or Amár Dín, fifth son of Sharaf-ud-Dín, *alias* Sharkabún, son of Saṛahbarn or Saṛaban, eldest son of Kais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd, *alias* "the Paṭán," by Sárah [*i.e.*, Sarah], of the family of Khálid, son of Walíd, of the Baní Makhzúm, who was descended from Yahúdá [*i.e.*, Judah†], one of whom was named 'Abd-ullah, and the other Zakaríyá

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* Those of the Budlí people who dwelt in Bangas'h might be called Bangas'hís in that sense, in the same manner as the people of Hindústán are termed Hindústánís, whatever their religion or tribe. Indeed, Khush-ḥál Khán, in one of his poems (*see* my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 187), mentions the ancient or non-Afghán inhabitants of Bangas'h Tí-ráh, Suwát, and Lamghán in this sense. He says:—

> "The Lamghánís, Bangas'hís, Suwátís, Tí-ráhís,—all of them
> Are dancers and fiddlers—and who will be friends with such?"

The Afrídís then dwelt in Tí-rah, but are not styled Tí-ráhís, for Khush-ḥál mentions that people distinctly, as I shall relate further on; and he could not have referred to the Afrídís in such terms, for they were Kaṛlárnís, like the Khaṭaks, and his staunchest allies at all times; and there is nothing of the dancer or fiddler in their composition.

These Budlís or Budnís were expelled from Nangnahár by the ruler of Pích and Lamghán, named Sulṭán Bahrám, whose brother ruled over Suwát, Bájawṛ, Buner, and other territories in that direction. He took up his residence at Pápín in Nangnahár, and died at Koṭ in that same territory.

The Budlís or Budnís, on being expelled from Nangnahár, fled eastwards, according to the Ákhúnd (where dwelt others of their race already referred to); and the descendants of Sulṭán Bahrám held possession until the time that the Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, subdued the parts around, after which they were for some time vassals of him and his descendants. In course of time, however, even the chieftain-ship passed out of the hands of the family. The Awáns, Kaṭhars, and Gakhaṛs are probably some of the Budní or Budlí tribes or clans who crossed the Indus into the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah.

The Ákhúnd also says that the Sulṭáns of Pích were Turks; and he gives the names of several generations of them, and says that they claimed descent from Shamús, descended from *one of the sons* of Sikandar-i-Zú-l-Karnain. The Ákhúnd's mother was a daughter of Malik Názú, who was sixth in direct descent from Sulṭán Bahrám.

† The following is one statement respecting this descent. A person named Makhzúm, a descendent of Yahúdá, son of Ya'kúb, was of those Hebrews, who, having been expelled from the Bait-ul-Mukaddas by Bakht-un-Naṣṣar, betook themselves to the neighbouring country of the 'Arabs, the descendants of their kinsman, Ismá'íl, where, finding they could no longer worship in the House of God, founded by Dá'úd and Sulímán, they betook themselves to the House, founded by their forefather, Ibráhím, and his son, Ismá'íl [*i.e.*, Makkah], and there used to worship. Makhzúm, having gained a name among his people, his descendants were known as the Baní Makhzúm; and they intermarried with the 'Arab tribe of Kuraish. Walíd, the father of the famous Khálid, was of the Baní Makhzúm, but, as 'Abd-ush-Shams was his maternal grandfather, on this account Walíd is often accounted among the Kuraish tribe since the time of Islám. Walíd's family became united with those Kuraish infidels who opposed the prophet, Muḥammad, and were among the leaders who encountered him in battle at Uḥud. In the year 8 H. (629–30 A.D.), however, Khálid, with three other chiefs among the 'Arabs, came to Madínah and embraced the new faith. Khálid, who, as a leader of the Musalmáns, performed many brilliant exploits, died in the year 21 H. (642 A.D.). His sons, 'Abd-ur-

[Zacharias], when the family were moving from their summer to their winter quarters, went out hunting one day, and, by chance, reached a place where a number of people had very recently encamped, but appeared to have suddenly departed. Searching about, Zakaríyá, who was the father of a numerous family, and in indigent circumstances, found a male child, who, from appearances had only been born the previous night, while 'Abd-ullah, who was childless, found a shallow iron cooking vessel. As they were both of one family, and kinsmen of each other, 'Abd-ullah said to Zakaríyá :—"Thou "art aware that I am, unfortunately, without a son. Give me this boy, and I will "bring him up as my own; through him, my name will go down to posterity; and, as "long as I live, I shall be grateful to thee. Take then [in lieu] this vessel, the value of "which will supply thy wants for some days." It was agreed between them accordingly. In the Pus'hto tongue a shallow iron kettle is termed *karahaey* or *karhaey*; and the man, 'Abd-ullah, thought it would be appropriate to give his adopted son a name consonant with the circumstance of finding him, and giving the kettle in exchange for him; so he named him Karlárnaey.*

When the boy grew up, and attained unto man's estate, 'Abd-ullah gave him a daughter from out of his own family [not necessarily his *own* daughter] in marriage; and by her he became the father of a numerous progeny.

Another account is, that Karlárnaey was, by descent, a Sarahbarn, and was the adopted son of Amar-ud-Dín or Amar Dín, the father of Aor-Mar, son of Sharaf-ud-Dín, otherwise Sharkabún; that Aor-Mar's father, Amar-ud-Dín, went out hunting one day along with his brothers, Miánaey and Tarín, but some say they were his grandsons [they would thus be brothers of Aor-Mar], 'Abd-ullah and Zakaríyá by name; and that they reached a place where some people had recently encamped, who fearing an attack from some others, suddenly decamped, leaving the child behind.

The Khataks are Karlárnís; and their account is different. Muhammad Afzal Khán, in his history, quoting from the records in the handwriting of his famous grandfather, Khush-hál Khán [who was not a Mughal to be styled "Beg"] says, that, in those records, it is briefly stated that "Karlárney was the son of Honaey, and "was born of his mother when on the march between the summer and the winter "quarters of the family. On account of some incident that happened, Honaey, with "his family and dependents, suddenly struck camp, and set out to join the other "families of their tribe or people. In the hurry, the babe was forgotten, and, when "he was remembered, they having rejoined the others, Aor-Mar, who was brother of "Honaey [but he had no brother of that name], went back to search for his nephew. "He found him, and likewise a pot [in the MS. 'pot' simply] belonging to them "[Honaey's family] which had also been left behind. He put the baby in the pot, "and placing it on his head, brought it to the camp of his people. Aor-Mar, who "had no son of his own, said to Honaey: 'I have brought back this thy son after "'much trouble and inconvenience: do not, therefore, take him from me: I will "'nourish him and bring him up. Take thou [instead] this pot.' Honaey became "agreeable; and, as the infant was exchanged in lieu of a pot, which in Pus'hto is "styled *karhaey*. he was named Karlárn or Karlárnaey. When he grew up, Aor-"Mar gave him *a* daughter [out of the family] in marriage."

Rahmán, and 'Abd-ullah, were subsequently Hákims (Governors) of Khurásán [that is, all the eastern parts of Islám at this period], one being stationed at Níshábúr, and the other at Hirát.

I think this fact, of these kinsmen, as they may be called, of the descendants of Kais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd, being located in the eastern parts of Islám, has not been sufficiently considered with respect to the settlements of the Afgháns; and, the facts respecting the descent of Khálíd being unknown to such compilers as Hai'át Khán, the Kathar, they cannot make it out. *See* Priestley's "Translation" of part of Hai'át's book, page 55, for a specimen of this.

* The derivation of this name seems to be from "karhaey," and the now almost obsolete form of the second person imperative plural of the imperfect transitive verb لودل "*law-dal*" and لل "*lal*"—"to assign," "impart," "deliver," "give," etc., namely, "lárn'aí" (after the manner of the same form of the verb "*kawul,*" to "do," etc., namely, "kárn'aí"), used, more particularly, in an entreating manner. By constant use, or for euphony, or convenience, the name became shortened into Karh-lárnaey or Kar-lárnaey, with the substantive termination in the last word, namely, "aey," in place of the pronominal plural affix "'aí," of the verb.

Then he says: "The Dilazáks, who are a great *ulús* or tribe among the Kaṛlárnís, "account Kaṛlárnaey to be a Husainí Sayyid, according to the following arrange- "ment [given, for comparison, farther on]." Khush-ḥál then promises, subsequently, to give a more detailed account of the Kaṛlárnís, but, unfortunately, he never did so; for it is not given in the history written from those records by his grandson, neither is it to be found in any other of his works with which I am acquainted.

The confusion in this last account is evident, because Aor-Maṛ had no brother called Honaey, but one of the two sons of the Devotee, the Sayyid, Muḥammad-i-Gísú-Daráz, by a Kaṛlární wife, was called Honaey, and the other Waṛdag; and "their "descendants, as well as the descendants of the other sons of that Devotee, although "in reality, Sayyid-Zádahs—sons of a Sayyid—having married Afghán wives, are "accounted Afgháns." This account, although confused in some respects, nevertheless, throws some additional light upon the subject, as I shall presently show.

As Kaṛhlárn or Kaṛlárnaey was adopted by Aor-Maṛ, who was the son of Amar-ud-Dín or Amar Dín, the son of Sharkabún, and accounted among the Aor-Maṛ by the Afgháns themselves, the Khaṭaks consider themselves Saṛahbaṛns as well as Kaṛlárnís.

"The father of Aor-Maṛ, Amar-ud-Dín or Amar Dín," according to the Afghán traditions, "was not much known, but his son, being a man of substance, gained a "name for himself, and the father's name became eclipsed by that of the son." The derivation of the name Aor-Maṛ is as follows, for it is but a by-name. His mother, who was his father's first wife, was the daughter of a blacksmith, or, rather, one who worked in iron; and his step-mother sometimes, in anger, when he did not do something or other to her satisfaction, would say, by way of reproach, "The blacksmith's "fire (اور—*aor*) is gone out (مړ شه—*maṛ* shah)"; and by degrees the name of "Aor-Maṛ clung to him."*

But now let us turn to the statement of the Dilazáks, who are also Kaṛlárnís. They contend that they are Husainí Sayyids, that is, that they are, through their progenitor, Kaṛlárnaey, descended from the Imám, Ḥusain. I wish also to point out that neither they nor the Khaṭaks refer at all to the Devotee, Muḥammad-i-Gísú-Daráz. The generations given by the Dilazáks are as follow:—"Kaṛlárn or Kaṛlárnaey, son of "Sayyid Ḳáb, son of Sayyid Rijál, son of Sayyid Khátim, son of Sayyid Ismá'íl, son of "Sayyid Ja'far-i-Ṣádiḳ, son of the Imám, Muḥammad Báḳir, son of the Imám, Zain-"ul-'Ábidain, son of the Imám, Ḥusain, son of the Khalífah, 'Alí."

Now Ḥusain was born in the year 4 H., and was killed in 61 H. Zain-ul-'Ábidain, otherwise, 'Alí-i-Aṣghar, or the Lesser 'Alí, died in the last month of 95 H.; Muḥammad Báḳir, who was born in 75 H., died in the last month of 114 H.; and Ja'far, who was born in 83 H., died in 148 H. Ismá'íl is said to have died before his father, but some say his father nominated his younger brother, Músá, to the Imámship in consequence of Ismá'íl's being addicted to wine. Be this as it may, the great schism arose in the Muḥammadan world, called the Ismá'ílí schism, about this very Ismá'íl; for the first Ismá'ílí Khalífah who assumed sovereign authority in Egypt in 296 H., namely, Abú-l-Ḳásim-i-Muḥammad, the son of 'Abd-ullah, was considered to be the lineal descendant of Ja'far's son, Ismá'íl. Consequent on this schism, it is difficult to trace *all* the descendants of this Ismá'íl; and no mention is made of Khátim, Rijál, or Ḳáb, from whom the Dilazáks trace Kaṛlárnaey's descent. Supposing Ismá'íl to have died a short time before his father, if we allow thirty years to a generation, the usual computation, Sayyid Ḳáb, who, from the tree of descent given, would be the great-grandson of Ismá'íl, must have lived, or rather have been born, about 208 H.; and, after the same computation, Kaṛlárnaey, whom the Dilazáks say

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* In his book entitled "A Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857," Mr. Bellew, after mentioning (page 63), that "two *Ormur* men"—not two "*Khattaks*" in this instance—went out in search of game and found "Karaláni"—not Turklánrí here—says, that "the Ormur were fire-worshippers, and, indeed, received this "name from the Afgháns on account of the peculiar religious ceremonies observed by them."

The statement in the text above is *the* Afghán account of the derivation of this nickname, but, in Mr. Bellew's book, it is stated that "it is related of them that they congregated for worship once a week, and "that the men and women were indiscriminately mixed in their religious assemblies. At the conclusion of "their devotions, the officiating priest extinguished the fire they worshipped, and, at the same time, exclaimed "'Or mur,' a term expressive of the act, for in Pukhtú 'or' means 'fire,' and 'mur' means 'dead,' "'extinct.'" I thought it was a peculiar tenet of the "fire-worshippers" *never to extinguish fire*.

This, wherever it came from, is merely a very greatly distorted account of some of the ceremonies invented by Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík, the Anṣárí, who came from among the Aor-Maṛ tribe, but, seeing that he flourished subsequent to the year 900 H. (1494–95 A.D.), how the ancestor of the Aor-Maṛ tribe, who must have lived some five or six hundred years before, could have obtained a nickname from the doings of Pír-i-Ros'hán is a puzzle. "Ros'hán" means light, and Pír-i-Ros'hán, the Saint of Light, hence the Sayyid, 'Alí, the Tirmizí, nicknamed him Pír-i-Tárík, or Saint of Darkness. *See* page 268, where 'Alí is mentioned.

was his son, about 238 to 240 H., but it may have so happened that, at this disturbed period of time, after, or in consequence of, this schism, some of the later Sayyids named may have lived a less number of years than the usual average given.

After the same manner we may compute the period in which Aor-Maṛ lived. Ḳais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd, surnamed "the Paṭán," is said to have died in the year 41 H., aged 87 years. If so, he must have been born in the forty-sixth year before the Hijrat; and, if we allow thirty years for each generation here also, for the four generations preceding Aor-Maṛ, he would have lived between 104 H. and 134 H., and, therefore, it is scarcely possible for Kaṛlárnaey to have been the adopted son of Aor-Maṛ, but, rather of a grandson, or even a great-grandson, of his. A grandson would have flourished between 164 H. and 194 H., and a great-grandson between 194 H. and 224 H.

Again, let us examine the genealogical tree of the Sayyid, Muḥammad, *alias* Gísú-Daráz—"Of the long ringlets"—who, at an early period, took up his residence among the Afghán tribes, and about whom, and the period in which he lived, some strange mistakes have been made. One writer says "he came down into Hindústán about "the year 800 H."

The following tree of descent is given in all accounts of this celebrated Darwesh:—"Sayyid Muḥammad, son of Sayyid Ghúr, son of Sayyid 'Umar, son of Sayyid Ḳáb, "son of Sayyid Rijál, son of Sayyid Ḳá'ín"—قاین [in the Dilazák tree Khátim —خاتم stands for Ḳá'ín], and, like the preceding ones, the rest of the names, from Sayyid Ismá'íl, are *precisely the same as in the Dilazák tree.* Thus we see that Sayyid Muḥammad-i-Gísú-Daráz is *the great-grandson* of the very Sayyid from whom the Dilazáks say they are descended; and he must, consequently, have lived at about the same period of time that Aor-Maṛ's great-grandson lived.

If we put the various versions of this tradition together respecting the finding of Kaṛlárnaey, the result is this, that some 'Arab families, many of the descendants of which conquerors were dwelling to the west of the true Afghán country, now known to us by the name of "Western" Afghánistán,*—or, what is much more probable, some Sayyid families, the descendants of Ismá'íl, son of Ja'far, who had been dwelling in the Musalmán territory bounding the Afghánistán on the west and north, in Kábul and Zábul, and had been proscribed as schismatics, or feared persecution, as the sequel tends to show,—happened to be encamped not far from where Aor-Maṛ's family and dependants had pitched their camp, when on the move from their summer towards their winter quarters.† These people, whoever they were, dreading an attack, through something that had happened, from some others hostile to them, possibly Aor-Maṛ's own family, suddenly broke up their camp and marched away in the night.‡ In the hurry and confusion of a night march, and secretly, an infant—a male child—was left behind; and it so happened that two persons of Aor-Maṛ's family—two grandsons or great-grandsons, for their names do not occur among those of his sons—named 'Abd-ullah and Zakaríyá, started from their place of encampment early in the morning in search of game. By chance, they came upon the abandoned encamping place of the strangers, where 'Abd-ullah found a male infant, and Zakaríyá an iron cooking vessel, which, in their language, the Afgháns call a "*kaṛahaey*" or "*kaṛhaey*," which they brought along with them back to the camp of their own people. Being a poor

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* There are many descendants of 'Arabs in Bájawṛ, an account of whom is given in Section Third, page 116.

† In former times they dwelt much farther west, bordering on tho Zábul or Ghaznín territory; and the pressure of other Afghán tribes compelled them to move eastwards.

‡ The descendants of Ismá'íl would, of course, be liable to severe persecution on the part of the Sunnís after the Ismá'ílí schism arose; and where could such members of his family, dwelling in the eastern parts of Islám, be more likely to find a secure retreat than among the rude and not very enlightened Afgháns of that period, who almost worshipped the name of Sayyid? It is, moreover, very evident that more than one of those very Sayyids who took up their residence among the Afgháns were schismatics of the Ismá'ílí sect, who are also styled Báṭinís as well as Muláḥidah by some writers, and whom Hulákú Khán, in after years, was supposed to have completely rooted out, but which sect has existed under some modifications down to the present day.

There were Muláḥidah schismatics in these parts at an early period *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 74, and note 3, page 304.

Some people, unacquainted with the different sects of schismatics, style all Shí'ahs, whereas some were enemies of 'Alí and his followers. It is a curious circumstance with repect to this Sayyid descent, but a fact, nevertheless, that the Kaṛlární Afgháns were the chief followers of Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík (*see* page 46 of these Notes), and his descendants, and that they still continue, more or less secretly, to follow their founder's doctrine to this day; and among them are most of the Afgháns of the Bangas'hát, who are called "*Shíás*" by English writers.

It is also a curious fact that Pír-i-Ros'hán himself, who was not a Aor-Maṛ Afghán, however, but of an Anṣárí family claiming to be of Ḳuraish descent, according to the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, his contemporary, came from Kární-Grám, where his family dwelt among the Aor-Maṛ Afgháns.

man, with a numerous family to provide for, Zakaríyá gave up the infant to his kinsman, 'Abd-ullah, who had no children, and took in exchange the iron cooking vessel, as previously related. When Kaṛlárnaey grew up, his adopted father obtained for him a daughter out of the Aor-Maṛ family; and, possibly, at this time, Aor-Maṛ himself was still alive.

The title "Sayyid" signifies "prince" and "lord," and is given to the descendants of the prophet Muḥammad, through 'Alí and the prophet's daughter, Fátimah; consequently, according to the tradition, the Shítak tribe are not wrong in stating that their ancestor, Kaṛlárnaey, was "the son of a prince," neither are the Khogíánís wrong in asserting that he was the son (adopted) of 'Abd-ullah, the Aor-Maṛ, all of which statements Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, in his book, wonders* at, and considers that it is quite evident therefrom "that *Kar-an*," as he styles Kaṛlárn or Kaṛlárnaey, "was not "of the lineage of Kais 'Abd-ur-Rashid, or, in other words, of the Afghán race." No one among the Afgháns has yet asserted that he was, but, as he had married an Afghán wife, and his descendants have done the same ever since, they have been accounted Afgháns by their Afghán kinsmen. The Khaṭaks alone have confused Honaey, the son of Sayyid Muḥammad, with the son of Sayyid Káb of the Dilazáks.

Some short time after this, a Sayyid, a pious Darwesh, came among them, and took up his residence near the dwelling places of the family of Sherán or Sheránaey, the father's brother of Aor-Maṛ; the family of Kákaṛ, son of Dánaey, son of Gharghusht, son of Kais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd; and the family of Kaṛlárnaey. He became their spiritual guide, and, in order to induce him to settle among them for good, each of the three families, or tribes as they now began to call themselves, gave him a daughter out of their tribe in marriage, but it does not follow, of course, for such is not possible, that either of the damsels were the very daughters of the progenitors of those tribes, but daughters *out* of the tribes, that is belonging to them.

By the Kaṛlární wife, this pious Darwesh, Sayyid Muḥammad, had two sons, Honaey and Waṛdag, who are the progenitors of the tribes called after them, and will be subsequently referred to.

Kaṛlárnaey, by his Aor-Maṛ wife, had two sons, Kodaey and Kakaey, but the Sulímání, before referred to, in his account of the Afgháns, distinctly states that he had another son, named Sulímán, whom all other writers make out to be Kaṛlárnaey's grandson, the son of his son, Kakaey. This statement of the Sulímání is worthy of credence, because there is a considerable discrepancy respecting the number of Kakaey's sons, which I shall presently notice again.

Kodaey, however, was the father of six sons, according to the Sulímání, and of seven sons according to others. By one wife he had Uṭmán, Dilazák, and Wurak; and, by another wife, Mánaey, Lukmán, *alias* Khaṭak, Khogaey, and Mangalaey, which last the Sulímání does not account a son of Kakaey.† Honaey and Waṛdag, sons of their sister, were adopted by Kaṛlárnaey, and therefore are named along with Kodaey's sons.

Khush-ḥál Khán, Khaṭak, differs from the other writers, for he says that Wurak, and Burhán, from whom the Dilazáks descend, are the sons of Kodaey; and that Lukmán, *alias* Khaṭak, Utmán, 'Uṣmán, and Jzadrárn, are descended *from one or another* of the sons of Kakaey—a very loose way of stating it—that Utmán and Uṣmán were by one mother, Lukmán by another, and that Jzadrárn was their father's

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* Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, appears to have confounded the Shaikh, Yaḥyá-i-Kabír, of Amír Tímúr's day with the Sayyid, Muḥammad-i-Gisú-Daráz.

There seems to be some ground for supposing that Khiẓr Khán, the first of the Sayyid dynasty of the Dihlí kingdom, who paid allegiance to Amír Timur, the Gúrgán, and his son, Mírzá Sháh Rukh, was an Afghán of Sayyid descent.

The historian, Kháfí Khán, who, like a good many others, cannot imagine how an Afghán can be a Sayyid-Zádah, nevertheless confirms in a measure this assertion, that Khiẓr Khán was himself a Sayyid-Zádah and an Afghán. He says, under the events of the year 1051 H (1641–42 A.D.), that, from the time of Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, the Shansabání Tájzík ruler of Ghaznín, and subsequently of Ghúr likewise, "during which time several thousand (*sic*, in MSS.) Bádsháhs have coined money in their own names, "and have had the khuṭbah read for them within different parts of the twenty-two provinces constituting the "empire of Hindústán, if history be carefully studied, it will be found that no person of real Sayyid "descent has ever reigned within it. Notwithstanding that two daughters of Sháh (*i.e.*, Sayyid) Nawáz "Khán, the Ṣafawí, were married to Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír, and his brother, Muḥammad-i-Murád-Bakhsh, "respectively, and had sons by them, such as 'Áẓam Sháh and Akbar Sháh; and that, in the same way, "daughters of other Sayyids married into the Tímúríah family, and from them came descendants, yet *not one* "*among them* became ruler of Hindústán. The only exception with regard to persons of Sayyid descent "among the rulers of Dihlí is Khiẓr Khán, and Malik Dá'úd, the Kaṛlární, ruler of Bangálah, who was of the "Afghán nation." Unfortunately, the writer does not say what tribe of Kaṛlárnís he belonged to.

† Mangalaey is the progenitor of the Mangalí tribe, which contains the three subdivisions of Mughbal, Jzadrárn or Jzandrán, and Bahádurzí. *See* page 78.

brother's son. All the other authorities I have quoted, with the exception of the Sulímání, who leaves him out from the number, say, that Jzadrárn is one of the sons of Mangalaey.

The Makhzan-i-Afgháni, and the Mir'át-ul-Afághinah, say, that Kodaey had seven sons, namely, Músá, Mangalaey, Dilazák, and Wurak, by one mother; and Wato, Honaey, and Wardag, by another; but, as before stated, the two last are his sister's sons adopted by him.

The account given by Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, is of course similar to the Makhzan, which he copies from, the only difference being that for Wato, progenitor of the Watozí, he has Túzí, the syllable "*wa*" having been left out.

The Khulásat-ul-Ansáb also says that Kodaey had seven sons, Utmán, Dilazák, and Wurak, by one mother; Mánaey (father of 'Usmán, *alias* Afrídaey), Lukmán, *alias* Khaṭak, Mangalaey, and Khogíánaey, by another, and adds, that, by some accounts, the latter is the son of Kakaey. This may be correct, and he may have been adopted by Kodaey; and, for this reason, probably, the Sulímání did not account him among Kodaey's sons.

The Sulímání says that Kakaey, second son of Karlárnaey, had two sons, Sulímán and Sharaf-ud-Dín, or, as the Afgháns style him, Shítak; and in this the Makhzan-i-Afghání, Mir'át-ul-Afághinah, and Khulásat-ul-Anṣáb agree. Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, here appears not to have copied the first work quite correctly, and, consequently, falls into utter confusion. He says that "Kakkai," as he calls him, had *four* sons, Burhán (who, Khush-ḥál says, was Kodaey's son); Khogíánaey (who, all say, was Kodaey's son); Sulímán; and Shítak; thus giving Kakaey two of Kodaey's sons. Then he makes out Utmán, Lukmán, *alias* Khaṭak (who, all agree, are Kodaey's sons), and Jzadrárn (who was one of Mangalaey's sons), to be *all* sons of Burhán, who, he says, was "Kakkai's" son, thus making them brothers of 'Usmán, *alias* Afrídaey, Khaṭak and Jzadrárn, while Khush-ḥál Khán says he (Burhán) was Kodaey's son, and the progenitor of the Dilazáks and Wurakzís.

For convenience I will name Shítak's sons first. They are styled Bannútsís from the tract they inhabit,* namely, Gíwaey, the progenitor of the Gíwí (mentioned by Bábar in his raid on Bannú)†, Ado, the progenitor of the Ado-zí, or Ado Khel, Dawar, whose name, as being the dwelling place of that section of the Shítaks, has passed to the territory they inhabit, which is described in a previous Section of these Notes,‡ Malakhaey [Malachi], and Surránaey,§ or Súrránaey.

Sulímán, son of Kakaey, son of Karlárnaey, had three sons, Wazír, Bá'í, and Malik Mír. The first mentioned is the progenitor of the Wazírís, who became a numerous race, and a separate branch, and independent tribe, some centuries ago. From the two latter spring the Bá'ízís and Malik-Mírís, the subdivisions of which two tribes are known as the "Akwám-i-Bangas'h," that is, the "clans inhabiting the territory "called Bangas'h;" for, as I have before stated, there is no tribe or section of a tribe, and never was, called Bangas'h.||

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* In his article on the "Banúchís," MacGregor tells us that they are "a mongrel tribe who inhabit the "subdivision of Banú in the district of the same name. They are descended from one Sháh Afrid, son "of Kakai, of the Karáni branch of the Afgháns, ... whose descendants were called Banúzai or "Banúchís by Hindús." The current account is given above. Such a person as "one Sháh Afrid" is unknown to them. *See* also note *, page 382, on Mr. Bellew's "Turklánrí people," or "Turk brotherhood."

† *See* page 360.

‡ Page 86.

§ Most of the names occurring in Routes Third, Fourth, and Fifth, to Eighth, from pages 74 to 81, and 85 to 94, such as Paráyá—not *Parba*, as in Hai'át Khán's book—Dirmán, Akobí, Khirmaná, Bakr Khel, Mando Khel, Babbal Khel, Mo-ton, Sibrí—not *Sabri*—Malakh, Drap Khel or Drapzí, Landar, Namará—not *Mamuri*—Paras Khel, etc., etc., are *all* names of sections or clans of the different Karlární tribes, for, with few exceptions, towards the western boundary of Upper Bangas'h, the Bangas'h territory *is exclusively held* by Karlárnís. The whole of those I have named, with the exception of the Afrídís, Wurakzís, Dilazáks, Khaṭaks, and Utmán Khel, and the Karlárnís of Koháṭ, dwell in Upper Bangas'h to this day, namely, the descendants of Mangalaey and Khogaey, sons of Kodaey, and of Sulímán and Shítak, sons of Kakaey. At one period all Khost was inhabited by the Khogíání. *See* note ||, page 425.

|| Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, in his book, gives a description of a tribe which he calls "*the Bangash tribe*," and imagines them to be a totally different people from the other Karlární Afgháns, (whom he invariably miscalls "Karránís"), because they claim "*Arab descent.*" He does not realize the fact that, if the Karlárnís are descended from a Sayyid progenitor, as all authorities, with the exceptions I have previously named, affirm, then, as a matter of course, they are *all* of 'Arab descent, not his "Bangash tribe" only. He does not refer in his book to any descendants of Sulímán but the Wazírí tribe; and *does not even mention the names* of the Malik-Mírís or the Kághzís, notwithstanding that the river of Koháṭ is called the Kághzí river after the latter, or that they constitute two tribes of Lower Bangas'h; and he makes a very weak attempt to show the origin of the name he gives to them, which is not their name but that of the country they inhabit.

The author of these surveys observes respecting them in these words :—

"The descendants of Malik Mír, on the side of his male offspring, are known as the Malik-Mírís, and also as the Míránzís, while the descendants on the side of his daughter, Kákha'h or Kágha'h, or Kakha'í or Kágha'í, for it is written either way, who, from the fact of her husband's name not being mentioned, was either his superior or else he was of no account or importance, are known as the Kákhzí or Kághzí.* These two branches contain several ramifications. Those branches at present dwelling in Lower Bangas'h, of which Kohát is the chief town, are the Bá'ízí, in which the chieftain-ship now lies;† the Shámilzí, from which came the Nawwáb, Muhammad Khán,‡ and others, the *Hákims* or rulers of Farrukh-ábád in Hindústán; and from among these three sub-tribes the *Sar-dár* or *Ra'is* of each is selected with the accord and assent of the people; and they pay allegiance to the present Sar-dár, Nawwáb Khán, who resides at Kohát, presently to be referred to. These three sub-tribes contain several branches, namely, the Bá'ízí, to whom belong the Mardo Khel, Ázú Khel, Lodí Khel, and Sháhú Khel; the Shámilzí branch, to whom belong the Landí, Hasan Khel, Músá Khel, and the 'Ísá Khel; and to the Míránzí or Malik-Mírí, the Hasanzí, Badah Khel, Khákhá Khel, and 'Umar Khel. These again have their subdivisions or clans, some of which, giving names to villages, have been previously mentioned in the different Routes. They amount altogether to between 10,000 and 12,000 families."§

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* "Jumping to conclusions from mere names," as Mr. Bellew says, "is not a safe course," but the most far-fetched attempt to derive the name of a tribe or clan is contained in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society "of Bengal," Vol. 49, for 1880, page 94, where we are informed that "the Kághzai" are descended from the daughter of Kágh, the minstrel (mentioned in the account of the Matís), and likewise "*the Bangash*" (for the writer evidently did not know that the Kághzí is one of the Bangas'h tribes), "*and the Sarwáni* Pathâns." I need scarcely add that the Kághzís of Lower Bangas'h are in no way connected with either Kágh the minstrel or his daughter, while the Sarwání Kághzís are, but between these and the Karlární Kághzís or Kákhzís there is no connection whatever. An account of their descent will be found in the next Section.

† When Afzal Khán, Khatak, finished his history, the chieftain-ship over the Lower Bangas'h Karlárnís was still held, as previously, by the Malik-Mírís, but, subsequently, the Bá'ízís got it. I shall refer to this farther on.

‡ This renowned chieftain, who founded Farrukh-ábád, and the Farrukh-ábád branch of the Bangas'h Karlárnís of Hindústán, was one of the most powerful and esteemed leaders of whom Hindústán can boast, and the record of his feats and warlike actions would fill a substantial volume. He first entered the service of the Dihlí Bádsháhs after the defeat at Khwájah in the Fath-púr district, abont twenty miles north of the latter place, of Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Jahán-dár Sháh, son of the Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, mentioned farther on, and attached himself to the service of Farrukh-Siyar Bádsháh, after whom he named the town. Farrukh-ábád is styled by one historian "the Afghánistán of Hindústán."

He founded other places besides Farrukh-ábád, and settled a colony of his Karlární kinsmen and clan at the former place. He first received the title of Nawwáb ; and, in Muharram, 1113 H. (November, 1720 A.D.), for his great services, received from Muhammad Sháh Bádsháh the title of Ghazanfar-i-Jang, that is, the Lion or Hero of Battle. He died full of years and honours in Shawwál, 1156 H. (December, 1743 A.D.), in his 81st year. The last of the Farrukh-ábád Nawwábs, Tafazzul Husain, by name (who was not "the old Nawáb," for he was only born in 1827, neither did he "expiate his treachery on the scaffold," for his conduct during the rebellion in India in 1857), was exiled to Makkah, for his misdeeds during that time, in 1859. He was a great-grandson of the Nawwáb, the Ghazanfar-i-Jang. I saw him on his way to Makkah.

Mr. W. Irvine, of the Bengal Civil Service, of Fath-garh, has translated some native works containing a history of the Nawwábs of Farrukh-ábád, which was published in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" in 1878. He makes, however, sad havoc, at times, among the Afghán and other proper names, and always turns Malik into *Malak*, which means "an angel;" and is led astray by Hai'át Khán's book, the "Haiyat-i-Afgháni," with respect to the Kághzi section of the Bangas'h Karlárnís, and other historical matter. *See* preceding note *.

§ The territory of Bangas'h is repeatedly referred to in Bábar's Tuzúk, in the histories of Humáyún Bádsháh's campaigns, and in the time of Akbar Bádsháh. It formed one of the *tománs* or districts of the Kábul *Sarkar*, and Kohát formed another—one was styled Upper and the other Lower Bangas'h. Unfortunately, the names of *all* the different Afghán tribes are not mentioned. For example, Abú-l-Fazl says that the inhabitants of the Kohát *tomán* are "Wurakzí *and others*," but, in another place, he mentions the Sháhú Khel as dwelling in the Baghzan *tomán*, and also the Wardag in the Bangas'h *tomán*, at which time they were assessed as being able to muster 500 horsemen and 2,500 foot for militia purposes, while the Khataks are rated at 2C0 horsemen and 4,000 foot, and the Afrídis at 500 horse and 2,500 foot, but in one or two copies of the Á'ín it is 10,000, and the Wurakzís at 5,500 foot. Kohát *tomán* is, at times, called Kohát *of* Bangas'h. *See* also page 74.

Notwithstanding these facts, and with the work of Bábar, the histories of Humáyún Bádsháh, and the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, under their very noses, so to say, after people had asserted that there is a tribe called Bangas'h, contrary to the statements of Afghán and other Muhammadan writers, it was necessary to provide a derivation for the name. Consequently, Hai'át Khán, Kathar, says, "the warlike and courageous Bangash relate"—or rather, Hai'át relates for them—"that their ancestor, Ismá'íl, who lived in Gardaiz, was the tenth in descent from "'Abd-ullah, son of Khálid, son of Walíd; and that the word 'Bangash' is a corruption of *Bunkash*, a name "*applied to Ismá'íl's two sons*, Gara and Samal, on account of the bitter enmity they bore each other." but, quite forgetting this statement, apparently, on the very next page he gives a tree of their descent, headed, "'Ismá'íl, *who is known as Bangash*." It will be perceived that all this about their ancestor merely refers to the Sayyid, Ismá'íl, son of Ja'far, mentioned in the tradition I have quoted several versions of, but that a purely Tájzík or Írání compound, like *bun kash*, ever became corrupted into Ban-gas'h or Ban-gak'h will scarcely be credited, more particularly too, seeing that Bangas'h was the name of a territory, and not a tribe, on undoubted authority, such as I have named.

"Gara" and "Samal," names applied by some recent writer to the Bangas'h Karlárnís, are merely distorted

From the time of the annexation of the Panj-áb and its dependencies in 1849, it was, and is still, supposed, that the tract of country held by a portion of this branch of the Karlární Afgháns of Bangas'h was properly called "Míranzái," and was not a part of Bangas'h, instead of its being, from early times, an integral part of the province known as Bangas'h-i-Pá'ín, or Lower Bangas'h. The name applied to it by the Panj-áb authorities is merely the name of the tribe, but that name could only be correctly applied to it, as applied by the natives themselves, as "the tract of country *held by*, or *inhabited by*," the Malik-Mírí Karlárnís of Bangas'h. It is also instructive to note, that all the authorities, and also "the masters of the subject," never once mention this tribe as called collectively the Malik-Mírí or Míránzí; and that they *invariably invert matters*, by calling all three of these Karlární Afghán *tribes*, namely, Malik-Mírí, Bá'ízí, and Kághzí, "*the Bangash tribe*," Bangas'h being the name of the country only, while they style a portion of the country "Míranzái," whereas Míránzí is the name of one of its tribes.

I have been obliged to enter into much greater detail than I intended, in these pages, respecting the Níází tribe and Karlárnís generally, but especially of the Khaṭaks and Shítaks, in order to correct the erroneous accounts which have been given respecting them; and, as there appear to be very strange ideas entertained regarding the Karlárnís of Lower Bangas'h, it will also be well to give some extracts from the writings of the Khaṭak Karlární historians, Khush-ḥál Khán, and Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, who had intimate connexions with them, and who are the only writers who enter into any detail respecting them. Their accounts likewise illustrate the geography of these parts, and furnish accounts of several routes and defiles that we know but little about.

The first historical mention that we have respecting the Afghán tribes who have dwelt in the territory called Bangas'h, divided into Higher and Lower, is contained in the Tuzúk of Bábar Bádsháh, and the chronicle of Báyazíd Beg, the Byát. Previous to the time of Bábar's acquisition of the Kábul province,* and even up to the time of his first raid in the direction of the Indus, the Dilazák Karlární Afgháns held the eastern parts of Nangnahár, Tí-ráh, the whole of the Pas'háur district south of the river of Kábul, as far as the banks of the Indus, extending from Jam-rúd to Aṭak, and southwards as far as the mountains bounding the present Pes'háwar district on the south, known to us as the Afrídí hills, while to the north of the river of Kábul they possessed all the country between the 'Ash-Naghar district and the Indus from west to east, and to the mountains bounding Suwát and Buner, on the north.

I have previously alluded to the great movement of Afghán tribes to the eastward at page 35; and other tribes, and sections of tribes, about the same time, had been moving eastwards likewise, one great cause of their doing so being the advent of an Afghán sovereign over the Dihlí kingdom, and Afghán governors in its western provinces.

The Bangas'h provinces, both Upper and Lower, had long been under the control of the Turk and Mughal rulers of the Ghazníwí empire, as the chief and most practicable routes between Ghaznín, Kábul, and India, and those followed by the sovereigns and commanders of those times, lay through them; and hence the Bangas'hát, as the two are generally styled, were better known. Nevertheless, up to the time of Akbar Bádsháh, we never find the name of Khaṭaks mentioned; and the Afrídís and Wurakzís are barely referred to by Bábar and Humáyún, but we constantly hear of Afgháns *of*

Gharah and Sama'h, signifying mountain and plain, or highland and lowland, which terms are applied to Upper and Lower Bangas'h respectively, and which, in time, became the name of two factions. The author of the history of the Farrukh-ábád Nawwábs says that Bangas'h signifies hill-country or highlands.

It is amusing, however, to notice how one statement becomes distorted by repetition. Captain T. C. Plowden, B. S. C., in his translation referred to in note ‡, page 376, says, that "*Khurram*," as he writes Kurma'h, "was *their ancient seat* [Haí'át says Gardaiz]," and that "they are a tribe *of Arab, not Afghán* "*origin*." Here again the 'Arab descent of their progenitor, Karlárnaey, is referred to. In the 1st Vol. of "Central Asia," page 165, MacGregor says that the name of this tribe "is derived from 'ban' [but *bun*, not "*ban*, means root], a root, and 'kashtan,' to tear up, meaning that the Bankash were such thorough-going "Radicals that they exterminated, or tore up by the roots, all who interfered with their interests, or possessed "what they coveted."

In his book, entitled "A Political Mission to Afghanistan," before referred to, Mr. Bellew says (page 57), "The principal of these tribes, who, though *Pukhtun* in common with the whole nation, are nevertheless, not "Afghán [and yet, in his 'Pukshto Dictionary,' Pukkhtún is said to signify '*An Afghán, a Pathán*'], are the "*Afrídí, Bangash*," etc. In his latest book he gives their picture the final touches. At page 77 he writes, "respecting the origin of the *Afrídí*, Arakzai [Wurakzí are referred to], and *Bangash, very little is known*, "though they are perhaps, of *Sythic* descent." *See* the previous note *, page 382, and note *, page 35.

* History sufficiently shows that previous to the time of Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, there were no Afgháns of any tribe whatever settled in the Pes'háwar district, or north of it. The Dilazáks were the first who did so, Herodotus notwithstanding.

Bangas'h. Bábar mentions that those parts around, namely, Bannú, Bázár, and Ṭák, were peopled by the Afghán tribes or *ulúsís* of Kaṛání, that is Kaṛlární, namely, Gíwí [a section or sub-tribe of the Shítaks, descended from Gíwaey, Shítak's son], Súr, 'Ísá Khel, and Níází, at which time the Gíwí dwelt in the northern part of Bannú.

Respecting his raid from Jám-rúd* into those parts, noticed at page 360, he says that, "after reaching the Bagrám (Pas'háur) district, it was considered what route "should be taken with the view of crossing the Sind or Indus;" and that "Báḳí, the "Chaghnání, stated that there was no necessity for so doing, as there was a populous "place only two days' journey from where they then were, called Kohat [Koháṭ], the "people of which were rich in cattle, flocks, and other property. Some Kábulís "brought forward also confirmed this. I had never heard of this place before;† so "we marched from the Jám Rúd [the Jám river], and, having crossed the river of "Báṛa'h, we encamped near the Muḥammadí *Faj* or Pass, and Abání, where, at that "time, there were Gagyání Afgháns." Next day Koháṭ was assailed and plundered, and a number of the Afgháns made captive, but were again set at liberty.

It was shortly after this that the Dilazáks were driven out of their territory north of the river of Kábul by the Khas'hís, as related at page 221; and a few years after that again, they were deprived of the whole of the remainder, lying south of that river, by the Ghwaríah Khel, the supporters of Mírzá Kámrán, Bábar's son. Even when Humáyún Bádsháh moved from Kábul to punish them and others for sheltering his rebellious brother, after his defeat described at page 55, in which Mírzá Hindál was killed, when his, the Bádsháh's, forces reached Baghzan from Logar by the Gardaiz *Kotal*, the 'Abd-ur-Raḥmání, Barmazídí, Waṛdag, and Búbú Khel Afgháns, moved away towards Buland Khel, where an encounter took place with them, and near Darsamand likewise.

These are some of the names of Kaṛlární tribes and clans, the Buland Khel and Darsamand being names of sections among the Míránzí, after whom, as in numerous other instances, their villages are named.‡

The Kaṛlární Afgháns, generally, were disciples of Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík, particularly those of Bangas'h, who, even up to the present day, either openly or secretly, still follow his doctrines, a little modified, probably; hence English writers and compilers, unacquainted with the facts, and the difference between the two doctrines, style them "*Shías*," but the Shí'as regard them as heretics, though they are not so bitter against them as the Súnís are. They may be styled Ismá'ílís or Mulḥáhidah; for, in many respects, the tenets and proceedings of Báyazíd, the Anṣárí, have a manifest analogy to those of Ḥasan-i-Sabbáh, the Mulḥid;§ and Ághá Khán, the Persian prince, who lately died at Bombay, was looked upon, in his lifetime, as their head. The tenets of the Ros'hánís or Táríkís I have elsewhere explained. This attachment to that heresy brought vast misery upon many Afghán tribes, but on the Kaṛlárnís chiefly, and on the tribes of that division of the Afghán nation inhabiting Bangas'h more particularly; for the Mughal government had constantly to organize expeditions against the heretics in their attempts to crush them, the scene of which expeditions extended over a great area—from Kábul to Aṭak, and from Ghaznín to the borders of Chitrál, but the centre was Tí-ráh and Upper Bangas'h, which were the chief strongholds of these schismatics.

It was many years after Bábar Bádsháh acquired possession of Kábul, and when the whole of the territories of Khurásán, the countries on the Oxus, the provinces of Kábul and Ḳandahár, the Panj-áb, and the Dihlí kingdom, were all, more or less, in a state of confusion, that the Khaṭaks, having separated from their kinsmen, the Shítak Kaṛlárnís, began to move towards the north-east in search of a better dwelling place; and they proceeded towards the Lowá-Ghaṛ range, Karboghah, Ṭíraey, into Tsautara'h, to Ilάchí, or Láchí as it is also called, and the Shakar Dara'h, in the

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* Jam-rúd of the present time.

† He mentions the *Tomán* of Bangas'h in his Tuzúk, and says that other important matters had prevented him from bringing it under his sway, and that it paid revenue to no one. Koháṭ is not mentioned.

MacGregor, referring to "the Bangas'h tribe," says in his "Central Asia," Vol. I., page 166, that the "Emperor *Bábár* (1504) enumerates *this tribe* as inhabiting one of the 14 provinces then dependent on ***Kábal*** "[Kábul ?], so that their settlement is of very ancient date."

I cannot agree with him as to the enumeration of "*this* tribe." I have examined several MSS. of Bábar Bádsháh's work in the original, and the following are his words:—"Another *tomán* (province) is Bangas'h;" and this, with the exception of the remarks in the first paragraph of this note, is all he says about it. He makes *no mention of any tribe styled Bangas'h.*

‡ That is to say, what we call Buland Khel is merely "the village inhabited *by* the Buland Khel;" and "Darsamand," in the same manner, means "the village peopled *by* the Darsamand clan."

§ *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 1187, and note ‡, page 384.

direction of the Indus.* At this time Lower Bangas'h or Koháṭ, as far east as the Resa'í Ferry on the Indus, was in the possession of the Wurakzí tribe of Karlárnís.

About the same time, this, the Wurakzí, territory was invaded by the Karlárnís, hitherto dwelling in Upper or Higher Bangas'h, or Kurma'h,† namely, the Bá'ízís, Malik-Mírís, and Kághzís—the Wazírs, or Wazírís, the remaining tribe of the four, descended from Sulímán, son of Kakaey, son of Karlárnaey, having become very numerous, had separated from the other branches, and become an independent tribe, some time previously—who, from some cause or other, were forced eastwards like other Afghán tribes. Some of those Bangas'h Karlárnís still dwell in Kurma'h, but almost in a state of vassalage to the Túrís, the descendants of Túr, or Túraey, who was one of the two adopted sons of Khogaey, son of Kodaey, son of Karlárnaey, Dzádzaey being the other. The descendants of both are included among the Karlární tribes of Upper Bangas'h, but, as previously mentioned, the Túrís and Dzádzís are supposed to be of Turkish descent; and they have been settled, as history shows, where they now dwell, nearly seven centuries.‡

At this time that the Bá'ízís, Malik-Mírís, and Kághzís, moved towards the territory of Koháṭ or Lower Bangas'h, the Khaṭaks were at feud with the Wurakzí tribe [whose lands they coveted ?]; and they joined the former against them. Two battles, which decided the fate of the territory, and secured its eastern, or lowland parts, to the confederates, are said to have taken place respectively at Ṭápí and Muḥammadzí (villages bearing names of clans of the Bá'ízís, near the town of Koháṭ); and the Wurakzís began to retire westwards into Tí-ráh, and the mountain fastnesses adjoining it on the north and west, where they still continue to dwell,§ while the Khaṭaks pushed farther eastwards towards Níl-áb, Paṭí-yála'h, and Súniálah on the Indus.

That these events did not take place as early as has been supposed, and that they took place gradually, is proved from the fact, that, in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, under the *Tomán* of Bangas'h, of the *Sarkár* of Kábul, and *Ṣúbah* of Kábul, the Wurakzís, or Ŭrakzís,‖ as they are sometimes called, are rated as being able to furnish 500 horsemen, and 5,500 footmen, for militia purposes. In another place they are assessed, *in the Koháṭ district*, as paying 701,620 *dáms* of revenue; and no other tribes or clans are mentioned.¶ The Khaṭaks and Afrídís are, however, included with them and other tribes *in the Bangas'h Tomán*,** the former being assessed at 200 horsemen, and 4,000 footmen, and the latter at 500 horsemen, and 10,000 foot.

At this time likewise, Dawaṛ, Bannú, and 'Ísá Khel, are set down as including one *Sarkár* of the *Ṣúbah* of Kábul; and all that is said respecting it is that its inhabitants are *all* Afgháns,†† consisting chiefly of Sorrání, Kaṛání, that is, Karlární, and

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* It is a curious fact, and proves what I have mentioned respecting the movements of the Karlární tribes, that, among all the various tribes mentioned as being allies of the Khas'hís and the Gharís or Ghwaríah Khel at the battle at Shaikh Tapúr, mentioned at page 227, the only Karlární tribe noticed, as being in the neighbouring parts, is the Khaṭaks. The Shinwárís and Zá Khel are noticed among the allies of the Ghwaríah Khel, while the Khaṭaks are said, subsequently, to have sometimes joined Khán Kajú when he mustered all his dependants; but they were not engaged in that battle.

† Turned into "Kúram," "Khurram," "Khooroom," and "Kurram," in our maps and gazetteers. *See* also note †, page 354.

‡ *See* page 82. *See* also note *, page 394, where the author of the "Bádsháh Námah," in referring to the different tribes which joined in the attack on Pes'háwar, styles Afghán tribes "*ulus*," but the Dzádzís and Túrís he styles "*í-máks*." Both are Turkish words, but, while *ulus* has been commonly used for Afghán tribes, *í-mák* is never used except for tribes of Turk descent. The distinction made is certainly curious in connection with the tradition of their Turkish extraction.

§ Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, in his book, asserts that "the Bangash, about 500 years since, pouring down into "Kurram, Pewar, and Shaluzan, took possession of the country south of the Koh-i-Sufed," and that "about "100 years after this [all his dates are in round numbers of hundreds] began their struggle with the Orakzai," but these statements are purely imaginary; for not a shadow of proof exists to confirm them, not even in "the histories of Afghanistan, all of which relate" this, that, and the other, which histories he often mentions, but of which, for good reason, he could not probably furnish a single name or title.

‖ But not "Orakzái."

¶ Consequently, "the Bangashes," who "are a tribe of *Arab*, not Afghán origin," according to Captain T. C. Plowden, B.S.C. (who, like others, makes 'Arabs of *these* Karlárnís, but not of the rest of them descended from the same progenitor), could not have held the Koháṭ district before 1500 A.D., which is equivalent to 906 H.; for we may take the official Gazetteer of the Mughal empire to be a tolerably trustworthy authority. *See* page 358, and note †.

** It will be noticed that, in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, all other districts to the west are, like Bangas'h, called *tománs*, after the Turkish fashion.

†† The exact words in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí are:—"It is chiefly peopled by the Afgháns—the author makes no "difference between Afgháns and Paṭáns for good reason—and is the dwelling place of the Kaṛlání, Sorrání, "and Wazír."

In some copies of the text, the scribes being in doubt, wrote "Shirání," Surání, and Shirání in the two last instances, possibly, because the name was more familiar to them. The name of the Karlární tribe is written سوراني, but the name of the Sharkabún tribe of Sherání is written شيراني. The similarity of the two names caused the mistake. *See* page 386.

Wazírí, showing that the latter had separated from the parent stock previous to that time. The number of men these Afgháns were able to furnish is not given, neither is any amount of revenue mentioned, thus showing that little was known about them, that they were quite independent, and that the so-called "*Sarkár*" was a province but in name, like the so-called "*Sarkár*" of Suwád or Suwát at the same period.

It was only during the time of Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík, that the former inhabitants of Tí-ráh, who are known as Tí-ráhís, and appear to have been a Tájzík race,* were expelled from thence by him and his disciples. The Tí-ráhís were suspected of backsliding from the Ros'hánían tenets, and of being, at heart, inclined towards the Mughals, which was correct; for they had been playing double, and intriguing with them. This was before the Pír-i-Tárík's own overthrow at Baro by Muḥsin Khán, related at page 48. After having induced 300 odd Tí-ráhís to present themselves before him with their hands bound, that they might receive "absolution "for their backsliding," they were separately put to death in such wise that not one knew the fate of the others. The remnant of them fled into Nangnahár, where they took up their residence. On this, the Afrídís and Wurakzís *first occupied Tí-ráh.* There were some Utmán Khel Karlárnís there at the time, dwelling about Tsat, who, being weak, and a feud arising between them and the Afrídís, vacated Tí-ráh, and went into Arhang Barhang, on the road to Bájawr, where great part of their tribe were already settled.†

After these events happened, the battle took place between the Ros'hánís, *alias* Táríkís, and the Daulatzí Wurakzís, and the Mughals, at the Lo-e Sang-Pájzah Ghás'haey, or Great Sang-Pájzah Pass, the date of which, unfortunately, is not given by Khush-ḥál, but it was during the time that the great Mahábat Khán was Súbahdár of the province of Kábul, and when Khush-ḥál Khán was in his eighth year.‡ As he was born in 1022 H. (1613 A.D.), this would bring us to the beginning of the seventh year of Jahán-gír Bádsháh's reign; and it must have been fought some time towards the close of 1029 H. (1619 A.D.), or early in 1030 H. (1620 A.D.), because the Ikbál Námah-i-Jahán-gírí, and other histories of that reign, inform us, that, when the Bádsháh was on his way to Kash-mír in the latter part of 1029 H.,§ as Mahábat Khán, for a considerable period, had not been at Court, command was issued to him, that, if he was so satisfied with the state of that mountainous part that he could with safety leave it for a time, to come unincumbered and slightly attended; and, the day before Jahán-gír Bádsháh reached the fortress of Ruhtás, he arrived. A few days after he returned to his post, and it was soon after this, I believe, that the disaster happened.

Khush-ḥál Khán says, that the great Mahábat Khán, at the instigation of some Ghwaríah Khels and Bangas'h Karlárnís, cut off some 300 Daulatzí Wurakzís,¶ including two sons of Malik Asghar, the Daulatzí chief, after feasting them, and getting them to give up their arms, under pretence of conferring honorary dresses upon them. The plea was, that, by doing so, the strength of Ilḥdád, the Ros'hání,**

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* They had a language of their own, and were, doubtless, of Tájzík descent. *See* note §, page 380.

† Mr. Bellew (in his book previously referred to, page 71) considers it a remarkable circumstance in the history of the march of the two Afghán tribes ("Yúsufzai and Mandar") that they traversed the "Khybar "Pass without coming into collision with its Afrídí possessors." The reason is clear enough from the facts above stated. The Afrídís were not located near the Khaibar Pass at that time, nor for nearly a century later; and the period at which they did take possession of Tí-ráh is well authenticated.

The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, in his "Tazkirat," referring to the people of Nangnahár, says, that they remained unmolested in their country "until they became tainted with the heretical doctrines of the Táríkís, and "suffered dire calamities in consequence, like as the people of Tí-ráh suffered through the Pír-i-Tárík "and his doctrines, *who were carried away into captivity, and their country fell into the possession of the "Afrídís.*"

The facts related above by Khush-ḥál Khán, and the extracts from the contemporary writers given in these "Notes," fix the date of Afrídí occupation of Tí-ráh. *See* page 223.

‡ Sháh Beg, the Khán-i-Daurán—that is, "The Khán of the Age," but "Khan Dauran," or "Khán Dúrán," is meaningless—had, upon several occasions, applied to be relieved of the government of the province of Kábul, on account of his age and increasing infirmities, which rendered him unable to endure the fatigues of horseback, and the severity of the climate of Kábul. In the year 1026 H. (1616 A.D.), soon after the festival of the No-Roz or Vernal Equinox, the petition of the Khán-i-Daurán was again specially submitted. "At this time," says Jahán-gír Bádsháh, in his Autobiography, "I appointed Mahábat Khán to the "government of Kábul and Bangas'h, and presented him with a dress of honour, a horse, and an elephant." The Khán-i-Daurán was appointed Súbah-dár of Ṭhaṭhah, probably because he was an Arghún Mughal of the family which had ruled in Sindh. In 1028 H., however, he requested to be permitted to resign active service altogether. The Bádsháh, accordingly, conferred upon him the *parganah* of Khúsh-áb, in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, which had been one of his former *jágírs*, and yielded 75,000 rúpís yearly, by way of pension. His sons, likewise, according to their capacities and deserts, were assigned *jágírs* and rank.

§ The year 1029 H. commenced on the 27th November, 1619 A.D., and the Bádsháh set out in the following month of September. He was then in Kash-mír, where he remained some time. *See* note ‡, page 392.

¶ Malik Asghar, after this, gave up the chieftain-ship to his kinsman, Malik Túr, mentioned at page 394.

** He was the son of Shaikh 'Umar, Báyazíd, the Anṣárí's eldest son. Jalálah, otherwise Mián Jalál-ud-Dín, was Báyazíd's fifth son.

would be quite broken in Tí-ráh, and his cause ruined. After this act of treachery, he says, "Ghairat Khán was despatched, along with twenty-two other officers of "rank, at the head of a large force, against Tí-ráh by way of Kohát. They took up "a position in the lands of the Ismá'ílzís, which are Wághoz and Sam, at the foot of "the Lo-e Sang-Pájzah Ghás'haey, or Great Sang-Pájzah Pass. The Daulatzís "under Malik Túr, and Ros'hánís under Ihdád, occupied the crest of the pass, which "was defended by *sangars* or breastworks.*

"Next morning, the Mughal forces having made their dispositions, commenced the "ascent, and began the attack. Ghairat Khán with one body was to assail the "*sangar* of the Daulatzí Wurakzís, and the Ráj-púts that of the Ros'hánís. On "reaching the crest of the pass, Ghairat Khán, who was in advance, was encountered "by Panjú, a Wurakzí of the Fírúz Khán Khel, who closed with him, and both fell "rolling one over the other. Panjú cried out to his clansmen, 'Strike! kill me along "'with him, only don't let him escape!' and they did so, and they were killed locked "firmly in each other's embrace." This act of self-sacrifice, worthy of comparison with the feats of any Greek or Roman, but particularly in an Afghán, whom the "masters of the subject" declare have not a spark of patriotism in their nature, brought about the defeat of the Mughals. They were overthrown, with great slaughter, the Afgháns also losing heavily, but among other booty captured by the Afgháns and Ros'hánís there were no less than 5,000 horses, thus showing the extent of the disaster. "After this," Khush-hál says, "the Mughals could effect nothing; "and Mahábat Khán was recalled," but, as I have shown below, he was, according to the Mughal historians, recalled for other important reasons.† They make no mention of this disaster.‡

In the fifth month of 1031 H. (April, 1622, A.D.), when Jahán-gír Bádsháh was again on his way to Kash-mír, Mahábat Khán was again sent for. He came in Jamádí-ul-Awwal, the fifth month, while the Bádsháh was at Hasan-i-Abdál, and was again permitted to return to his government from Pakhla'í. When Kandahár was threatened by the Kazil-báshís, and Prince Khurram, entitled Sháh-i-Jahán, showed symptoms of disaffection, the Bádsháh, when he returned from Kash-mír to Láhor, directed Mahábat Khán to leave his son, Amán-ullah Khán, who was raised to the dignity of commander of 3,000, as his deputy at Kábul, and join him. Mahábat Khán, for many years after, was employed in Bangálah, the Dakhan, and other parts; and, according to the histories of this reign, never returned to Kábul as its Súbah-dár; and, when, in 1032 H. (began 25th October, 1622 A.D.), the Úzbaks invaded the province of Kábul, his son, Khánah-zád Khán, held the authority, and defeated the invaders. Towards the close of the same year, at his father's request, he was recalled to serve under him in southern India; and the Khwájah, Abú-l-Hasan, was made Súbah-dár of Kábul. It was during his term of office that Ihdád, the Ros'hání, was killed.

* This very important pass crosses the Lo-e Sang-Pájzah range, after which it is called, but this name, so well known in Afghán geography, does not appear as yet in any of our maps. It is one of three passes leading into that part of Tí-ráh still belonging to those Wurakzí Afgháns mentioned above, from the south, or Kohát side. Although not the shortest of the three, it is, by far, the easiest. The *ghás'haey* is not very high, and, with little labour, can be made perfectly practicable for artillery and baggage animals. The road follows the course of the river of Kohát, or river of the Kághzí, as far west as Wághoz, above mentioned, and a little farther west turns to the north over the range.

† He was recalled as being the only noble capable of opposing the Prince Khurram, entitled Sháh-i-Jahán, who would not obey his father's orders in proceeding to Kandahár at the head of an army, when threatened by the Kazil-báshís, and whose misconduct brought about the loss of that stronghold. Mahábat Khán was directed to leave his son, Amán-ullah Khán, who was raised by increase of rank to 3,000 *zát*, and 1,700 horse, as his deputy in the province of Kábul, and hasten to Court, where he arrived at the close of the fifteenth year of the reign, 1032 H. (1622–23 A.D.). He was subsequently employed in the Dakhan and other parts, in conjunction with the Prince. Two years after, in 1034 H. (1624–25 A.D.), Mahábat Khán's other son, Khánah-zád Khán, who had been left at Kábul as his deputy, and in command of his father's own contingent troops serving in that province, after Amán-ullah had been sent for by his father, being likewise required with his troops, was, at his father's request, also recalled; and the Súbah-dárí of Kábul was conferred upon the Khwájah, Abú-l-Hasan. His son, Ihsán-ullah Khán, was sent to the province as his deputy, with orders to entertain, for that service, 5,000 horse, the contingent of his father; and the title of Zafar (more correctly called Muzaffar) Khán was conferred upon him. He will be again referred to farther on.

‡ Jahán-gír Bádsháh, with more honesty than the historians of his reign, refers to this affair in his Autobiography, as happening "about this time," under the events of the latter part of the year 1029 H. (1618 A.D.), the fifteenth of his reign. He says:—

"Among the events of this period were the deaths of the Sayyid, I'zzat, entitled Ghairat Khán, and Jalál Khán, the Gakhar, who were serving with their forces in Bangas'h, which happened on this wise. When the time came round for gathering in the harvest in that part, Mahábat Khán appointed a force to march into the Kohistán, and to feed their horses upon the harvest of the Afgháns [Jahán-gír, it will be noticed likewise, makes no difference between Afgháns and Patáns; and he is right]; and not to spare themselves in assailing, slaying, capturing, and harrying them, as much as possible. It so happened, that, when the servants of the State reached the foot of a certain *kotal*, the Afgháns assembled in great numbers, and occupied the crest of the pass, and there began to fortify themselves. Jalál Khán, who was an experienced officer, and had performed much good service in his time, thought it advisable to halt there [at the foot of the *kotal*] for two

I may be permitted to observe, that, like the account of Prince Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh's march to Ḳandahár, and many other historical facts contained in these pages, the mention of the Sang-Pájzah disaster has never appeared before in any other work.

It was over six years after this defeat, while the Khwájah, Abú-l-Ḥasan, was Ṣúbah-dár, that his son (and deputy), Muẓaffar Khán, sent in the head of Iḥdád. Yalang-Tosh, the Úzbak leader, having invaded the Kábul province, moved towards Ghaznín, on which, Muẓaffar Khán, son of the Ṣúbah-dár, had to march against the invader with the available troops of the Kábul province. On this, Iḥdád, at the instigation of Yalang-Tosh, came out of Tí-ráh, and recommenced his depredations upon the parts around, but, in the meantime, Yalang-Tosh, having repented of his proceedings, sent to Muẓaffar Khán, and came to terms with him, and departed.

Thus released from the Úzbak invader, Muẓaffar Khán marched against Iḥdád by the Sugáwand pass* and Gardaiz, on becoming aware of which, and Yalang-Tosh's retirement, Iḥdád, finding he could not effect anything, retreated to the Lowá-Ghaṟ (range);† and therein he constructed *sangars*, and made a strong place of shelter for himself and followers, well stored and provisioned.

A deal of fighting went on between the Ros'hánís and the Mughal forces under Muẓaffar Khán for five or six months,‡ but, on Saturday, the 7th of Jamádí-ul-Awwal —the sixth month—1035 H. (February, 1626 A.D.), the twentieth year of the Bádsháh's reign, when moving from one *sangar* to another, while the fighting was going on, Iḥdád was killed by a bullet. His head, leading staff, and signet ring, were brought to the Bádsháh from Bangas'h, by Iftikhár§ Khán, son of Aḥmad Beg Khán, Kábulí, when about to proceed to Kábul from Láhor. The Bádsháh was much delighted thereat, and gave thanks to the Almighty for the same, and the drums were beaten for joy at this success. Orders were given that the arch-rebel's head should be taken to Láhor and suspended over one of the gateways.

"Iḥdád's followers," says Khush-ḥál Khán, "dispersed in different directions. There is a strong place in the Lowá-Ghaṟ (range), and the Khwaramah [Khaṭak] *ḳabíla'h* or clan ascended to it, and escaped. Then 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir, Iḥdád's son, and Alá'í, the beautiful wife of Iḥdád, who was beloved by all the Ro'shánís, came into Tí-ráh again; and about this time, in Ṣafar, the second month of 1037 H. (October, 1627 A.D.), Jahán-gír Bádsháh died [at Chingiz Haṭí in the Panj-áb]; and Lashkar Khán became Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul and the Bangas'hát, in place of Muẓaffar Khán, son of the Khwájah, Abú-l-Ḥasan.‖

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or three days, until such time as the food which the Afgháns had brought on their backs to serve them for a few days should be expended; for then, he supposed, they would become helpless and distracted, and disperse of their own accord; that the troops along with them would then be able to get through the pass, which was so difficult, with ease; and that, after that, no others would venture to face them.

"Ghairat Khán, who was one of the hottest temperament, and ever ready to rush upon his foes, on the contrary, did not approve of Jalál Khán's prudent advice, and determined upon attacking the Afgháns forthwith. Accompanied by some of the Saiyyds of Bárhah, he began the ascent [the rest of the troops, of course, supporting the attack]; and the Afgháns, like unto ants and locusts, collecting from different parts [of the hills and *Kotal*], completely surrounded this attacking force. In this *melée*, the enemy hamstrung the horse of Ghairat Khán, and, having thus dismounted him, soon despatched him and his comrades. At this time that Ghairat Khán made his attack upon the enemy, Jalál Khán, Gakhar, Mas'úd, son of Aḥmad Beg Khán, Pajzan [in some Bejzan], son of Nad 'Alí, the Maidání, and other servants of the State, fearing for their lives [*sic* in MSS.], and unable to stand their ground [from this it appears that the Afgháns fell upon them likewise], and, almost against their will, turned and fled from every part of the *Kotal*. The Afgháns, crowding from different parts of the *Kotal* above, plied them with stones and arrows, surrounded the fugitives, and slew the greater number of the troops most mercilessly [as they would have slain the Afgháns, if they could]. Among the slain were Jalál Khán, and Mas'úd; and all this loss was sustained through the rash and reckless zeal of Ghairat Khán.

"Mahábat Khán, hearing of this disaster, despatched a fresh force to the aid of the remnant of the defeated troops, and made a re-disposition of the different posts, and strengthened them still more. Wherever any Afgháns could be found, they were slain."

Such is Jahán-gír Bádsháh's account of this disaster, but he does not mention the precise date or place. The news appears to have reached him in Kash-mír shortly before his return.

* *See* pages 72, 73, and 74. † *See* page 374, note *, and 429, and note ‡.

‡ The Iḳbál Námah-i-Jahán-gírí says "fifty-two days."

§ The Iḳbál Námah-i-Jahán-gírí calls him Sardár Khán, son of Aḥmad Beg.

‖ When Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh came to the throne, Zafar, or, more correctly, Muẓaffar Khán, son of the Khwájah, Abú-l-Ḥasan, was governor of the territories of Kábul and the Bangas'hát. The Bádsháh Námah says:—

"The Bádsháh, however, during the first year of his reign, removed him. He had been sent to administer the affairs of those parts as the deputy of his father; and, on the accession of Sháh-i Jahán, he was made Ṣúbah-dár. The Bádsháh, subsequently, discovered that Muẓaffar Khán, at the very time that 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir, son of Iḥdád (which last-named rebel had been previously killed when attacked by Muẓaffar Khán in his stronghold in the Lowá-Ghaṟ), was in the Karmanah [Karmán] Dara'h, a dependency of Tí-ráh, having heard of the decease of Jahán-gír Bádsháh, sent off several of the nobles and officers serving under him to Kábul, and came himself to Pas'háur, from which, after having arranged affairs, the season for returning to Kábul having come round, he set out. He was strongly advised by the most experienced persons not to attempt to proceed to Kábul at that time [the death of a sovereign or governor immediately caused convulsions], but he would not give ear to their advice. He marched by way of the *Kotal* of Shádí Bhagyár [*see* page 39, and note §. Afgháns

"The season having come round for the Ṣúbah-dár to proceed to Kábul, he marched thither from Pas'háur, upon which 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir and the Ros'hánís assembled in great numbers, and moved against Pas'háur itself, entered the city, and slew the Deputy of the Ṣúbah-dár. All the Afghán *ulusis* or tribes of the country round Pas'háur now agreed, with one accord, to rise against the Mughals, with the exception of three, namely, the Pas'háur *ḳabíla'hs* (the Khalíls, Mahmands, and Dá'údzís), the Khaṭaks, and the Daulatzí Wurakzís. The Arbábs of the two former, and Sháh-báz Khán, father of Khush-ḥál Khán, who was Arbáb of the Khaṭaks, were with the Mughals at Pas'háur; and Malik Túr and the Daulatzí Wurakzís were at Aṭak [with their contingents].

"The Mughal garrison of Pas'háur had to throw themselves into the citadel; and the place was completely invested. At this time, Sa'íd Khán [son of Aḥmad Beg Khán, the Mughal Tarkhán, and brother of Iftikhár Khán, the same who brought Iḥdád's head to the Bádsháh], who was Fowj-dár of Bangas'h, prepared to march [from Koháṭ] to the relief of the garrison. At first, 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir and his forces undertook the investment alone, but, when the other *ulusis* or tribes assembled to aid him, with the usual stupidity and wrong-headedness of Pus'htúns [*i.e.*, Afgháns], they became jealous of him whom they came to support, thinking that he was taking all the credit to himself. They began to speak in no friendly manner about him; and he, knowing therefrom that they would in all probability intrigue with the Mughals, feared lest they might betray him into their hands. Such being the case, he decamped one night and retired into Tí-ráh again; and the different *ulusis* meditated upon dispersing. Sa'íd Khán, from Koháṭ, having now arrived upon the scene, and news of the partial dispersion of the investors having become known to the garrison, they issued from the citadel, and, in conjunction with him, attacked the Afgháns that remained, slew a great number, many having been caught within the city unaware of the dispersion of the others, and put them to the rout. In this affair a great number of Yúsufzís and Gagyánís were also killed."*

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generally eschew the '*h*' in Sanskrit letters like '*gh*'—*see* note *, page 196—and call it Shádí Bagyáṛa'í] and the Khaibar; and, through his youth and inexperience, without taking even ordinary precautions on his march.

"Suddenly, the beast-of-prey-like Wurakzís and Afrídís, who are two branches of the many-branched, tumult-raising, Afághinah of this mountainous tract, who, although outwardly obedient servitors, are inwardly rebellious, delight in disorder, and are ever ready to plunder and molest, occupied the road in his front, and began to plunder the baggage of his force. As he left no officer of experience to guard his rear, a deal of property was carried off; and he did nothing to remedy this disorder, nor the loss and damage sustained by his troops and camp followers, and neither halted nor turned back to aid them. On this account, Lashkar Khán was now sent as Ṣúbah-dár; and a force of 15,000 horse, consisting of the troops of the Sayyids of Báṛhah, Bukhárís, Afgháns [of Hind], and Ráj-púts, on different dates, were despatched to serve under him in that province."

The Dábistán gives a few more particulars respecting this affair, and does not attempt to conceal the whole truth. It states that, "After the death of Iḥdád [whose name. by-the-by, is not 'Ahdad'], his son, Karím-"Dád, and his mother, came into Tí-ráh, and Ẕafar [*i.e.*, Muẕaffar] Khán was attacked by him and his "supporters. Ẕafar fled with the utmost precipitation, while all his baggage, with the beauties of his *ḥaram*, "fell into the hands of the Afgháns; and only one of his wives, Buzarg Khánam by name, was preserved from "violation, and that only through the resolute efforts of Sa'íd Khán [the same who behaved so well when "Pes'háwar was invested, mentioned in the text above], son of Aḥmad Beg Khán, the Tarkhán Mughal, and "other warriors."

* There are two sides to this story; and the historians of Sháh-i-Jahán's reign give some of the Khaṭaks credit for being on the rebel side. The "escape" of the Khwaṛama'h Khaṭaks, mentioned in tbe preceding page, confirms it.

The author of the "Bádsháh Námah" says the Afgháns around Pas'háur broke out, invested that place, occupied the city, and assaulted the citadel. This was done, he says, at the instigation of the Khán-i-Jahán, the Lodí [the author of the Mir'át-ul-Afághinah, previously referred to at page 344], by Kamál-ud-Dín, the son of the Shaikh, Rukn-ud-Dín, Rohelah [*i.e.*, Afghán of Roh], who, in the time of Muḥammad Jahán-gír Bádsháh, was raised to the rank of commander of 4,000 horse, and the title of Sher Khán. Most of the tribes from Aṭak to near Kábul, and other parts, were engaged in this outbreak, and agreed first to attack Pas'háur. Sa'íd Khán, who was stationed at Koháṭ, hearing of it, leaving part of his force there, the same day threw himself with the remainder into Pas'háur. He was not strong enough to attack the rebels, and had to act on the defensive. The other tribes immediately around Pas'háur also prepared to join the insurgents; and 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir, son of Iḥdád, the Táríkí [or Ros'háni], was invited to join them. He came accordingly; and along with him came the blind Karím-Dád, son of Jalálah, and Muḥammad Zamán, son of Pír-Dád, the uncle of Iḥdád, and two brothers. The Afgháns of Dawaṛ, Bannú, Baghzaṇ, and all the hill tracts of Tí-ráh, both the Bangas'h-i-Nai-kash [which compound word means here "pipers"—players on the pipe or reed—the piping or flute-playing Bangas'h—a nickname, from "*nai*," a cane, a reed, or shepherd's pipe, or flute, and "*kash*," from the verb "*kashídan*," to draw out, to extract, etc.=*nai kashídan*, "to play on the pipe or flute." The fondness of the Koháṭ Kaṛlárnís for music is shown from the plunder captured from them in the defeat they sustained mentioned at page 401], the whole of the Khaṭak *ulus* [the whole of the tribes here mentioned are Kaṛlárnís], and the *í-máḳs* of Dzádzí and Túrí [*see* pages 82 and 390], who assembled at the Yalam Guẕr or Ford, seven kuroh from Pas'háur, joined Kamál-ud-Dín. They likewise led astray the Afghán tribes dependent on the Pas'háur province or district by false statements, such as those of 'Ash-naghar, the Muḥammadzís, Gagyánís, Khalíls, Mahmands, and Dá'údzís, and even some Yúsufzís, Tarkalánís, and others. On the 12th of Ẕí-Ḥijjah, the last month of 1039 H. (12th June, 1630 A.D.), the third year of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh's reign, they surrounded the city walls, which were too extensive to be defended; and Sa'íd Khán and

Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, who had now succeeded his father, was so pleased with Sa'íd Khán for his services on this occasion, that he at once raised him to the rank of commander of 5,000 horse, and made him Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul; "for, after this "affair," Khush-ḥál says, "the Mughal authority began again to be recognized in the "province of Kábul." Subsequently, by stipulations and agreements, Sa'íd Khán got 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir, and Alá'í, the widow of Ilhdád, to come in. They arrived at Pas'háur; and, not long after, 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir died.* The Mughals, however, had again to send their forces into Tí-ráh against the Ilhdádís (or Ros'hánís); and Yúsuf, the Afrídí, and Ázár-Mír, the Wurakzí, who were the Ilhdádí *Sardárs* or leaders, made many

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his troops retired within the walls of the Bálá Ḥiṣár, or citadel. The insurgents assaulted it, but were beaten off. The whole account is too long for insertion here, but, with the exceptions above mentioned, it agrees pretty well with the Khaṭak account.

In 1041 H. (1631–32 A.D.), Lashkar Khán was superseded by Sa'íd Khán; and Shamsher Khán was made Fowj-dár of the two Bangas'his.

The Bádsháh Námah, under the events of the eighth year of the reign, 1044 H. (1634–35 A.D.), states, that "in the middle of the seventh month, the Rájah, Jagat Singh, was appointed to the Thánah-dárí [or, Fowj-dárí, for both words are indiscriminately used with respect to this part] of Bangas'h, which lies between [or juts out between] *the rebels* of the Khaṭak *ulus*, who dwell in that part, and dominates them." This would show that the Khaṭaks were not held to be remarkable for loyalty more than other Afgháns; and that they, on two occasions at least, united with the Táríkís has been already shown.

In the eighth year of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, on the festival of the solar weighing, Sa'íd Khán, who had been made Ṣúbah-dár for his gallant defence of Pas'háur against the insurgents, arrived at Court, bringing along with him 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir, Anṣárí, son of Ilhdád, the Táríkí heretic, whom the Khán had induced, by promises and stipulations, to surrender, and to become a loyal subject. Sa'íd Khán, by an additional step in rank, attained the dignity of 5,000 *zát* and 4,000 horse, together with rich presents, in which other nobles and officers shared, on that festive occasion; and 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir received a gift of 10,000 *rúpís*. Soon after, Sa'íd Khán was permitted to return to his government; and 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir was presented with a sword, and raised to the rank of 1,000 *zát* and 600 horse.

* Some say that 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir died at Pes'háwar in 1043 H. (1633–34 A.D.), and was there buried, but 1045 H. (1635–36 A.D.) is the correct date. Mían-Dád, one of the sons of Jalálah, had, previous to that, been raised to the rank of 500 *zát* and 200 horse, but he died in 1043 H.; and this perhaps caused the confusion in the dates and names.

On the 4th of Jamádí-uṣ-Ṣání, the sixth month of 1047 H. (November, 1637 A.D.), two sons-in-law of Ilhdád, one, Muḥammad Zamán, son of Pír-Dád; the other, Ṣáhib-Dád, along with Ḳádir-Dád, the grandson of Ilhdád, and 'Alá'í, the widow of Ilhdád, and mother of 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir, who was the sister of [Allah-Dád, entitled] "the Rashíd Khán," son of Jalálah, the Táríkí heretic, and a member of the followers of 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir, who were the sources of rebellion in the province of Kábul, arrived at the Court. Sa'íd Khán, the Ṣúbah-dár, after great endeavours and contrivances, had induced them, through his agent, Muḥammad Ya'ḳúb, Kash-mírí, to come in; and now they were despatched to the presence of the Bádsháh. They were kindly treated, rank was assigned to them, honorary dresses were bestowed upon them, and they were sent to Rashíd Khán above mentioned, who was then the governor of the country of Talingánah, which, some time before, together with the title of the Rashíd Khán, had been bestowed upon him, who, by reason of his probity and good faith, had attained a high position. In 1048 H. (1638–39 A.D.), Rashíd Khán, Anṣárí, was likewise put in charge of the *Sarkár* of Bejá-Garh, on the death of Raḥmat Khán, as well as of Burhán-púr in Khán-des. He also received an addition of rank, so that now he attained that of commander of 4,000 horse; and his brother, Hádí-Dád, was also promoted to the rank of 1,000 *zát* and 1,000 horse.

Considering all things, the descendants of the Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* the Pír-i-Tárík, although they were sent into southern India, were exceedingly well treated.

In the sixth year of Sháh-i-Jahán's reign, in Shawwál, the ninth month of 1042 H. (1633 A.D.), in the siege of Daulat-ábád in the Dakhan, against 'Ádil Sháh of Bíjá-púr, and the Niẓám-ul-Mulk, Rashíd Khán was severely wounded, and his cousin, Mírzá Khán, Anṣárí, son of Núr-ud-Dín, one of the sons of the Pír-i-Ros'hán [the author of the Afghán poems translated in my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 51], was killed, together with a number of their personal followers. Rashíd Khán founded Ma'ú-i-Rashíd-ábád, or rather re-founded it, at the time he held the *jágír* or fief of Shams-ábád; for it formerly existed under the name of Ma'ú Ṭhoríah. This was in the reign of Jahán-gír Bádsháh, but the exact date is uncertain.

Among others, Rashíd Khán had in his employ men of the following Afghán tribes and sections of tribes, but chiefly Karlárnís, who, as I have before remarked, were the chief supporters of the Ros'hání or Táríkí heretics, who with their families resided at Ma'ú-i-Rashíd-ábád; namely, 600 Muḥammadzís (of the Bá'ízí section of the Karlárnís of Kohát); 100 other Karlárnís of Bangas'h; 500 Dilazáks; 500 Wurakzís; 200 Afrídís; 400 Khaṭaks; 300 Matanís; 400 Khalíls; 200 Núhárnís; 400 Ghalzís; and 900 of other sections of tribes, supporters of the family, who are not enumerated.

Ma'ú remained in *jágír* to the descendants of the Nawwáb, Rashíd Khán, who are there known by the name of Khán-zádahs (descendants of the Khán), until it was resumed about a century since by the Nawwáb, the Muẓaffar-i-Jang. In consequence of this resumption, the Khán-zádahs are now reduced to poverty, a few plots of land, rent free, alone remaining to them. One of them was lately glad to take the office of head constable in the police upon a salary of 10 rúpís monthly. They are generally ignorant of the part played in Afghánistán for so many years by the Pír-i-Ros'hán or Pír-i-Tárík, and his descendants, and of their own progenitor, Allah-Dád, surnamed "the Rashíd Khán," son of Jalálah. Rashíd Khán died in the twentieth year of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh's reign—1057 H. (1647 A.D.), and was buried near the town he had founded. His tomb is a substantial domed edifice, situated on high ground above the old bed of the Ganges. At the side of the building is the tomb of one of his wives. The attendant at these tombs is an old woman descended from him. Immediately west of Ma'ú, at the village of Hamír-púr, there is a shrine dedicated to the notorious Pír-i-Ros'hán, thus showing that he still has his followers.

Mírzá Khán, Anṣárí, son of Núr-ud-Dín, son of the Pír-i-Ros'hán, and cousin of the Rashíd Khán, appears to have resided sometime at Ma'ú. There is a *maḥállah* therein known as the Koṭ of Mírzá Khán. He also built a Bárah-Darí (a summer house, with twelve doors), at a place called Khán-púr near Shams-ábád.

Ma'ú is now desolated and its site planted. It lies on the banks of the old bed of the Ganges, about five miles west of Shams-ábád, and about twenty west of Farrukh-ábád.

good fights in Tí-ráh against them. This Yúsuf was such a valiant youth, that, in manhood, there was not one among the Iḥdádí leaders equal to him; and he was an astonishing swordsman, in such wise that beholders of his feats used to be filled with amazement thereat.

"At last, the Mughals induced these two *Sardars* to submit; they were each raised "to the rank of commanders of 1,000 horse, and were conducted to the presence of "the Bádsháh. He asssigned them lands near unto Pání-paṭ;" and, when Afẓal Khán, Khaṭak, wrote his history, subsequent to the year 1136 H. (1723–24 A.D.), that same tract of country was in the possession of their descendants, and still continues to be, I believe, to this day.*

It is much to be regretted that the Khaṭak author did not enter into more detail here. This affair is, evidently, the same as mentioned in the Bádsháh Námah under the year 1047 H. (1637–38 A.D.), of which the following is a brief summary.

"Some of the *ulusís* around Baghzaṇ [the printed Calcutta text of the above work contains the usual error of writing نغز—Naghaz for بغز—Baghzaṇ], according to their usual proclivities, had lately recalled the blind Karím-Dád, son of Jalálah, son of Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* Pír-i-Táríḱ, along with his disciples and *anṣárs*,† and other

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* It is interesting to find a confirmation of Afẓal Khán's statements in the following notice of the son of this Wurakzí, Ázár Mír, in another history, the author of which was probably unaware of these facts.

Mírzá Muḥammad, son of Mu'tamid Khán, in his work, says:—

"In the year 1130 H., (1718 A.D.), in the month of Ṣafar (about the beginning of January), the author of these pages was despatched to take official charge of the property and effects of Jalál Khán, the founder of Jalál-ábád, near the Bahún Thánah, a dependency of Díw-band, within the bounds of the Sahárau-púr Fowj-dárí, and distant fifty *kos* from the capital city of Dihlí.

"Jalál Khán was an Afghán of the Wurakzí tribe. His father, Hazár Mír [Ázár Mír], in the reign of Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh, came into Hindústán, and, by command of that Bádsháh, he obtained the Zamíndárí over certain places in the Do-ábah. At his death, the Zamíndárí over these places reverted to their original possessors, but, soon after, some other places in the district in which is the Bahún Thánah, and some other tracts, were conferred upon his son, Jalál Khán; and suitable rank was bestowed upon him. From that time up to the present, he continued one among the officers stationed within the limits of the Fowj-dárí jurisdiction of Saháran-púr.

"As he was a man of great gallantry, and good fortune, his affairs prospered more and more every day; and his rank and degree increased in proportion. In the reign of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír he obtained the rank of commander of 500, and the title of Khán; and, in the latter part of that reign, he became Fowj-dár of Saháran-púr.

"In the reign of Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, on the outbreak of the Sikhs, when they took possession of Saháran-púr and places around, with the object of expelling the whole of the Muḥammadans from the Do-ábah, Jalál Khán girded up his loins, and assembled the Muḥammadans of that part to defend their homes and property. On this occasion he performed many feats of gallantry against the infidel Sikhs; and, at last, the Sikh Gúrú sent a large force of Sikhs against Jalál Khán, and invested him in Jalál-ábád for some months. They could effect nothing, however, and had to retire, pursued by the Musalmáns. During these affairs Jalál Khán lost several sons, grandsons, and kinsmen; and Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, aware of his good services, promoted him to the rank of commander of 900; and, for some time, he held the Fowj-dárí of Sahrind.

"In Jahán-dár Sháh's time he obtained the rank of 1,500; and in the reign of Farrukh-siyar Bádsháh he was raised to the rank of commander of 2,500. He lived until the year 1129 H. (1717 A.D.), in the eleventh month of which he died, when he was in his eightieth year. He was a man of piety, generosity, hospitality, and valour; and no traveller or wayfarer ever left his door without being hospitably entertained.

"He left four sons, the eldest, 'Abd-ullah, was by an Afghán wife, the daughter of Mustajáb Khán, the Mahmand chief [*see* page 41, and note ¶, page 415]. As his name indicates, he became a devotee. Three other sons, Díndár, Námdár, and Muḥammad Yár, were by a Hindí woman, with whom he was so infatuated, that he sent 'Abd-ullah and his mother away. At the time of his death he left them nothing, and Díndár succeeded to the rule over his father's *jágírs*, his *ulús* or clan, and his *chaklah* or district. 'Abd-ullah cared not for such worldly things, but his son, Ghulám Muḥammad by name, did; and he desired to obtain his rights. So, taking his father along with him, he came to Court; and there, through the interest of some parties, his case was brought to the Bádsháh's notice. It was stated that his share of his father's property, amounting to 50,000 *ashrafís* (each = 16 rs.), 5 *lákhs* of rúpís, and other property, had been withheld from him, and he solicited that the government should take possession of his father's property (until the case was disposed of). It was, on this account, that I, the writer of these pages, was appointed to proceed, and make inquiries on the spot. It turned out that Jalál Khán used to spend all his income, and was always in debt; and the whole of his personal property only realized 500 rúpís."

There are a number of Afrídís still dwelling around Saháran-púr.

† This 'Arabic word signifies "protectors," "assistants," "companions," etc., and was first specially applied to the citizens of Madínah, who aided Muḥammad when he was obliged to fly from Makkah; and Báyazíd, otherwise Pír-i-Ros'hán, or Pír-i-Táríḱ, being descended from one of them through the Shaikh, Siráj-ud-Dín, the Anṣárí, his family, as a matter of course, are likewise styled Anṣárí. There are several other Anṣárí families, besides this particular one. Pír-i-Ros'hán was *not* "an Afghán of the *Urmur* tribe," as Ḥai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, asserts in his book, and as those who copy from him assure us. The Anṣárís only *lived among* the Aor-Maṛ Afgháns; and some of the same Anṣárís live among them still, whom MacGregor, on the authority of Broadfoot, calls "a race of *Syads* called *Urmur*," but a Sayyid is one thing and an Anṣárí is another.

Leyden, who gave an account of the Ros'hánís in the "Asiatic Researches," after first saying that Báyazíd was "by birth an Afghán, but of Arab extraction," immediately after says he was an Anṣárí; and after that again contradicts himself, but, in so doing, he, at the same time, endeavours to correct himself from the Ákhúnd, Darwezah's, book, in saying that "his father, 'Abd-ullah, lived among the Afgháns of the tribe of "*Vurmud*," as he reads Aor-Maṛ. This was through want of local knowledge.

Báyazíd was born at Jálandhar in the Panj-áb, the year before Bábar Bádsháh overthrew the Afgháns at

followers and supporters, whom the heroes of this government had driven out, and who had been dwelling on the borders of the territory occupied by the Núḥání [or Lúḥání] tribe of Afgháns. They were biding their opportunity, however, and, having now found it, they came into Tí-ráh.

"The people of Tí-ráh, who, outwardly, pretended to be loyal and obedient, and had thereby saved themselves from ruin, were, inwardly, contumacious and disaffected, and quite ready to show that they were so."

The author then says, without giving any previous information respecting them, that,—

"For the purpose of reducing Malik Túr, the Wurakzí, and Sháh Beg [a nickname, without doubt: Yúsuf, the Afrídí, is evidently referred to], the Afrídí, and their brethren and kinsmen, when the season [the approach of winter] came round for returning to Pas'háur from Kábul, the Ṣúbah-dár, Sa'íd Khán, the Muẓaffar-i-Jang, assembled a force of 15,000 foot, the whole of whom were levies of Afghán tribes of those parts, subject to his government [south, and south-east, of Kábul?], whom he had made obedient subjects. With these likewise came the Rájah, Jagat Singh, [referred to previously as Thánah-dár of the Bangas'hát], Pur-Dil Khán, 'Izzat Khán, the Sayyid, Wálí, and others [with their own troops], and 2,000 cavalry of the Ṣúbah-dár's own contingent troops, the whole force being placed under the command of his wakíl or agent, Muḥammad Ya'kúb, the Kash-mírí.

"It so happened, previous to the arrival of these forces within the Baghzaṇ boundaries, that some of the mountaineers of that part, for the purpose of protecting their own property, and saving their own lives, from the hands of the troops, put to death the brother of the blind Karím-Dád [whose name is not mentioned], who had previously fled to Balkh, and who, about that time, at the instigation of Nazr Muḥammad Khán, ruler of Balkh, had come secretly into that part, and was going about among the villages dependent on and around Baghzaṇ, lighting up the flame of sedition and rebellion among that ungrateful people, and promising them aid from the before-mentioned ruler.

"With the blind Karím-Dád's brother, they also put to death the brother of Hazár [Khush-ḥál's Ázár] Mír, the Wurakzí, who, with Karím-Dád, they were making the counter [in their game of chess] with each other. Consequently, with this certificate of their loyalty, the afore-mentioned mountaineers, and most of the heads of villages and *ulusís* of, and around, Baghzaṇ, saw the troops enter Bálá [Upper] Bangas'h without apprehension of danger to themselves.

"When the troops reached Baghzaṇ, bodies of the people of that part [all Afgháns] of Bangas'h joined them, with the exception of the Lakan [لکن—*sic* in MSS. It may probably refer to the people of the village of Lakhan لکهن mentioned at page 90, para. 6] *ulús*, and two other *ulúsís* among whom the blind Karím-Dád and his followers were staying. They having no chance of submitting as they supposed [because they, as Afgháns, would not betray their guests], or out of excessive dread, betook themselves to the fastnesses of the mountains very difficult to enter, and to the narrow valleys and defiles thereof.* Their dwellings were levelled, and their property destroyed; and in these towering mountains, in this melancholy condition, they remained. The snow and rain fell upon them from above [for it was winter], while the flood of the sword ascended to them from below. As some among them lost their lives daily, they saw no other remedy than to give up† the blind Karím-Dád, which they did, along with his family and dependants. The victorious troops then returned to Pas'háur, where, soon after, orders were received to put Karím-Dád to death, and the order was carried out accordingly."

Khush-ḥál says:—"Subsequently, during the sway of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh "over the Ṣúbah of Kábul, the Pus'htúns were treated despotically, and were subject "to great severity, consequently the tribes were ever ready for an outbreak. At the "time that Aurang-zeb confined his father at Ágrah, Mahábat Khán' was Ṣúbah-dár

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Pání-paṭ, and acquired the throne of Dihlí. Báyazíd's mother's father and his own father were brothers. In my history of the Afgháns I shall give a full account of him and his sect, but a short account of him will be found in the notice prefixed to the poems of Mírza Khán, Anṣárí, in my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 51.

* The Spín-Ghar, or Safed Koh, is here referred to.

† The Dábistán says that Karím-Dád surrendered, with all the family [then remaining at large], to Sa'íd Khán's agent, and that Karím-Dád was put to death in 1048 H. (1638-39 A.D.).

"of the province. This, however, was not 'the great Mahábat Khán' of Jahán-gír "Bádsháh's reign, but another, Luhrásib Khán, the Ṣafawí [son of 'Alí Mardán Khán, "who betrayed Kandahár to Sháh-i-Jahán], who bore the same title after '*the* Mahábat "'Khán's death.' That great and powerful noble died in the Dakhan, while in charge "of the southern provinces of the empire, and holding the chief command of the troops, "in 1043 H. (1634 A.D.)."*

Khush-ḥál Khán mentions no other events as occurring in the parts immediately around Kohát until the year 1070 H. (began September 7th, 1659 A.D.),† at which time Aurang-zeb had usurped the throne of his father [on the 1st of Zí-Ḳa'dah, the eleventh month, 1068 H.=29th August, 1658 A.D.], had already kept him in durance over a year, and was fighting against his brothers, and destroying them in detail.

In that year, he says, during the time that the Mahábat Khán was Ṣúbah-dár, Mír Ya'ḳút, the Bádsháh's Díwán at Pas'háur, was despatched in command of a Mughal force into Tí-ráh against certain Afrídís and Wurakzís, who had rebelled; and, as great friendship existed between the Mír and himself, he asked him, Khush-ḥál, to accompany him on that expedition, and that he did so. Unfortunately he gives no details, and merely says that they returned from Tí-ráh triumphant, by way of Kohát, in the month of Rajab—the seventh month—1070 H. (April, 1660 A.D.). He now, however, begins to give more particulars respecting the Karlárnís of Lower Bangas'h, to whom the name of "Bangash," as the name of a tribe, has been incorrectly applied.‡

"On reaching Kohát," he says, "Bíbí Daur, the mother of Sher Khán, made a feast "for me. At this time, her son, Sher Khán [who was, evidently, the chief of the "tribe of the Malik-Mírís], was hostile to Mahábat Khán [or, rather, the Mughal "Government]; and Sher Khán had been seized, placed in confinement, and taken "away to the presence of the Bádsháh." His mother, consequently, appears, from this, to have acted for her son during his absence, or exile, in Hind.

Soon after Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír became established on his father's throne, Mahábat Khán was removed from the Kábul province; and the Sayyid, Amír Khán, the brother of Shaikh Mír, one of Aurang-zeb's own creatures, was nominated in his

* The great Mahábat Khán, who was a Turk, and whose name was Zamánah Beg, whom Tod, in his rage for all things Ráj-pút, made a Ráj-pút of, died at Burhán-púr in the fifth month of 1044 H. (September, 1634 A.D.), of fistula, which he had suffered from for a long time. He stood next in rank in the State to Áṣaf Khán, who, from his relationship to the Bádsháh, stood highest of all the grandees. Mahábat Khán held the rank of 7,000 *zát* and 7,000 horse; his titles were Khán-i-Khánán—Chief of Kháns—and Sipah-Sálár—General-in-Chief—and he was viceroy of all the provinces of the Dakhan.

† In the twelfth year of the reign, 1048 H. (1638 A.D.), and in the last month (end of March or early in April), when a force was directed to proceed to Kábul under the Prince, Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, and Sháh-i-Jahán was about to follow, in consequence of the proceedings of the Persians respecting Ḳandahár, 50,000 cavalry assembled at Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h, between Aṭak and Pes'háwar, mentioned at page 34, and the Rájah, Jagat Singh, is said to have then been placed in charge of Upper and Lower Bangas'h, with directions to collect supplies of provisions, so that, after the Bádsháh's arrival at Kábul, supplies of grain might continue to come in without interruption. In the third month of the following year, 1049 H. (July, 1639 A.D.), when returning from Kábul, Sháh-i-Jahán set out for Láhor by the Upper and Lower Bangas'h route. The historian says:—"As that route contains many *kotals* and *tangís*, command was given to the Prince, "Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, to remain a short time longer at Kábul, and to follow subsequently along with "the nobles serving under him. The Bádsháh's first stage was to the Chashma'h or Spring of Khwájah "Khiẓr; and on his way he presented 10,000 *rúpís* to the Sayyids of Gardaiz. On the same day, Khánah-zád "Khán was appointed Thánah-dár of Ghaznín. Having reached Kohát, the Rájah, Jagat Singh, got up a "*kamraghah* hunt [the game for some days previous, and sometimes from a considerable distance, is driven in "by a number of people, troops included, who form two half, or nearly half, circles, and subsequently con-"verge at a certain point, enclosing the game within], and, among other animals, fifty-six *már-khúrs*, ibex, "and other large game, were killed, among which number seven head of game fell to the Bádsháh's own gun. "On the 24th of Jamádí-ul-Awwal—the fifth month—he reached the banks of the Nil-áb—the Indus is here "meant—and next day crossed the river by the bridge of boats at the Resa'í ferry [referred to at page 442], "and moved to Láhor."

‡ During the campaign in Balkh and Badakhshán, on the 6th of Zí-Ḳa'dah—the eleventh month—1056 H. (January, 1647 A.D.), on which day a numerous force of Úzbaks assaulted Tirmiz on the Jíḥún, and planted scaling ladders against the fortifications outside the citadel, the place was saved by a Karlární Afghán of Lower Bangas'h, who is called "Mírzá, the Koháṭí," who, with 500 Afghán footmen of Lower Bangas'h, defended the place. He encountered the enemy; and, after some hard fighting, in which he lost his own life, assistance arrived, and the Úzbaks were repulsed with great loss.

When Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh returned from Kábul, on the 9th of Sha'bán of that same year, while encamped at Bagrámí, two kuroh from Kábul, among other promotions was that of Ẕú-l-Ḳadr Khán to the rank of 2,500 horse. "He was likewise presented with a dress of honour, and appointed governor of the city and "fortress of Kábul, with charge of Upper Bangas'h, and, *now*, Lower Bangas'h was added thereto."

stead.* Soon after, Khush-ḥál, himself, was seized at Pas'háur, whither he had gone to present himself, and was sent a captive into Hind. He continued in captivity two years and five months; and was let out of his prison in the fortress of Rantabhúr in the eleventh month of 1076 H. (June, 1666 A.D.),† but he was not yet set at liberty. Great disorder had arisen in the parts adjacent to Pas'háur; and a person representing himself to be Sháh Shujá', Aurang-zeb's brother, who was supposed to have perished, appeared in Suwát, and was supported by the Yúsufzís and kindred tribes. Khush-ḥál Khán, who was supposed to have great influence among the Afgháns of those parts, was now sent for by the Bádsháh, who, according to his own account, questioned him on the subject of the most fitting Ṣúbah-dár. Consequently, the Sayyid, Amír Khán, was removed, and Mahábat Khán, then Ṣúbah-dár of Guzarát, was again appointed.‡ At his special request, Khush-ḥál was sent along with him, and was thus set at liberty. As Aurang-zeb *left it entirely with Mahábat Khán as to what rank and employment the Khaṭak chief should obtain*,§ he, Afghán like, became disgusted with both, and did not enter heartily into anything that was expected of him; and matters remained in much the same state as before. Again was Mahábat Khán removed, and Muḥammad Amín Khán was sent.|| Soon after, on the 1st of Muḥarram, 1083 H. (April, 1672 A.D.), followed the Khaibar disaster at the *Kotal* of Gharíb Khána'h, when his whole army of 40,000 men, with the exception of five persons including himself, perished, as related at page 40. Khush-ḥál and other Afghán vassals were with the Ṣúbah-dár on that occasion. Once more was Mahábat Khán despatched;¶

* The Sayyid, Amír Khán, was appointed on the 14th of Rabí'-uṣ-Ṣání, the fourth month, 1072 H. (November, 1661 A.D.); and on the 16th of the last month of that year (August, 1662 A.D.), Mahábat Khán was appointed Ṣúbah-dár of Guzarát, in place of the Mahá-Rájah, Jaswant Singh; and Mahábat's rank was increased to 6,000 *zát* and 5,000 horse.

Khush-ḥál was first imprisoned at Dihlí, and subsequently was sent to the fortress of Rantabhúr.

† Sháh-i-Jahán died on the 26th of Rajab, the seventh month, of that same year.

‡ Khush-ḥál's statements are fully confirmed by others. Amír Khán continued some six years to be Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul. In the tenth month of 1078 H. (March, 1668 A.D.), Mahábat Khán, who was then Ṣúbah-dár of Guzarát, was recalled from Aḥmad-ábád, and again appointed to Kábul, as Khush-ḥál Khán states, on the day of the reception. It is added by the author of the Ma'áṣir-i-'Álam-gírí, that, "along with some "others," who are named, "it was commanded that Khush-ḥál Khán should continue to present himself on "public days." The Sayyid, Amír Khán, soon after arrived; and, on the 25th of Jamádí-ul-Awwal, the fifth month of that year, on the festival of the solar weighing of the Bádsháh, on completing another year of his age, "Khush-ḥál Khán, and other Arbábs received presents of 3,000 *rúpís*, and 40 sets of dresses of honour "were distributed among them." It will be noticed that Khush-ḥál was not entirely set at liberty until the arrival of the late Ṣúbah-dár, Amír Khán.

§ Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, asserts, "that, by Aurang-zeb's orders, the captive chief was released, *set upon the "king's own horse*, and dismissed with honour to his own country," and yet, even by Hai'át's own account, "his first act on reaching home was to abdicate in favour of his son."

I may mention that all this is totally contrary to Khush-ḥál's own statements, which are certainly more reliable than anything Hai'át can adduce; and to seat a person of far greater rank "on the king's own horse" was totally contrary to custom, and wholly unheard of in the history of the sovereigns of India.

|| Mahábat Khán was again removed, or relieved, in 1081 H. (1670 A.D.); and Muḥammad Amín Khán, who was then Ṣúbah-dár of Láhor, was appointed in the first month (May) of that year. He reached Pes'háwar on the 10th of Rabí'-ul-Ákhir, the fourth month of the same year. In the sixth month Mahábat Khán reached the Court, and was received in a most distinguished manner, the Bádsháh greeting him with "*khush ámaded*"— "You are welcome." The Sayyid, Amír Khán, who had resigned his rank, died at Dihlí in Rabí'-ul-Ákhir, the same month in which Muḥammad Amín Khán reached Pes'háwar. Mahábat Khán was soon after despatched to command the troops, and assume the government of the provinces in the Dakhan. After a short time, Muḥammad Amín was sent for, from the Kábul province, to undertake the office of Wazír, vacant through the death of Ja'far Khán, but, as he presumed to make certain stipulations respecting his undertaking that office, the idea was abandoned; and he was sent back to resume the Ṣúbah-dárí of Kábul on the 21st of Jamádí-ul-Awwal, the fifth month of 1082 H. (September, 1671 A.D.).

¶ The news of Muḥammad Amín Khán's overthrow reached the Bádsháh on the 12th of Muḥarram, the ninth day after the disaster; and he determined to proceed at once into the Panj-áb. Mahábat Khán was summoned in hot haste from the Dakhan, as being the only one, "who, from his acquaintance with the Afgháns, "could do anything to pacify them;" and Fidá'í Khán was at once despatched to Pes'háwar with troops from Láhor. Mahábat Khán, having come, was appointed Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul once more; and it was on this occasion that he wrote to Khush-ḥál to join him. In the second month after the disaster, Muḥammad Amín arrived in Aurang-zeb's camp. He had been appointed Ṣúbah-dár of Guzarát *before his arrival, with an increase of rank*, as a *solatium* perhaps, but was directed not to present himself.

The accounts of the steps taken immediately after the disaster are not explained, in any detail, in the available histories of Aurang-zeb's reign, which are very few. On the 16th of Muḥarram, the first month of 1084 H. (April, 1673 A.D.), "it was reported that Mahábat Khán had marched through the Khaibar and gone "on to Kábul, without chastising the Afgháns, which was displeasing to the Bádsháh." On the 17th of Sha'bán, the eighth month of the same year, Shujá'at Khán, who was the son of Mahábat Khán's wife (by a former husband), was despatched for that purpose, at the head of a numerous army; and the Máhá-Rájah, Jaswant Singh, was made his colleague. The Gand-áb disaster followed on the 17th of the eleventh month of 1084 H. (February, 1674 A.D.). Aurang-zeb now determined to proceed into the Panj-áb, and set out in the first month of 1085 H. (1674 A.D.); and, in the middle of the third month (June), Sar-Buland Khán was despatched to Pes'háwar with troops. More respecting these matters will be found farther on.

and he wrote asking Khush-ḥál to join him, but he "would never," he says, "go to "the Mughals again."*

About this time he wrote the following poem, which shows how he appreciated, what a recent writer styles, being "dismissed with honour":—

"I am well acquainted with Aurang-zeb's justice and equity—
His orthodoxy in matters of faith—his self-denial and fasts;

His own brothers, time after time, cruelly put to the sword—
His father overcome in battle, and into prison thrown!

Though a person dash his head against the ground a thousand times,
Or, by his fastings, should bring his navel and spine together;

Until coupled with the desire of acting with virtue and goodness,
His adorations, and devotions, are all impositions and lies.

The way of whose tongue is one, and the path of his heart another,
Let his very vitals be mangled, and lacerated by the knife!

Externally, the serpent is handsome, and symmetrically formed;
But, internally, is with uncleanness and with venom filled.

The deeds of men will be many, and their words will be few;
But the acts of recreants are few, and their boastings many.

Since the arm of Khush-ḥál cannot reach the tyrant here,
In the day of doom, may the Almighty have no mercy on him!"

"Poetry of the Afghans," page 188.

He now takes up the thread of Kohát affairs once more.

It seems that Sher Muḥammad had, in former years, offered the Mughal authorities to farm the lands of Tarí Boláḳ, which Khush-ḥál had previously held in *jágír* from

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* Here is another specimen of the Hai'átí history. The author assures us that Khush-ḥál Khán "ruled his "tribe 50 years;" that his son, Ashraf, "put an end to himself" in prison; that his son, Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, was "nominated in his place," but "Bahrám Khán gave him no moment of repose;" that the "aged Khush-ḥál" passed away, "and Bahrám soon followed his father;" and then that Muḥammad Afẓal was "left in peace 61 years." In all this account he gives not a single date.

But what says Khush-ḥál, and his grandson, Afẓal, upon all this? A slight examination will show the fallacy of such crude assertions under the name of "history." Khush-ḥál says his father was killed in the tenth month of 1050 H. (January, 1641 A.D.), and that he succeeded him, but was taken away captive into Hind in the middle of 1074 H. (January, 1663 A.D.), and was only released from his fortress prison in the eleventh month of 1076 H. (June, 1665 A.D.), much less set at liberty entirely, or "on the king's own horse." He accompanied Mahábat Khán when he proceeded to assume his appointment, but, he was so disgusted at his *unjust treatment*, on finding that only the district of Tarí Boláḳ was assigned to him, much less "dis-"missed with honour, upon the king's own horse," that, at his own request, his son, Ashraf, was left in charge of the affairs of the Khaṭak territory, and the care of the high road from Aṭak to Noh-s'hahra'h. After Muḥammad Amín's defeat in the first month of 1083 H., he says he "will never go near the Mughals again," thus giving up the chieftain-ship of the tribe. Such being the case, allowing for two years and five months actual confinement, and about the same period of detention before and after, his rule of the tribe extended, at the very utmost, to but *twenty-nine* years. He died in the fourth month of 1099 H. (January, 1688 A.D.), so that from the date of his father's death to the day of his own was not fifty years altogether. In 1092 H. (1681 A.D.), his son, Ashraf, was seized, and imprisoned in Hind. Afẓal, Khush-ḥál's grandson, was not allowed to return to his own tribe, and resume the charge of the road from Aṭak to Noh-s'hahra'h, until 1104 H. (1692–93 A.D.). His father *died* of grief, but not by his own hand—Musalmáns do not generally commit suicide: it is contrary to their religious tenets—in 1106 H. (1694–95 A.D.). Bahrám, who, the Kaṭhar writer says, "soon followed his father," died *only a quarter of a century after him*, in 1124 H. (1712 A.D.). According to such history, since Afẓal "*was left in peace sixty-one years*" *after Bahrám's death*, it would bring us to the year 1184 H., which commenced 26th April, 1770 A.D., by which time Afẓal, had he lived so long, must have been a patriarch, since he was 54 in 1134 H.

According to the same "history," after Afẓal's death, his two sons, Muḥammad 'Alí, and Sa'd-ullah, who "lived at" Akoṛah and Ṭíraey respectively, quarreled; the latter overthrew the former, and placed one of his own sons at Ṭíraey; and yet all this took place while "Muḥammad Sháh was ruling at Dehli, and Nadir Shah "in Persia." Now Nádir Sháh invaded Hind, and took Dihlí, and all the territory west of the Indus was surrendered to him, in 1152 H. (began March 29th, 1739 A.D.), only *thirty-two years anterior* to the expiration of Afẓal's "61 years of peace after Bahrám's death." Again, the same writer tells us, that Aḥmad Sháh, Abdálí, took another son of Sa'd-ullah, son of Afẓal, along with him when he invaded Hindústán, but Aḥmad Sháh's first invasion was in 1160 H. (1747 A.D.), and his last, in 1170 H. (1756 A.D.), or, respectively, *eleven years and one year before the expiration* of the "61 years of peace" which Afẓal is said to have enjoyed after Bahrám's death.

Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, in the Preface to his book, mentions as one of his authorities the "*Gulshan-i-Roh* of Muḥammad Afẓal Khán," but, unfortunately for his correctness, Afẓal Khán wrote no work bearing that title. That is the title *I* gave to *my* Chrestomathy of the Afghán language, which contains some extracts from Afẓal's work, and a *part* of the history of the Khaṭak tribe, which extracts Hai'át Khán, like two or three others, appropriated, and pretended he had used Afẓal's history, which I do not think he ever saw, as is clearly shown from Hai'át's not knowing that it is called "Tárikh-i-Muraṣṣa'." From it chiefly I have taken the extracts here given of the history of the Khaṭaks, and some other historical matter.

the Bádsháh, for 30,000 rúpís.* Khush-ḥál held counsel with the Tarí Bolák people (Khaṭaks) about it, and told them of Sher Muḥammad's doings. They said, that, if he would send them a Sardár from his own family, he should soon see what they would do. So Shádaey Khán, one of his uncles, was despatched to them with a few horsemen to attend him. At the outset, the Tarí Boláks slew a kinsman of Sher Muḥammad's, named Baháey, a Malik-Mírí Kaṛlární of Bangas'h, near the village of the Ṭápí† of Angú, and some others along with him. On this, Sher Muḥammad assembled a force, and Khush-ḥál despatched a force under his eldest uncle, Bahádur, by name, and along with him, his son, Ashraf, who was then quite a youth, to Da Ghoríahzío Ṭol.‡ Sher Muḥammad Khán moved out of Koháṭ against the Khaṭaks; and the uncle of Sher Muḥammad, who likewise was called Bahádur, at the commencement of the fight, was killed by a bullet; and Sher Muḥammad was defeated. In this affair Ashraf distinguished himself, and wished to pursue the beaten Koháṭís, but his great uncle would not permit him.

Soon after, another fight took place in the Nílhan Wara'h, where Sher Muḥammad, who had induced the whole of the Kaṛlární clans of Lower Bangas'h to espouse his cause, came, confident and arrogant, and took up a position; and Allah-Yár Khán was the leader of his force on this occasion. Shádaey Khán, Khush-ḥál Khán's uncle, who held charge of the Khaṭak territory nearest to Lower Bangas'h, was at the Turkai§ Ghás'haey or pass at the time. First, the Shápí Khel, Mukárí [Khaṭaks], moved out, and began skirmishing; and, the remainder of the Khaṭak levies having followed, the Bangas'h Kaṛlárnís were again overthrown, with a loss of 300 killed. Among the booty captured were 300 musical instruments, thus showing that the Bangas'h Kaṛlárnís must have been in strong force to have so many bards or minstrels among them, as indicated by the number of these instruments.‖

These events must have happened as far back as 1063 or 1064 H. (1652–53 or 1653–54 A.D.).

Under the events of 1084 H. (1673 A.D.), Khush-ḥál writes:—"After I had "returned home to Ráj-gaṛ about a month, Shujá'at Khán, and the Rájah, "Jaswant Singh, came from the Panj-áb at the head of a numerous army, and "in great pomp and pride." When they reached Aṭak, Khush-ḥál received a summons, couched in conciliatory terms, but also containing threats mixed with assurances, but he declined to attend them: he had had enough of the Mughals. Then he goes on to say:—"Along with them came Sher Muḥammad Khán, Koháṭí, "[before referred to]; and he was about to cross the river on his way to rejoin the "Mughal commanders. The Afrídís urged me to attack him on the way, but I did "not follow their advice. He too is a Pus'htún, and has now, for some seventeen or "eighteen years, been knocked about enough, as an exile in Hind in attendance upon "Aurang-zeb, and poor enough too; and it would not have been manly in me to "waylay him like as a wild beast would its prey, now that he was drawing near to his "native hills once more. He was welcomed by the Koháṭís [Kaṛlární Afgháns of "Koháṭ—his own tribe] when he arrived near that place; and they escorted him "thither, as did Táj Beg, Hotí, and Tarsan, Síní [Khaṭaks]—the dogs!—who also "went forth to welcome him home again. The Múshak Sháhaey's son, Púd-rúḥ, "by name, was much taken with him. This Sher Muḥammad, however, had boasted "what he was going to do against me. I was unaware that he did not feel for the "honour of the Afghán name,¶ and that he would act like a dog."

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* The *Maḥáll* of Tarí Bolák was a royal *jágír* or fief, which generally pertained to the Fowj-dárí of Lower Bangas'h.

† Ṭápí, but not "Tapí," nor "Tupee," is the name of a clan or section of the Bá'ízí Kaṛlárnís of Lower Bangas'h.

‡ Ṭol, in Pus'hto, signifies "a concourse of people," "a society," "gathering," also "a horde," "gang," "drove," "flock," etc. The meaning of the above name therefore is "The concourse or gathering of Ghoríahzís."

§ "Toorkai" of the maps.

‖ *See* note *, page 394.

¶ The above remarks by Khush-ḥál are valuable in an ethnographical point of view, for one or two writers tell us that the people *they call* "Bangash" are not Afgháns, but *'Arabs;* and they give them the name of the country as the name of their tribe. We might, however, as well apply the names England or France, or India or Persia, as the names of tribes. Another writer again, whose theories continue to grow wilder and wilder, classes "the Bangash"—for he falls into the same error as the others—along with "the *Afrídí*," among the *Turklánrí*, who are also called "*Kararai* and *Karalánrí*," and who, "from the mention of the Khattak people," he says, "were composed of *various sects of Turk tribes*," but how "Turk" comes from "Khattak" does not appear. But, although they are classed "by Afghan writers" with the same race as "the Afrídí," who, as being *Turklánrí*, must be *Turks*, the Afrídí, according to him, "are without doubt the present repre-"sentatives of the *Aparytæ* of Herodotus"!

In another place, the same writer tells us, that "the Pushtún or Pathán is of a totally different race from the "Afghán and Ghalzai," consequently, a Turklánrí Karalánrí Turk Bangash could neither be a Pus'htún, an

"Well, soon after Sher Muḥammad Khán reached Kohát again, at the instigation of Sháhaey, the Múshak,* before referred to, he assembled a force of Kaṛlárnís of Bangas'h; and, under pretence of hunting, sallied forth on an expedition. The Khaṭak families then dwelling on the Kohát border, through force of circumstances, more particularly the Mahmandís, became filled with fear [in consequence of this movement]. At this juncture, likewise, a letter had been received from Ashraf Khán, from Láhor, saying that he had obtained the grant of the [Khaṭak] country, which filled us all with joy. I, consequently, permitted the Mahmandí families to depart, and come into the Khwaṛa'h. They set out; and the females of my family, and those of Saráe along with them, ascended by the Gharbín Ghás'haey, and proceeded towards the Darga'h [range]. I still continued at Ráj-gaṛ [out of the way of the Mughals], but, after two or three days had elapsed, I proceeded over against the mountains† to Mandoṛí.‡ In this my object was to send away the Mahmandí families referred to in front of me, and then to descend by the Níl-áb Ghás'haey [into the Khwaṛa'h]. On this, Sháhaey, the Múshak, despatched a letter to Sher Muḥammad Khán, saying, that I was then at Mandoṛí, with only a small following, and that if he set out he would be able to capture me. He started accordingly, to make a forced march, but, by the time he reached Tápí, I had heard of it, and made the Mahmandí families turn back; and I brought them up again, and, next morning, faced about to be ready for him. Bravo to the Afrídís! Aḥmad, Chandal, and all! for they came to my aid; and, at the village of the Shaikh, Allah-Dád, they united with me.

"The idiot, Sher Muḥammad Khán, now becoming aware of my movements, decamped in all haste from Tápí; and I collected a body of between 400 and 500 Khaṭaks, consisting of Mahmandís, Aoríá Khel, and Babars,§ with the intention of making the rascal, Sháhaey, the Múshak, remove with his family from where he was into the Khwaṛa'h. I made him start accordingly, after which I set out for Tsautara'h, with the intention of moving against Kohát, as soon as I could collect together a sufficient force, and lay waste the Bangas'h territory. After I had passed on my way for some distance, a deal of rain fell; and Sháhaey, instead of going as directed into the Khwaṛa'h, immediately faced about, and retired to Tápí, and there took up his quarters. I made a great mistake in not striking his head off before doing anything else, and should then have had no further trouble with him. Through not having done so, I was prevented from undertaking other things; and having other matters to attend to, he was allowed to remain in that part as before.

"Having reached Tsautara'h, as previously agreed upon between us, Aḥmad, Afrídí, joined me with 100 horsemen. It had been arranged that we should move towards Kohát by different routes. Then others, such as the whole of the Darsamand, Badah Khel, and other clans of Kaṛlárnís, sent letters to say, that they would join us in the expedition, and help to annihilate the idiot, Sher Muḥammad Khán. Those of Kohát, likewise, either through fear, or through honourable motives [on account of Sher Muḥammad's misdoings], were quite agreeable that he should be got rid of, he being a creature of the Mughals.

"At this juncture came the good news of the Afghán victory at Gand-áb [in the eleventh month of 1084 H.,—1673 A.D.], in which Ae-mal Khán, Afrídí, overthrew Shujá'at Khán and the Rájah, Jaswant Singh, and their army; that Shujá'at had been killed, and Jaswant Singh had fled.‖ Great was the joy of the Afgháns thereat, but Sher Muḥammad was filled with consternation, now that the Mughal army had been destroyed, and knew not what to do; for Shujá'at Khán was his patron.

"When this news reached Daryá Khán, Ae-mal Khán's brother, he considered that, as I had been successful just before in taking Noh-s'hahr from the Mughals,¶

Afghán, nor a Ghalzí, while the Pus'htúns are, according to him, "the *Pakhtues* of Herodotus," and still more strange, "are connected with the *Picts* and Scots of our own country."

Contrary to the above, we have here a Khaṭak chief, a man of learning, well versed in the history and traditions of his own Afghán people and country, telling us, that Sher Muḥammad Khán, the Malik Míri Kaṛlární, was a Pus'htún like himself; and that he expected he, as an Afghán, had the honour of the Afghán name at heart. The words he uses are "*nang da Afgháníyat*," and yet we are now told that Pus'htúns are not Afgháns.

Such being the remarks of the Khaṭak chief (who would have been much surprised had he been told he was a "*Turk*"), there can be no doubt who is the best and most trustworthy authority on the subject. He had no occasion to "correct genealogies," any more than Khán-i-Jahán, the Lodí, had; for they existed in writing before either was born.

* The Múshaks are a clan of the Bolák Khaṭaks.

† The mountains separating the Adam Khel Afrídís from the Khaṭaks. *See* note §, page 431.

‡ Turned into "Mundooni" in the maps.

§ Not "Bobers," nor "Bobbers," as they have been styled in "Settlement," and other Reports.

‖ *See* the extract from Khush-ḥál's poem about it, quoted at page 42.

¶ *See* page 435. This place is called Noh-s'hahr and Noh-s'hahra'h indiscriminately.

and Ae-mal Khán had overthrown Shujá'at Khán and Rájah Jaswant Singh, he was quite able to attack Koháṭ and gain possession of it, without any other assistance than that of his own tribesmen, in order that none else should have the credit of it but himself; and that they might carry off the plunder, and the Hindú women of Koháṭ. Contrary, therefore, to the previous agreement that we should unite our forces on the day of the Akhtar [Lo-e Akhtar ?—the Feast of the Sacrifice], and move and act in concert, Daryá Khán started four days before the time. He fought valiantly, but Koháṭ was quite a different place from Noh-s'hahr, and he was repulsed. Many fine youths of his Afrídís fell, and, along with them, his brother, Tátár Khán, the loss, altogether, amounting to 100 men left on the field. We ought to have gone against Koháṭ together, and then we should have succeeded, but the Almighty did not will that Daryá Khán should take it alone.

"Sher Muḥammad, who, before this, was afraid of his life, thus unexpectedly gained a victory. He sent out letters in all directions giving a glowing account of his success; cut off the heads of the dead Afrídís; and, crossing the Guẕr [ferry],* sent their heads to Pas'háur by the Khaṭak road. The Amír-ship of Sher Muḥammad now became patent to the Mughal authorities; and a dress of honour, a horse, and a ***lákh*** of ***rúpís***, were bestowed upon him.

"I never thought Daryá Khán would have acted thus towards *me*, and without, at least, asking my advice. I was mustering my men in Tsautara'h at the time; and when I heard of his defeat I could not credit it. Daryá Khán afterwards wrote, and said, that, if I came with my forces, we might still be able to do something. In this he was mistaken. If he could have kept the field while I was bringing my forces from Tsautara'h, something might have been effected, but, although I had brought my followers from the hills to aid him, many on whom I depended deserted me; and I was impeded in my movements. I depended on the Khwaṛams of Koṭ, but they disgraced themselves, and went over to Sher Muḥammad's side, while the Tarís returned to Láchí. The Ságharís kept their word, and came, along with 'Ábid Khán, in good order, to Koṭ. . . . . While these intrigues were going on, I sent some horsemen to the village of the Gadá-í Khel near Khad, and burnt it. Ten or twelve days passed; and it had been agreed between Daryá Khán and myself, that the Afrídís should come down again [from their hills], and that the Saráe [Khaṭak] forces should also come, when we would draw near to Koháṭ; and great was the confusion among the Bangas'h Kaṛláṟnís in consequence."†

The defection of Khush-ḥál Khán's own tribe,‡ some of whom were bribed to desert him, the intrigues of such of the Bangas'h Kaṛláṟnís as sided with Sher Muḥammad, and the inability of Daryá Khán, Afrídí, to keep the field for any longer time, caused the expedition to be abandoned. Both Khush-ḥál Khán and Daryá Khán appear to have been purposely deceived by interested parties. Finding that disaffection was ripe among them, Khush-ḥál Khán resolved to move with his followers and meet the Afrídís, expecting that the Khaṭaks of Saráe would come; and certain, in case of being able to move upon Koháṭ, that the Khaṭaks generally would follow. He came to Khwájah Baṣír, and then went down to Ḍanḍ. Further defections took place, on which he resolved to take all the Sínís with him,§ move towards the Afrídís, and send a man to see if they had come down; and, if so, to move at once towards Koháṭ. If the Afrídís were not down, then he proposed to send the Sínís away, and post them at Koṭ. This, too, failed; and some advised one way and some another. Khush-ḥál now resolved to go to the Afrídís himself, and to act as they advised. He therefore proceeded to Kuṇḍ-yálaey by the east side of the Shádí Khel villages, and made inquiries about the Afrídís. He says:—

"Some stated that they would be down that day; and my heart was glad, for then I should be able to muster my forces. I remained there that night, and immediately

* It is difficult to understand what ferry is here referred to, unless one lower down the Indus, by the Bannú route, be meant, especially as "the Khaṭak road" is mentioned. The route between Koháṭ and Pes'háwar was closed, of course, by the Afrídís; and the Khaṭaks, generally, and such as were loyal to Khush-ḥál's family, were hostile to the Koháṭís, and in alliance with the Afrídís.

† Those who sided with Sher Muḥammad Khán probably.

‡ It must be remembered that he had, of his own accord, resigned the rule of the tribe previous to this.

§ The Sínís, which word is also written Síṟnís, with Pus'hto "*ṟn*" for "*n*," by Afẓal Khán, belong to the Boláḳ sept of the Khaṭaks, and must not be confounded with the Tsínís of the Paṭiah Khel clan of the Ato Khel section of the Tarí sept of Khaṭaks. Sín or Síṟn, the progenitor of the Sínís or Siṟnís, belonged to the Dilazák tribe of Kaṛláṟní Afgháns or Pus'htúns, who came and took up his residence among the family of Boláḳ, whose son-in-law he became. He therefore continued to dwell among them, and his descendants were acknowledged as Khaṭaks, with whom they have intermarried ever since, consequently they were and are, in reality, just as much Khaṭaks as though their father had been one, and had married a Dilazák wife.

wrote to Daryá Khán, saying, 'It is well that you are coming down, and I have come 'to meet you.' My letter had scarcely been despatched, when information was given to the Afrídís stating that the Khatak forces were dispersing, and that I was on my way to him. This filled the Afrídís with doubts; and some of them began to disperse the same night. I came to the entrance of the Jammú Dara'h in order to go to Daryá Khán by that way, when, suddenly, the Afrídí forces were seen on their way back. On making inquiry, I was told by them that the Afrídís had dispersed to their homes, and that Daryá Khán was at Sandah Bastah.* I was amazed; and in the night sent my sons, Ṣadr, Sikandar, and Báz, who were with me, to summon the Mahmandí† men to come to me with all speed, as affairs were in a precarious state, and explaining all.

"It was quite necessary for me to go the next night to Daryá Khán, to pay him a visit of condolence on account of the disaster which had lately befallen him and the Afrídís. There is a rough Ghás'haey to cross in entering Jammú from this side, and, having crossed it, I came down to Sandah Bastah. It was raining at the time, the sun being in Taurus, and, drenched with wet, I went to him, pronounced the *fátiḥa'h* for the Afrídís,‡ and passed the night in his company in one of the villages. Next morning we held a *jirga'h*, and it was deemed advisable that I should retire, along with the Afrídís, into Tí-ráh. Taking leave of him, I came down to Tor Tsapar,§ and went into the Khwaṛa'h. My families were at Nizám-púr, but, through the bad name [caused by this failure of the Kohát affair], I was unable to proceed thither to see my elder sons to consult with them. I sent for Gohar's mother, therefore, to join me, and passed eight or nine days at Tání; and sent off the mothers of Jalál, Sikandar, Gohar, and 'Ajab. The Afrídí families had also departed for Tí-ráh. In short, we set out, stage by stage, and proceeded thither, the Afrídís treating me in the most handsome manner, and, being delighted at my coming, feasted us at every stage.

"I stayed in Báṛa'h a fortnight among the Zakhah Khel and Aká Khel,‖ and entered Tí-ráh on the 1st of Rabí'-ul-Awwal, the third month; and the whole of the preceding month of Ṣafar of 1085 H. (May, 1674 A.D.) was passed proceeding on foot into Tí-ráh, having left the Khwaṛa'h on the last day of Muḥarram—the first month of the year. I went by the way of Tand to Saidán.¶ The sun had entered Gemini; and the grain was not yet in ear, only green, as it comes into ear in the sign Cancer. The water of Tí-ráh during the whole of the rainy season [of India—the hot months or summer of these parts] continued as cold as ice, and we slept indoors all the time. During the four months that we passed in Tí-ráh the Afrídís entertained us in the same hospitable manner.

"Whilst here, the Yúsufzí Maliks wrote inviting me to come to them, saying that Aurang-zeb had recalled Rájah Jaswant Singh, that he had departed, and that if I would come they would do all I could desire. I had hinted to Daryá Khán and Ae-mal Khán certain matters, but no opportunity occurred for carrying them out; and, as I was unwilling to do anything without consulting them, I showed this communication from the Yúsufzís to them. Aurang-zeb was at Ḥasan-i-Abdál** at the time; and a Prince, with a large army, had set out in the direction of Bangas'h. We had still entertained the hope of assembling a force in the autumn to attack Kohát, but, the Bádsháh having arrived at Ḥasan-i-Abdál, and the army of the Prince having reached Bangas'h, our intention could not be carried out."††

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* *See* page 422.

† A subdivision of the Ato Khel Tarís. There is no division of the Khaṭaks called "Anu" or "Ano" Khel: it is a mere typographical error in one place in the text of Afẓal Khán's history, contained in *my* Gulshan-i-Roh, of انو for اتو, and also occurs in the original, but is subsequently corrected. *See* note *, page 400, paragraph last.

‡ The first *súrah* of the Ḳur'án, repeated when offering up prayers for the souls of the dead, and when paying visits of condolence to persons who have lost relatives.

§ This is the same word as occurs in Kábul Tsapar at page 181. It is turned into "Torsupper" in the maps, and into "Torsapar" by others.

‖ Afrídí clans dwelling in that part.

¶ Not "Sayyadan," as in the maps.

** Aurang-zeb reached Ḥasan-i-Abdál, in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah of the Panj-áb, in the fourth month of 1085 H. (July, 1674 A.D.); and the Máhá-Rájah, Jaswant Singh, met him on his way thither, at Ráwal-Pindí, having, doubtless, come from his post of Thánah-dár of Jam-rúd, to lay before the Bádsháh the state of the Khaibar and the Afgháns of those parts. A few days after, Ághúz Khán, who was considered the champion of the Mughals, and other officers were despatched to Pes'háwar from the camp, at the head of 5,000 horse, against the Afgháns of the Khaibar and Jam-rúd.

†† After the overthrow of the Mughal army at Gand-áb (*see* page 42), the aspect of affairs looked so serious, the Khaibar, Kaṛappah, and Áb-Khána'h routes being all closed, that, in the sixth month of the same year, a few days after Aurang-zeb reached Ḥasan-i-Abdál, he appointed his son, Prince Muḥammad Akbar, with Asad Khán as his mentor, and eighteen other nobles and their troops, forming a considerable army, to march to

Such being the case, Khush-ḥál Khán set out for the country of the Yúsufzís; and, while there, wrote the heart-stirring poem, the first of his poems contained in my translation of Afghán poetry. As to his journey thither, he says:—"I first went "into the Bázár valley, and went from thence, by the Tsats-aobey route,* by the "*Kotal* or pass of that name, to Ḍhákah. The Mahmands appeared to me to be very "good people; and Nazr Muḥammad [the chief?] was a wonderful youth: I was "also much taken with Kamál Khán, his brother. The next day I set out by the "Punḍ-yálaey road, to the banks of the river of Kábul, and reached the lands of the "Mulá-gorís. They passed us over the river, but, in doing so, the horse on which "Jalál Khán rode was carried away by the force of the current. We passed the night "with the Mulá-gorís, and, next day, about one hundred Mulá-gorís escorted us by "the Palah and Chinda'h road to Túṭí of the Utmán Khel Karlárnís. I had long "wished to become acquainted with these Karlárnís, and to gain their esteem, but "they appeared very uncouth, and were all like cowherds and shepherds."

Khush-ḥál, from thence, got among his own Khaṭak people settled to the north of the river of Kábul, and subsequently stayed for a long time among the Yúsufzís, but did not obtain the assistance they promised. He bewails, in the poem previously quoted, which he composed while in their country, their conduct, and says:—"Up to "the 6th of Jamádí-ul-Awwal—the fifth month—of the year 1086 H. [August, "1675 A.D.], on the side of the Khaibar, and at Kháfash, what brave deeds have been "performed by Ae-mal Khán and Daryá Khán! For several months Fidá'í Khán,† "the Mughal commander, with the whole army of Hind, has been encamped at Yalam

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Kábul by way of Koháṭ—the route through the Bangas'hát, or what is now known as the Kurma'h (*vul.* "Kuram" and "Kurram") route. Subsequent events, however, caused the order to be suspended, and finally countermanded.

* Tsats-aobey means, in Pus'hto, droppings of water from the eaves of a roof, also, the coping of a wall or eaves of a roof throwing off water. There is a village here; and the name is evidently derived from water leaking, gurgling, or dropping, from rocks or over a wall of rock.

By this, to the Afgháns, well known route, the Khaibar defile can be turned either from the eastern, or *from the western side.* An account of its being turned from the east will be found farther on; and the turning it from the west by Nádir Sháh, the Afshár, at the head of 12,000 men, when he surprised the Mughal forces under Náṣir Khán, the Ṣúbah-dár of the province, who, posted in front of Jam-rúd, imagined he had effectually secured the Khaibar, has been related at pages 38 and 39.

The native Indian historians of the Mughal dynasty, in their ignorance of the Pus'hto language, and inability to realize the sound of the Afghán letter "*ts*," writing from ear, invariably write the name of this *Kotal* and village incorrectly. They write it Sih-chobí, and Sih-jo-íah, thinking, evidently, that the first word in both instances stood for Tájzik *three*, that *chobí*, in the first, meant *wooden*, and, in the second, that the word *jo-íah* stood for a rivulet or stream.

The very same place is meant in the account of Mán Singh's advance into the Bázár Dara'h, which the Mughal historians invariably call Bázárak—the diminutive of Bázár—from Bísh-Buláḳ, related at page 46, and there it is written *Chár-jo-íah*, which signifies "four springs."

The Surveyors who, in 1879, accompanied General Tytler's column from Básaul on its way to the Bázár valley (mentioned by Khush-ḥál above), on its way to meet the other column from Jam-rúd under General Maude, which had already reached it, did not know what historic ground they were treading. Captain E. P. Leach, R.E., who was with the first-mentioned column, gives, in the Survey Report for 1878–79, some interesting details respecting it. He says (Report, page 44):—

"The 25th January was the day fixed for the general move upon *Bazar*, the first night's halt being at *Chunar* [Chinár?]. . . . . The next day a portion of the force advanced on *Kasaba* [the Ḳaṣba'h?], a small village three miles S.W. of *Chunar* [Chinár], camp being struck, and the baggage started for *Sisobi* at the foot of the pass of the same name. *Kasaba* was found deserted, but its inmates opened fire from the sides of a precipitous and pine-clad spur of the Sufed Koh immediately overhanging the valley. . . . .

"The hills as far as *Chenar* [Chunar before] were absolutely devoid of vegetation, and looking back over the plain of Jelalabad, the higher ranges stood darkly out of what appeared to be a waste of sand, burying their lower spurs and sloping gradually downward towards the Kabul river. . . . . From the Basawal side [Básaul: Nádir Sháh advanced from Lower Bihár, and Mán Singh from Bísh-Buláḳ] the road to *Chenar* [Chinár] lay through a deep and difficult gorge, but towards *Dakha* [Ḍhákah] it was easy and easily defensible. Leaving *Chenar* [Chinár], a descent of about a mile into the bed of the *Tsitsobi* stream [the *kotal*, village, and stream, all three are known by *one name*, 'the Tsats-aobey,' whereas Leach calls the village *Sisobi*] completely changed the scenery. A broad track along the bed of the river led up to the village. . . . . On either side of the road the hills rose precipitously, a magnificent gorge under the hill called '*Tungheh*' [Tangaey—which word signifies a gorge] being particularly striking. As the valley advanced the cliffs receded, and round the village of *Tsitsobi* [*Sisobi* before] a certain extent of terraced cultivation formed a contrast to the sombre colouring of the rocks in the background. . . . . The height by barometer was 3,750 feet.

"On the 27th, having the pass [the Tsats-aobey *Kotal*] to cross, an early start was made. The distance to the foot was about a mile, still through cultivation, and then a stiff zig-zag ascent of 1,000 feet gained the summit of the range. The view was magnificent. . . . . The height of the pass was approximately 4,800 feet."

† On the 7th of Rajab, the seventh month (October) of the previous year, Fidá'í Khán was appointed Ṣúbah-dár of the Kábul province; and Mahábat Khán was recalled, for reasons previously referred to, and his failing to pacify the Afgháns. A numerous and well equipped force was sent with Fidá'í Khán, and express instructions respecting the mode of crossing the different *kotals* or passes were furnished to him.

On the 27th of Sha'bán, the eighth month (November), Mahábat Khán reached Aurang-zeb's camp; and

"Guzar and at Jam-rúd; and he has made many efforts in that direction, and towards "Sher-Ghaṛ, and Jálí, indeed, on every side without result." He then proceeds to describe them; and among other matters, he says:—

"The Mughals, in their policy, took advantage of the inexperience of my eldest son, Ashraf;* and Fidá'í Khán despatched him, along with a Mughal force, against Sher-Ghaṛ of the Adam Khel Afrídís, by way of the Khwaṛa'h. He thus smote his foot, as it were, with his own axe, in consenting to go against those very Afrídís who had preserved our honour."

But the Khaṭaks, including the Aoriá Khel† clan, dwelling nearest to the Adam Khels, and others, were not willing co-operators in the affair; and the result was, that the Mughals were overthrown, and a great number of them were killed, likewise a few Khaṭaks. The rout was so complete, that the Mughals were pursued as far as Khair-ábád. "The Almighty was merciful," writes Khush-ḥál, "for, had the affair "turned out otherwise, I should never have been able to hold up my head again, and "have had no place of shelter."

"On the very same day that Sher-Ghaṛ was assailed, another attempt was made by

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soon after was appointed to proceed against Bír Singh, son of the Rájah Pathal-dás. He died within a few weeks, at Aman-ábád, on the 4th of Shawwál of the same year (January, 1675 A.D.).

In Ramaẓán, the ninth month (December), Muḥammad Wafá was made Thánah-dár of the Ferry of Resa'í and of Koháṭ. At the same time, Muḥtashim Khán, the elder son of Shaikh Mír, was made Fowj-dár of Langar-Koṭ (north of the river of Kábul), and Multafit Khán was removed; and 'Ináyat Khán was made Fowj-dár of Khair-ábád in place of Mujáhid Khán removed.

News of the disaster at Kháfash or Khápash was received on the 27th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal (the third month of 1086 H.—May, 1675 A.D.); and, at the end of the month, the Bakhshí-ul-Mulk—Paymaster General—Sar-Buland Khán, and other nobles, with a force of 9,000 well equipped cavalry—nine is the lucky number among the Mughals (*see* "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note to page 1106)—were despatched from the Bádsháh's camp against the Afgháns, and Ághúz Khán was made Thánah-dár of Jalál-ábád. Several others were appointed at the same time, namely Hizabr Khán to Jagdálík; Firáḳ Khán to the Lamghánát; Allah-Dád Khán to Gharíb Khána'h (*see* page 40); and Khanjar Khán to the Bangas'hát.

* Ashraf Khán was then in favour, and the nominal head of his tribe, and the vassal of the Mughal government: hence he could scarcely have refused to accompany the force, for his tenure was very precarious.

† Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, begins his account of the Khaṭaks by telling us, that "The *koms* of Mughalkí, Síní, "Aoriá Khel, and Dzalúzí, are not in reality of the Khaṭak tribe. A long time ago their progenitors, having "come among the Khaṭak tribe, took up their abode among them; and, having married with Khaṭaks, by "degrees became so mixed up with them, that *now* they are also called Khaṭaks." The above is *literal* from the 'Urdú text, but he does not tell us who or what they were. In the Translation of his book, or rather a portion of it, by Mr. H. Priestly, of the Bengal Civil Service, page 205, it is stated:—"The *Muglaki* "[for Mughalkí], *Samini* [for Síní], *Uriykhel* [for Aoriá Khel], and *Tsaluzai* [for Dzalúzí] clans are not of "real Khatak extraction, their progenitors being men of other races who intermarried with and joined "themselves to the Khatak, and whose descendants have since continued the connection." This may be called, therefore, an exceedingly *free* translation of Hai'át's book, which in the original contains errors enough. The Dangarzís are not mentioned in either.

Neither is it mentioned, in either original or translation, how it happens that no Aoriá Khel section or clan appears in the tables of descent given with each.

Plowden, on the other hand, in his translation of the Kalíd-i-Afghání, previously referred to, page 189, says, that the "*Oria-Khel* are a Khaṭak clan who live north of Cherát;" and he is quite correct.

MacGregor says, "The *Seni*, *Uria Khêl*, and *Jalúzai* [the Mughalkí and Dangarzí are not mentioned], "are not Khataks. *Sen* is said to have been a Dalazák, who intermarried with a Khatak. The *Uria Khel* "are descended from a *woman* of another tribe who married a Khatak. The *Jalúzai* are said to be of *Khalíl* "descent. However, all these are *now* recognized as Khataks." This, as far as it goes, is pretty correct, except in the spelling of names.

According to Khush-ḥál Khán, chief of the Khaṭaks, whose authority can scarcely be disputed, these sections or clans were recognized as Khaṭaks, and, as shown above respecting the Aoriá Khel, some *four centuries* or more before "now."

As it is not desirable that such errors, as are contained in Hai'át Khán's statements in particular, should be passed over, I will just mention what Khush-ḥál says respecting the Aoriá Khel:—"A widow woman came "among the Ato Khel. With her was a boy, his name was Aoriá. This boy, Paṭaey [son of Ato] protected "[brought up]; and that woman, by the advice of his tribe, he gave in marriage to Mahmandaey [his "brother], and of her Soriá was born, whom [whose descendants] they *now* call Soriá Khel. The Aoriá Khel "are a good *ulús* [or clan], and are contained in the Paṭiah Khel [section of the Ato Khel. Hai'át always turns "the Paṭiah Khel into Baṭí Khel, and Ato into Ano, another great error]; and the Soriá Khel are [contained] "among the Mahmandís." Khush-ḥál does not *actually say* that Paṭaey gave the boy, Aoriá, a Khaṭak maiden in marriage, but that is certainly meant, and the probability is that it was a maiden of his own family, since Aoriá's descendants are reckoned among his clan.

Plowden is the only one who refers to the Aoriá Khel as a separate clan; and in the "Tables of Descent" given by the others, not the least mention is made of them.

Hai'át and MacGregor both state that the mother of Malik Akoṛ, great-grandfather of Khush-ḥál, was of the Aoriá Khel. Such being the case, *all* the Khaṭak chiefs are descended from her; and yet they assure us that the Aoriá Khel "*are not* Khaṭaks," and are only "*now*" so called! The Sínís, we are told, are not Khaṭaks, because a Dilazák, some four centuries since, married a Khaṭak woman, and his descendants have intermarried with Khaṭaks ever since; and, according to the same theory, the Aoriá Khel are not Khaṭaks because their mother *was* a Khaṭak: consequently, none of the chiefs of the Khaṭak tribe were Khaṭaks. This is ridiculous, because Afgháns of one tribe constantly married women of other tribes, and do so still. The mother of Ya'ḳúb Khán, ex-Amír of Kábul, was a Mahmand: therefore, according to such crude ideas, he is not a Bárakzí.

the Mughals from the side of Kohát by the Sandah Bastah route; and Sher Muhammad Khán, and the Bangas'h Karlárnís, subject to the Mughals, and also some vassal Afrídís, perforce, went with him. A battle took place in the direction of Ákhor, but there, likewise, the Mughals and their [unwilling?] allies were overthrown. After this, Fidá'í Khán moved from Yalam Guzar with two corps, by way of Báráh and the Dwah To-e, and entered the hills. The Wurakzís then submitted; and, at their suggestion, he abandoned the village of the Alúzís [thus giving up the attempt], and moved back to Jam-rúd. Just after, a mace-bearer from the Bádsháh arrived in his camp with peremptory orders for him 'to penetrate the Khaibar or die;' and all he had to do was to obey. He did so; and some Khataks, Ghwaríah Khel [Khalíls, and Mahmands of the Pes'háwar district], Wurakzís, and a few Afrídís* [vassals of the Mughals], accompanied his army. Ae-mal Khán and Daryá Khán, Afrídís, had taken up a strong position in the Khaibar; and the Mughal army, and their Afghán allies, moved against them, but were repulsed with great loss, and had to retire. Fidá'í Khán had to make another attempt; and, at the advice of the Wurakzís, he proceeded towards Bázár;† and this day that I write this, the Mughals are in Nangnahár."‡

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* The Mughal authorities must have been very stupid to expect that Afgháns, even though feuds existed among themselves, would, willingly, aid in the destruction of their own people for the benefit of the Mughals, however little their patriotism may have been. The upshot proved it.

† This is the other route by which the Khaibar may be turned. Bázár is the name of a small village and dara'h, situated between 'Alí Masjid and the dara'h or valley of the Bára'h river. Fidá'í Khán's object was to turn the eastern side of the defile. During the first Afghán campaign it was proposed to send a force from the Pes'háwar side to punish the Afrídís of Bára'h and Bázár, which force was first to enter Bára'h, and then cross over—by the very route here referred to—into the Bázár valley, but, for some reason or other, it was never carried out. That the route is practicable is sufficiently apparent from Fidá'í Khán's attempt, but of which the British authorities were, of course, not cognizant. During the late campaign our Surveyors have had the opportunity of surveying it, and have, doubtless, availed themselves of it.

‡ To understand these references of Khush-hál's, and know how these events came about, we must refer to the Mughal accounts which confirm them, but they, as a matter of course, do not acknowledge any aid on the part of their Afghán allies, and conceal defeats as much as possible in bombastic language, while the Afghán begrudges them any success. I must, therefore, enter into a little detail here, even on the chance of being considered too prolix, because these events referred to by the Khatak chief are some of the most important and interesting in Afghán, as well as in Indian history, and throw some additional light on the geography of the parts in which they happened.

Aghúz Khán (Aghúz is the name of one of the most celebrated of the old Mughal patriarchs and kings, and he gave the names to the chief tribes. *See* "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násiri, page 876) having arrived at Pas'háur, whither he had been despatched in the fourth month of 1085 H., as already related, some Mahmand Afgháns, who remembered the chastisements they had received at his hands, made a night attack upon his force, but he, having obtained information of their intention, was prepared for them. He repulsed them, it is said, with considerable loss, slew some 300 horsemen, and carried off about 2,000 men, women, and children, besides cattle and other property, and returned to Pas'háur in triumph. No date is given, but it was at the time Khush-hál refers to, as we shall presently see.

The Bádsháh commanded Ághúz Khán to direct his efforts towards the Khaibar, and that Fidá'í Khán, the Súbah-dár, with other nobles serving under him at Pas'háur, should commence operations against the Afgháns of that part, and that Ághúz Khán should form the advance with his troops. We are then told that 40,000 [4,000, more probably] Afgháns attacked Ághúz Khán near 'Alí Masjid, but he was ready to receive them, and desperate fighting was the result. The two forces remained facing each other [and here Fidá'í Khán's whole force must be meant] for a considerable time, and in different positions. Both sides sustained great loss, both in killed and wounded; and Ághúz Khán was himself wounded during these operations.

Here we have the affair in which Ae-mal Khán and Daryá Khán repulsed the Mughals, as related by Khush-hál above.

The historian continues:—"At last, by the good fortune of the Bádsháh, the Afgháns were defeated, and "thousands of them [!] were slain. Ághúz Khán sent a report of his successes, with a number of Afghán "heads, to the Bádsháh's camp, together with a number of prisoners; and he received great praise." But here follows the result of these "victories." "Notwithstanding such efforts and labours on the part of Aghúz "Khán, *the road to Kábul remained closed against all comers and goers* between that place and Pas'háur, and "even the Súbah-dár could not get to Kábul; but Ághúz Khán, acting as leader of the advance, by command "of the Bádsháh, proceeded by way of Bázárak and Sih-chobah. Fighting the whole way through [after "killing, according to their own account, more people than the whole of the Khaibar tribes contained], he "brought Fidá'í Khán to Jalál-ábád, which is the chief place in Nangnahár."

This Sih-chobah, sometimes written, as at page 38, para. 1 of these "Notes," Sih-jo-íah, is merely the way persons, unacquainted with the Pus'hto language, would, from ear, write Tsats-aoba'h, or correctly, Tsats-aobey, which route has been previously noticed at page 405.

Then it is stated that Fidá'í Khán left Ághúz Khán, with Sultán Murád, and Sultán Lashkarí, two Gakhar officers serving under him, with their contingents, and some Ráj-púts, in all 5,000 horse, to hold, and settle the affairs of, Nangnahár, which the Afgháns had got entire possession of, after which he himself moved from Bísh-Bulák towards Kábul, on the 7th of Rabí'-ul-Ákhir (the fourth month) of 1086 H. (July, 1675 A.D.). He

It was just before the events related above that the battle of Kháfash was fought, in which Shamsher Khán, one of the Mughal leaders, was slain by Daryá Khán himself, and the other, Mukarram Khán, was wounded, as related at page 115.

The next event respecting the Kaṛlárnís of Bangas'h, mentioned by Khush-ḥál, happened in 1086 H. (1675–76 A.D.). He says :—

"In the year 1086 H. (began 17th March, 1675 A.D.), Sháh Beg,* Bangas'h Kaṛlární, came to me with a *jirga'h* or deputation, and solicited that I should make up the feud between them [his clan or section of the Bangas'h Kaṛlárnís] and the Sírnís [Khaṭaks], which I promised subsequently to do.† As he continued to send me letters, one after the other, about it, and advised me to attack Kohát in order to create a diversion for him, I accordingly wrote about it to Daryá Khán, Afrídí. He despatched his brother, Tátár Khán, to me, with the Maliks of the Aká Khel and Adam Khel; and I entertained them at Ráj-gaṛ,‡ to which place I had returned; and we held a *jirga'h* or council on the matter of attacking Koháṭ.

"The upshot was, that a force was organized, and we moved towards Kunḍ-yálaey.§ I was still at home when La'l Beg, Sa'íd Khán, and Khowáṣ, the Toghí, came and threw themselves on my protection,|| and besought me, if I had the honour and welfare of Pus'htúns at heart, that we should [including themselves] 'drive out that 'Mughal,¶ who is there seated over us, and not let Afgháns ruin and destroy one 'another.'

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was so successful against the Afgháns (in reaching Kábul at all perhaps), that he was raised to the title of A'ẓam Khán-i-Kokah.

To show what sort of success this was, "news came soon after that Hizabr Khán, Thánah-dár of Jagdálík, "had been killed in an affair with the Afgháns, together with his son, and many other servants of the State; "that 'Abd-ullah Khán, Kheshkí [an Afghán of Hindústán], Thánah-dár of Bárík-Áb and Surkh-Áb, had been "obliged to evacuate his posts and march away, and that a great number of those along with him had been "killed or made captive."

Ághúz Khán is then said to have begun with "the Ghalzís, who are notorious as the worst of the Afgháns in "roughness and ferocity; and he fought several actions with them, and opened the road by Jagdálík to Kábul. "After this he took post at Gandamak. The Afgháns, finding themselves unable to meet him and his troops "day after day, assembled to the number of 30,000 or 40,000 [gross exaggeration], and fell upon him at night. "He was ready prepared for them; and the fighting continued until evening of the next day, at which time "the Afgháns were all [*sic*] killed, wounded, or put to flight."

Here follows a proof of the exaggeration on the part of the Mughal writers :—"Soon after, Fidá'í Khán, now "the A'ẓam Khán-i-Kokah, was desirous of moving from Kábul to Pas'háur, but the Afgháns, assembling in "great numbers, completely closed the route, and severe fights took place between them. Fidá'í Khán, "influenced by certain rivals of Ághúz Khán, would not avail himself of the latter's aid on this occasion. "Fidá'í Khán, making the chiefs of the 'Arabs and their tribesmen [*see* page 114], who are famous for their "bravery and courage, the van of his force, moved on from Jagdálík. After great efforts on their part, they "were repulsed; and the guns, elephants, baggage, stores, and other property, women, and camp followers, "fell into the hands of the enemy." How all these got with the *van* is not said. "The main body still "remained firm [after losing all the guns and elephants, etc. !]; and swift messengers were despatched to "Ághúz Khán for help. He came without loss of time; and at the crest of the Jagdálík *Kotal*, which is "famous as being one of the worst and most difficult passes in that part, and commanded by hills on either "side, a severe battle took place. Volleys of arrows and bullets were poured upon the Mughal forces, and "fragments of rock, sufficient to overturn elephants, were rolled down upon them. The Bádsháh's forces were "hard pressed, but, through the good arrangements of Ághúz Khán, the Afgháns were, at last, repulsed; and "Fidá'í Khán reached Jalál-ábád."

After this affair, according to orders received, arrangements were made for erecting small forts, at different points along the line of route, and stationing bodies of troops therein, to keep open the communications. These have been previously referred to in the account of the route between Kábul and Jalál-ábád at page 57.

* "Beg" occurring in the name of an Afghán appears strange, but it seems to be applied as a by-name There was another of this family called La'l *Beg*, mentioned farther on; and a Sháh *Beg*, Afrídí, at page 397.

† These events happened shortly after the Afghán victory at Kháfash. It is not at all clear how the Sírṉí Khaṭaks, in particular, fell out with the Bangas'h Kaṛlárnís.

‡ Also called Ráj-gal, "*ṛ*" and "*l*" being, at times, interchangeable. It is not in our maps.

§ Khunḍ-yálaey and Khuḍ-yálaey of the author of the surveys, and "Gundyalee" of the maps, and "Gandiáli" of MacGregor, and others. It is situated on a stream, which comes from the hills of the Adam Khel Afrídís, a tributary of the Káǧhzí or Koháṭ river. The tracts east of it are much cut up by ravines. *See* page 446.

|| The Pus'hto word is "*nanawáta'h*," which signifies "taking refuge or sanctuary in the house of another, "and refusing to eat or drink until one's request be complied with, to which it is considered a point of "honour to accede," also "taking refuge," "shelter," or "asylum." La'l Beg was Sher Muḥammad Khán's uncle.

¶ It is probable that the nickname of Beg was applied to them because they were in Mughal pay, for "that Mughal" here no doubt refers to a vassal of, or one in the pay of, the Mughal government, and not to one of that nation. It may possibly refer to Sher Muḥammad Khán, otherwise, what had become of him in the meantime does not appear. Khush-ḥál's account is not quite clear through leaving out what might have been well known to him, but not to us, namely, what connection existed between them. It may be that the Mughal Fowj-dár of Bangas'h is referred to.

"When I reached Kunḍ-yálaey, I despatched a horseman to Sháh Beg, to inform him that his accusers were there present, and that he should come likewise, and I would then do what he wished. A night passed, and still he did not appear. Having let another night pass, I again sent a message to him, but the stubborn frequenter of bázárs, instead of coming himself, wrote to say that, if I would kill La'l Beg, Sa'íd Khán, and others, who had come to me, and move towards Kohát, he would join me before that place with all his followers, that we would take the place, and put the Ḥájí, 'Abd-ullah,* to death likewise, but that he could not come to me while his enemies were present, as he might, himself, be put to death.

"This conduct on his part enraged me greatly; and I summoned the Afrídí *jirga'h*, and read to them the letters of Sháh Beg. They, likewise, took his conduct in bad part, and agreed to abide by my wishes, and act as I might deem best. On this, giving them all possible encouragement and assurance, we dismissed La'l Beg, and the others who had accompanied him, having first given them Sháh Beg's letter to read, upon which they said, that, if they were true men, they ought never to forget my kindness towards them in this affair; for that Kohát, as it were, had been taken from them, and I had restored it to them again.

"They returned home, and we to Da Ghoríahzío Tol.† I determined to open a road here [between the place above mentioned, over the hills to the east, leading to the ferries over the Indus], and I left Aṣaf Khán as Dároghah, or Superintendent, and assigned the making of it to a portion of the Marozí Sínís. I then returned home [to Ráj-gaṛ] by the Tínal Ghás'haey."‡

The extracts given, up to this point, have been taken from Khush-ḥál Khán's own Diary, and those following are related by his grandson, Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, who says that:—"After some fighting, in concert with the Yúsufzís against the Mughals, north of the river of Kábul, Khush-ḥál led a body of his tribe against Sher Muḥammad Khán of Kohát. He first moved against Kunḍ-yálaey; and Sher Khán, having written letters to, and begun intriguing with, the false Sínís and Múshaks, gained them over, and they deserted Khush-ḥál. Not to lose others by desertion through longer delay, he advanced towards Gumbata'h to attack the position of Sher Khán, while rain was falling, through the mud and mire, and his men soaked with wet. Sher Khán and his followers, emboldened by the desertion of the Sínís and Múshaks, came forth to meet the Khaṭaks, who, after some fighting, were repulsed with the loss of 160 men, and Khush-ḥál was himself wounded in the head. After this serious reverse he retired into Tsautara'h.

"About this time Fidá'í Khán was recalled, and the Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, at the head of an army, and along with him, Amír Khán, son of Khalíl-ullah Khán, was despatched towards Kábul.§ Amír Khán, on his arrival at Pas'háur, wrote to Khush-ḥál Khán, saying that the Prince was come to make peace with the Afgháns, and asked him to present himself. As Khush-ḥál, when in exile in Hind, had experienced kindness at the hands of Khalíl-ullah Khán, and his sons, Iṣálat, and Amír, he came up from Tsautara'h to Pas'háur to wait on the Prince, on receipt of a safe conduct from the latter, and from Rájah Jaswant Sing; and Iftikhár Khán, who, in 1087 H. (1676 A.D.), had been made Fowj-dár of the Bangas'hát, was sent to Afẓal-ábád to induce him to come. After that he went on to Gharíb Khána'h, where Amír Khán then was, and had an interview with him also. The Prince offered

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* There is a Karlární Afghán named 'Abd-ullah, mentioned farther on, at page 418, but not styled a Ḥájí.

† "Ghorizai" of the maps, and "Górázái" of MacGregor, another specimen, among hundreds, of how incorrectly names of places have hitherto been written.

‡ A pass on the route into the Jz'wákí Adam Khel Afrídí territory to the north of Kunḍ-yálaey. It is written thus in the original.

§ Aurang-zeb left Ḥasan-i-Abdál for Láhor in the tenth month of 1086 H. (December, 1675). On the 17th of Sha'bán, 1087 H. (October, 1676), the Sháh-Zádah, Muḥammad Muaẓẓam, was raised to the title of Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, and appointed to command a large army, and a train of artillery, with a large amount of treasure, for service in the province of Kábul, and this is what Khush-ḥál refers to. The Amír Khán here mentioned is a totally different person from the Sayyid, Amír Khán, who sent Khush-ḥál a captive to the Bádsháh's presence; for he died many years before, as already noticed. Khush-ḥál is not quite correct as to Fidá'í Khán's removal, for it was not until the 24th of Muḥarram, the first month of the next year, 1088 H. (middle of March, 1677 A.D.), that, at the recommendation of Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, the A'ẓam Khán-i-Kokah (*i.e.*, Fidá'í Khán) was removed, and Amír Khán appointed Ṣúbah-dár, but the latter accompanied the Prince, and served under him as Khush-ḥál mentions. They reached Kábul in the middle of the sixth month of 1088 H. (August, 1677 A.D.), and Khush-ḥál's interviews with them must have taken place at the end of July, or very early in August. Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, at the end of 1088 H., returned to Court, and, on the 14th of Sha'bán, the eighth month of 1089 H. (September, 1678 A.D.), it was reported to the Bádsháh that the Ṣúbah-dár, Amír Khán, had reached Kábul, the seat of government of his province, in the preceding Rabí'-ul Ákhir (May).

Khush-ḥál service [so he says], and the rank of commander of 2,000 horse, but he refused to serve Aurang-zeb,* his father, but promised, if the Prince came to the throne, to serve him, even in his old age. After this, Khush-ḥál retired to Niẓám-púr, and there took up his residence, and built a dwelling-house for himself. The *maḥáll* or district of Tarí Bolák̤, as promised by Amír Khán at the time, was subsequently conferred upon him (in 1088 H.—1677 A.D.), but, as Ashraf, his eldest son, was then the Sar-dár or head of the tribe, that *maḥáll* was assigned to him.†

"At this time, the Sayyid, Aḥmad, brother of Sháhámat Khán, who was the then Fowj-dár of the Bangas'hát, was holding Tarí Bolák̤; and he had a Thánah or post at the Tápí of Angú. He may have possibly delayed a little in evacuating it, on which the Mahmandí Khaṭaks [with true Afghán perversity] attacked it, slew some of Aḥmad's people, ousted the others, and deprived them of their arms and horses. On this, Khush-ḥál, who was still restless, although he, by his own act, had made his son, Ashraf, Sar-dár of the tribe, must needs call upon the *jirga'hs* (notables, head-men) of Tsautara'h' and Tarí Bolák̤, and without consulting Ashraf in the matter, to meet him at S'hádí-púr. He then proceeded into that *maḥáll* with some of his younger sons, took post at Búṭ, and commenced throwing up breastworks. This produced anger between father and son, as Ashraf was *Jagír-dár* as well as Sar-dár.‡ He came likewise, and took possession of Láchí; and, as before stated, there was a feud between the Khaṭaks and Afgháns of Bangas'h.

"As soon as the Prince and Amír Khán returned from Kábul (to Pas'háur), Sher Muḥammad Khán presented himself before them (to complain); and Khush-ḥál, with his followers, the fighting men of Tarí Bolák̤, moved to the Takht of Khúr-múr [a strong position about half way between Láchí and the Tíraey To-e]."

Ashraf Khán, the Sar-dár of the Khaṭaks,§ summoned his son, Afẓal (the author from whom these extracts are taken), with the Khaṭaks of Saráe and country round, to assemble at S'hádí-púr; and the first places they were sent against were the S'hádí Khel villages of Bangas'h. He says:—"Three small forts were taken, the men "killed, and the women and children made captive. The remainder of the S'hádí "Khel clan were in the strong fort of Ḍoḍa'h,‖ in which was a small post of Malik-"Mírí Karlárnís of Koháṭ, likewise Púrá, the trusted slave of Sher Muḥammad Khán. "[head of the Malik-Mírís]. The commanders of these tribesmen were Ḥájí 'Umar, "'Ináyat, and others. In all, there were 130 Malik-Mírí horsemen. These were "invested in the fort by the Khaṭaks; and, shortly after, were reduced to such straits "[through this unexpected attack upon them], that 'Ináyat, the Malik-Mírí, was "sent out to seek for terms of surrender. By this time, some of the Khaṭaks had "crept up close to the fort walls; and those within [no terms having been agreed to "as yet] fired upon them to keep them off, when the Khaṭaks made a rush, in which "'Ináyat, who was coming out, was killed [by mistake, possibly], and captured the "place, which was stronger than Koháṭ. In this affair 160 men were killed, and the "rest were made captive, but the principal persons among them were shortly after "again set at liberty. Great booty was also taken. It was in this affair; which took "place when the sun was in Leo, in 1091 H. (1680 A.D.), that Ṣadr Khán¶ first used "a spear, and greatly distinguished himself."

Not long after this—but in the same year, according to Afẓal Khán—Lashkarí Khán, the Gakhaṛ, who was Fowj-dár of Bangas'h, turned the Malik-Mírís out of Koháṭ,** by force; and they, unable any longer to dwell in that part, took up their quarters in the lands of the Khaṭaks of Gumbata'h. Ashraf Khán, on this, directed his son, Afẓal, to conduct these Malik-Mírís to Khair-ábád, by S'hádí-púr and the Níl-áb district. Subsequently, Khush-ḥál's own acts brought about further misunderstanding between him and his son, Ashraf. Most of the Tarí Bolák̤ Khaṭaks took Ashraf's side; and a deputation of them waited on the old Khán, and told him that they would be ruined in this enmity between father and son, and begged him to return to Niẓám-púr, and there settle their differences; and he withdrew in high dudgeon.

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* After being "dismissed with honour," and "*on the King's own horse.*" How ungrateful!

† *See* page 412. This man's son subsequently seized Ashraf Khán.

‡ He was therefore alone responsible to the Mughal government for the acts of his tribe. Tarí Bolák̤ was an imperial *jágír*.

§ Ashraf Khán was then forty-six years old.

‖ Ḍhoḍha'h, mentioned at page 379. Afgháns often reject the "*h*" in the Hindí letters "*dh*," "*jh*," "*th*," etc.

¶ Son of Khush-ḥál, and author of the very popular poem of Adam and Durkhána'í, a Díwán, and other poetry.

** A portion only, from what follows. Those residing in, and close to, Koháṭ, but, even then, all could not have been expelled, since they were invested in the Bálá Ḥiṣár or Citadel of Koháṭ soon after.

After some time, the Malik-Mírís of Koháṭ and Tarín Khán the (then) Fowj-dár, came to loggerheads. They reduced him to great straits; and Amír Khán, the Ṣúbah-dár, directed Ashraf Khán, as a feudatory, to move to Tarín Khán's aid. He appears to have come by way of Shiga'h,* two kuroh from Niẓám-púr, from Khair-ábád probably, and moved by the Níl-áb Ghás'haey or Pass to Gumbata'h, at the head of a considerable force.

At this place the original MS. is displaced, and suddenly breaks off, as in many other instances, but the following, from another place, supplies the particulars.

"Some of the other Bangas'h Afgháns,† and some Afrídís, and Wurakzís, who were Mughalís [that is, in the pay of, and feudatories of, the Mughals], came as a deputation to my father, and complained of the overbearing conduct of the Malik-Mírís, and that they had no means of withstanding them. They urged that they, the Malik-Mírís, were [by feud] his enemies, and that now was the opportunity, and if he would come they might be put to the sword. He told them, in reply, to leave their lines of intrenchment, and return to their quarters, and leave him to deal with them; and the Mughalí Afgháns did so. The Malik-Mírís, who were always at loggerheads with Tarín Khán, were then in the Bálá Ḥiṣár [of Koháṭ] with their families, and were invested therein. Arrived in the intrenchments with his men, Ashraf Khán directed them to show themselves to those within the place, when the Malik-Mírís discharged some *báns* or rockets among them, but, as the Khaṭaks were close up to the walls, the *báns* passed harmlessly over them. Next morning the Khaṭaks engaged the Malik-Mírís, who now became humble, and sought terms of capitulation. They entreated him, as a Khaṭak and a Karlární Afghán, not to ruin them, and to abandon both Mughals and Mughalí Afgháns. Although the Malik-Mírís were enemies of long standing, nevertheless, my father, looking to his own reputation and good name, agreed to let them throw themselves upon his protection.‡ He also considered that, although old enemies, still, upon occasion, in case of Amír Khán acting hostilely towards himself, these Malik-Mírís might aid him; whereas, if he put them to death, Amír Khán would only be too well pleased; so, of the two, he rather chose the chance of the Ṣúbah-dár's enmity. La'l Beg, the uncle of Sher Muḥammad Khán, came accordingly, at night, and met Ashraf Khán at the Sharíf Garden of Koháṭ, where his quarters were; and Malik Mián, of the Ḥasan Khel clan of the Malik-Mírís, came out into the intrenchments, and they were admitted to quarter. Ashraf Khán sent these Bangas'h people, with their families, and all their property and effects, to Shiga'h,§ above Mahkaḍ; and there they took up their quarters. He rendered them all possible assistance, made over his own baggage cattle to them, and obtained as many others as he possibly could, to convey their property on the way thither. He likewise directed his followers to repel by force any attempt of the Mughals or Mughalí Afgháns to interfere with or molest the Malik-Mírís. His forces being the more numerous, the others were overawed, and made no attempt to molest them. Ashraf Khán also sent them money, and cattle, for their subsistence. Sher Muḥammad Khán [the head of the Malik-Mírís] was in Hindústán when these events happened; and the Malik-Mírís wrote to him, giving an account of what Ashraf had done for them. Tarín Khán, the Fowj-dár, on the other hand, reported how Ashraf, who had been sent to *aid* him, had acted; and further, that he had assigned the Malik-Mírís lands in his own district."

Here was an open act of hostility; and Amír Khán was greatly incensed. These events happened towards the close of 1091 H. (1680 A.D.); and, not long after, Ashraf Khán gave shelter to one Ázád, a Gagyání, a connexion of his own, who had deserted Amír Khán. Ázád, with Ashraf's aid, got away into the Yúsufzí country, and from thence made a raid into the Do-Ábah; and, subsequently, with the connivance of Ibráhím Khán, son of 'Alí Mardán Khán (who betrayed Ḳandahár to Sháh-i-Jahán), who was despatched from Pes'háwar with troops to strengthen the Mughal forces in the country of the Yúzufzís, Ázád got away into Hindústán; for no vows or promises on the part of Amír Khán would induce him to place any faith in him. All this was considered the doings of Ashraf Khán. In the first year of Amír Khán's coming with the Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, the former wished to proceed to Kábul by the Bangas'h route, because of the Afgháns of the Khaibar, as he desired

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* Turned into "Shuggai" in the maps.

† Bá'ízís and Kághzís.

‡ *See* note ‖, page 408.

§ *See* page 435.

not to be under any obligation to them for a passage through.* He consulted Ashraf about it; and he advised the route (from Pes'háwar) by Ákhor and Koháṭ—the Sandah Bastah road. He then wanted Ashraf to accompany him, and to take his followers into pay. This, in the disturbed state of his own country, and with the seditious parties among his own family, Ashraf did not deem prudent to consent to, and Amír Khán was much displeased thereat. Ashraf was, however, so very unwise as to send his brother, Bahrám, with a few horsemen, instead; and he, finding the opportunity, undermined his elder brother in Amír Khán's opinion. The latter subsequently wrote to the Bádsháh, complaining of the Afgháns of the Khaibar,† and sought permission to make Jalál-ábád his winter quarters instead of Pes'háwar, as had hitherto been customary; and he was told that he was Ṣúbah-dár, and could act as he deemed advisable. He likewise complained of Ashraf's conduct, and received the same reply. On this, Amír Khán issued an order to the Rájah, Rám Singh, commanding the Mughal troops at Jam-rúd, to seize him. He declined to do so, and sent to warn Ashraf to be on his guard. Then Amír Khán directed the Sayyid, Bhúlá, son of Sháhámat Khán,‡ at Pes'háwar, to do so by some means or other. This was at the end of Taurus or beginning of Gemini, 1092 H. (1681 A.D.). Ashraf was *invited* to come to Pes'háwar, and, having no disloyal feeling in his heart, went. He was treacherously seized, and sent away a captive into Hindústán.§ His brother, Bahrám, who was quite prepared for the plot, along with the Fowj-dár of Langar-Koṭ, and a body of Mughal troops, at once moved to attack Saráe; and Afẓal Khán, Ashraf's son (who relates these events in greater detail than I can find space for here), had barely time to fly with the family, and take to the mountains.

Subsequently, Khush-ḥál Khán abandoned S'hádí-púr as a residence; and removed the fugitive Malik-Mírís, who had been located at and around Shiga'h by Ashraf, up to Tsamúzí.

After the imprisonment of Ashraf, the affairs of the Khaṭak tribe continued in a terrible state of confusion, which was fomented and fanned by the Mughals for many years, for the purpose of weakening the tribe, as has been already mentioned in the account of the Karlárnís.

In 1095 H. (1694 A.D.), Afẓal Khán, who now acted as head of the tribe, though all did not acknowledge him, and performed the duties of protecting the royal road from Khair-ábád to Noh-s'hahra'h, for which duty they held that tract in fief, had again to abandon his country. A considerable sum of money was demanded of him by the Mughal officials at Pes'háwar; and he was threatened, if he did not pay up, that Bahrám Khán should be taken into favour. He therefore took to the hills once more; and great disorders among the tribes around followed; property to the value of several *lákhs* of rúpís was plundered; and the road from Aṭak to Pes'háwar was closed.

Afẓal Khán says:—"Rájah Rám Singh having become Fowj-dár of Koháṭ and Bangas'h [about 1096 H. (1685 A.D.)], I had gone up to Khwarama'h, when I heard of 'Ábid Khán's late movement against Bágh of the Awáns. He was then at Láchí; and through Sa'd-ullah, the Malik-Mírí, 'Ábid‖ had an interview with the Rájah, and

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* At least, Amír Khán did not wish the Prince to know that it depended on the Afgháns whether his way by the Khaibar was stopped or not. He soon, however, became better acquainted with their ways, to his cost, as I have already shown.

† Their extortionate demands for a safe passage he meant.

‡ This Sháhámat Khán, it must be remembered, was the brother of the Sayyid, Aḥmad, whom the Mahmandí Khaṭaks so unceremoniously ousted from the post at the Ṭápí of Ángú, killing some of his men, and disarming others, as related at page 410.

§ This was not the first time he had been seized and imprisoned. The first time he came among the Mughals after his father had been sent to Hindústán he was seized, and was only released on Dilír-Himmat Khán, son of Bahádur Khán (whose father, Daryá Khán, supported Khán-i-Jahán, Lodí) becoming surety for him.

Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar's account of Ashraf's seizure is almost as amusing as some of his other statements. He says, "Káká Ṣáhib's son, Ẓíá-ud-Dín [turned into *Zuja*-ud-din, in the "Translation" of his book], having "aided Bahrám Khán [against his father and brother], for this reason Ashraf Khán imprisoned Ẓíá-ud-Dín. "Through this cause Aurang-zeb, having become displeased, imprisoned Ashraf Khán," etc. Who "Káká Ṣáhib" was, the author does not consider it necessary to tell his readers.

MacGregor, who quotes "Hyát Khán," says, "Instigated by *Zainúldin* [for Ẓíá-ud-Dín, which has a "meaning, while the other is nothing], son of Káká Sahib, Bahrám Khán *attempted to usurp* his brother "Ashraf Khán's place, but the latter, becoming cognizant of the plot, imprisoned *Zainúldin*. For this act he "was called to account by the Emperor *Arangzeb*" (*sic*), etc.

The version given by Ashraf's *own son* is as I have rendered it above. There were many others equally as bad as Bahrám himself, but he was an open enemy, and they were secret ones; and sometimes even the old Khán favoured Bahrám.

‖ 'Ábid Khán was a son of Khush-ḥál, and uncle of Afẓal. His father, in one of his poems, calls him "an undutiful son." *See* also note †, page 377.

presented him with two falcons and a hawk as *pesh-kash*, and received a dress of honour from him. The *Maḥáll* of Tarí Bolák̤ was included in the Rájah's *jágír*; and he sent forces of his own to Láchí, and despatched 'Ábid along with them. As soon as he got there he advised the Sírnís to abandon Láchí, with their families, and retire to the hills, which they did. He then wrote and besought me to come to his aid with all the disposable forces of Khwaṛama'h, otherwise his family would fall into Rám Singh's hands, and he himself be made captive. For the sake of the family honour I came, but he was in the Láchí hills; and, on my coming, the Rájah's men withdrew for about the distance of a kuroh, and entered the dilapidated fort of Láchí. My only object in coming was to save 'Ábid and his family: so I now returned to Toda'h Chína'h.* 'Ábid left me to return to Khwaṛama'h; and I passed the night at Ghúrzandaey,† and had but a few horsemen with me. There was a village of the Dar Maliks [a branch of the Bolák̤ Khaṭaks] above us; and we were on the Láchí side of Ghúrzandaey. Some of these Dar Maliks went the same night, and told the Rájah's men that I was in the vicinity with only fifty men with me, and that, if they mounted quickly, I should fly, and the families would fall into their hands.‡ They did so, and came upon me quite unawares. It was the early forenoon; and I had no one on the watch, but the horses stood ready saddled, and we mounted. K̤ásimaey, a Shápí Khel, was frightened, and so overcome with nervousness [at the surprise?] that he was totally unable to mount his horse to follow us, and was, in consequence, then and there killed. A horseman of the Rájah's men got ahead of the rest, and some of our party turned to face him; and Shamsher Khán§ made a cut at him with his sword, which broke upon him, upon which the man retired towards his party again.

"After that we were no further molested, and continued our journey. I stayed with a Khwaṛama'h family of Chakhtú|| of the Sírnís, and remained some nights. 'Ábid, with his family, went to the Ságharís, to the Shakar Dara'h; and I went to Shísham, the dwelling of Atash, the Mátí Khel, and there took up my quarters for a time, after which I proceeded by way of Kaṛak of Khwaṛama'h into Tsautara'h."¶

Afẓal Khán was biding his time, and living among some one or other of the Khaṭak clans, out of the reach of the Mughals and Bahrám, his father's rival and unnatural brother, while Amír Khán, the Ṣúbah-dár, was playing him and other members of the family off one against the other. The old chief, Khus'h-ḥál, died in the fourth month of 1099 H. (January, 1688 A.D.), after which Afẓal appears—for the original MS. is defective in many places—to have attended upon the Ṣúbah-dár for a long time, in expectation of being put in possession of the rights of his exiled father, of which Bahrám then held a good portion. After this, Amír Khán entered upon his unsuccessful war against the Ghalzí Afgháns; and he asked Afẓal to take service with him, which he declined to do against Afgháns. Three years passed away, and the Ghalzí war ended disastrously. In 1103 H. (1691-92 A.D.), Afẓal obtained leave to proceed into Tí-ráh for a time; and, soon after, Amír Khán, disgusted with Bahrám's acts, determined upon reinstating Afẓal Khán in some portion, at least, of his father's *jágír*. Once more, in the second month of 1104 H. (October, 1692 A.D.), he entered Noh-s'hahr,** and began to exercise himself in the settlement of the affairs of the tribe, and the care of the high road from Khair-ábád to Noh-s'hahr.

"When on my way to Noh-s'hahr from Langar-Koṭ," he says, "I despatched Khálid Khán to Koháṭ to the Malik-Mírís; and requested him likewise to send for 'Ábid Khán, who was then in Tsautara'h on the part of Bahrám, and Ṣadr Khán, who was Fowj-dár of Láchí [on his part likewise]—who, through fear of him, were unable [so they said] to come to me—to occupy Da A'zízo Ṭol, so that, in case Bahrám should

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* The Hot Spring, in Pus'hto.

† "Ghirzundi" of the maps, west of Láchí.

‡ This is a specimen of the state of the Khaṭak tribe at this period—men of his own tribe actually trying to betray their chief to the Mughals.

§ Another son of Khush-ḥál.

|| "Chokktú" is incorrect.

¶ "Chaontra" is totally incorrect, and no Khaṭak would recognize the place from such a name. "*Tsávantrá*" is a little nearer the mark, but the above is the way in which the Khaṭaks write and pronounce it. Inflected it becomes Tsautarey. Kaṛak is a large village of the Khaṭaks on the banks of the Tarkhah Khwaṛ, at the western entrance into the Tsautara'h Dara'h from Bannú.

Tsautara'h is chiefly inhabited by the Bárak division of the Paṭíah Khel section of the Tarí Khaṭaks. They are subdivided into Lanḍ and Újzd, the first signifying in Pus'hto, "stumpy," "short," "curt," "small," "little;" and the last, the exact opposite, "long," "elongated," "lengthy," etc. The feminine forms of the word are *lanḍa'h* and *újzda'h*; such words as "*lánd*" for short, and "*oozjhdoo*" and "*uzshdáh*" for long, which names they are called by in MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I., Vol. I., are unknown in the Pus'hto language.

** Also called Noh-s'hahra'h; the two modes of writing are used indiscriminately.

attempt to pass that way, they should not spare themselves in attacking him, and plundering him to the best of their ability. 'Ábid Khán came as desired, but Ṣadr Khán went off and joined Bahrám. Khálid and 'Ábid subsequently came and joined my force at S'hádí-púr.

"Bahrám, however, again made head, and took into his pay 500 Sunbal and 'Ísá Khel Níázís; and numbers of Bannú Shítaks, Dawaṛs, and Wazírís,* joined him. He then took up his quarters at Búṭ, and despatched Ṣadr Khán, with part of his followers, to burn S'hádí-púr. Although I was without the means of doing so conveniently, I was obliged to assemble a force in 1105 H. (1693-94 A.D.). I marched to Láchí; and the forces of Bangas'h [Afgháns of Bangas'h—Malik-Míris and others] came to my aid.† Bahrám detached some of his followers from Búṭ to Karah-pah,‡ and took possession. We passed the night at Láchí, and were about to fall upon him next morning, when he evacuated Karah-pah, and again fell back upon Búṭ, subsequently abandoning that likewise, and retiring into Tsautara'h. We moved to Búṭ, which I occupied; burnt down Bahrám's house there; left a small force; and set out to return to Saráe, expecting that the Sírnís of Láchí, and the Bangas'h forces, would aid them if they required assistance. Soon after, finding the coast clear, Bahrám sent 400 or 500 horsemen, with Ṣadr Khán, to occupy Láchí. My post, and the Sírní people, unable to hold out against them, and none of the Bangas'h forces coming to their support, retired to Ziyár Guzar. With all I could do, I could not get the men of my post to stay, neither would they, nor the Sírnís, return to it, even with a force along with them; and so, leaving the Sírní families at Ziyár Guzar, I was obliged to leave Láchí § a waste."

Ashraf Khán, his father, having died a state prisoner in the fortress of Bíjá-púr in Southern India in 1106 H. (began 11th August, 1694 A.D.), the chieftain-ship of the Khaṭak tribe naturally devolved upon Afẓal Khán. Bahrám, too, having no money for them, was abandoned by his fickle supporters; and he, soon after, left Tsautara'h and retired into Bannú, thinking to be treated better there. He was not favourably received by the Bannútsís, and returned to Tsautara'h for a time, and then went to the Afrídís in Jammú, and subsequently to the Afrídís of Boṛí.

After these events, Afẓal Khán went to Kábul along with Náṣir Khán, who, at that time, was Thánah-dár of Jam-rúd, who, when he afterwards became Ṣúbah-dár of the province, was Afẓal's staunch friend. He went, on this occasion, at Amír Khán's request, who appears himself to have been ill at the time. After Afẓal returned from thence, one 'Abd-ul-Hádí, a son of Iftikhár Khán, an incapable fellow, was appointed Fowj-dár of Bangas'h, and the royal *jágír* of Tarí Bolák [which went generally, as before mentioned, with the Fowj-dár-ship of that part] was transferred from Afẓal's charge to him. "Bahrám considered this a favourable time to bestir himself," says Afẓal, "after I had been thus treated; and, through the interest of this same 'Abd-ul-"Hádí, he proceeded to Jalál-ábád to present himself to the Ṣúbah-dár. Amír Khán "was very ill at this time; and it was the period for him to return to Kábul for "summer quarters, but he died on reaching Nímla'h, as elsewhere narrated.|| Bahrám "had followed in the direction of Kábul, and had reached the Kabr-i-Jabbár,¶ when, "hearing the report of his death, [and knowing great confusion would follow], he made "for Boṛí of the Afrídís. From thence he sent to Pas'háur, offering to take into pay "all the 'Arabs** and Mughals who were there unemployed, and the Adam Khel "Afrídís. This having done, he set out against me. I was quite prepared for him;

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* All three Kaṛlární tribes.

† Thus proving that they had not forgotten his father's interference in their behalf.

‡ Neither of these places appear in our maps.

§ He refers to the *maḥáll* or district of Tarí Bolák, of which the large village of Láchí is the chief place.

|| *See* page 445. He died, according to the Ma'áṣir-i-'Álam-gírí, on the 27th Shawwál, 1109 H. (May, 1698 A.D.); and Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, was directed by his father to assume the government. The Ma'áṣir says that Aurang-zeb was satisfied as long as Amír Khán was Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul, because he was a man of intellect, probity, and piety. Yaḥyá Khán, in the Tazkirat-ul-Mulúk, says that, "immediately on hearing of "the death of Amír Khán, the Prince, Sháh-i'Álam Bahádur, resolved to undertake the responsibility of "assuming the government of the province of Kábul with all promptness,"—thus confirming Afẓal Khán's account, which follows,—"taking his two sons, Rafí'-ud-Daraját and Khujistah Akhtar, along with him. He "reported to his father what he had done, stating that 'he did not consider it advisable to leave that important "'province without a ruler; and he hoped his father would forgive him for acting without his orders.' His "father's reply was, 'Bábá, you have acted right well. You have acted according to the dictates of statesman-"'ship. Continue there, and administer the affairs with full control and authority: govern the Ṣúbah to the "'best of your power and ability, and depend upon my support.'"

¶ *See* page 59.

** *See* page 116.

"and moved from Saráe with my followers towards the Dzalúzí village, where he then "was, and took post at Safed Khák. He was then in Boṛí, at the door of the Afrídís, "but he was soon deserted by all but a few followers.

"The Maliks of the Adam Khel Afrídís now came to me, and said what a great "mistake they had made in sheltering and aiding him, that they were sorry for it, "and offered to send him away. I was quite willing that they should interpose "between us; and I despatched two trustworthy persons of my own, and, in their "presence, the Adam Khel Maliks sent Bahrám away." It was after this that "Bahrám's supporters were defeated as related at page 436.

At the time of Amír Khán's death, the Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, was Ṣúbah-dár of the extensive and important province of Multán;* and, on account of his father being then occupied in carrying on the war in southern India, he, without waiting for orders, thought it his duty to set out and assume the government of that of Kábul. He crossed the Indus at Aṭak, by a bridge of boats, early in 1112 H. (1701 A.D.); and it was after this that Bahrám sought to ingratiate himself with the Prince by promising to put him in possession of Bannú and Dawar, and so grossly deceived him, as previously narrated.† Bahrám was subsequently seized, imprisoned, and taken to Kábul in a *kajáwa'h.*

A new character now appears upon the scene, but, unfortunately, Afẓal Khán does not give us his antecedents. He says, "Ismá'íl Khán, of the Afgháns of Bangas'h, "when Bahrám was seized and taken away to Kábul, made his escape and took "shelter with the Bar Khel [Karlárnís of Bangas'h],‡ and commenced fomenting dis-"turbances against the Fowj-dár of that district. Bahrám, likewise, after he had been "brought to Kábul, managed to escape, and made his way into the country of the "Ghalzís; then he got into Bangas'h, and reached Tíraey Tsautara'h, where he "began to brew fresh troubles."§

The Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, directed Afẓal Khán to chastise both rebels, and to take possession of the *maḥáll* of Tarí Boláḳ. On this becoming known, Bahrám fled somewhere or other, and Ismá'íl Khán fled from Nara'í-Aoba'h|| into Tí-ráh. While Afẓal Khán was at Láchí on this duty, the time came round for the Prince's return from Kábul to Jam-rúd by the Khaibar pass.¶ He afterwards arrived at Ákhor, and Afẓal was directed to proceed to Koháṭ; for Mír Ibráhím, and Fakhar Khán, the Fowj-dár of Bangas'h, were proceeding into Bannú by the Buland Khel route, and he was to accompany them. This movement took place consequent on the expulsion of Iṣálat Khán, the Gakhar, the nominal Fowj-dár of Bannú, by the Bannútsís and Marwats, as related in the account of the Prince's attempt to occupy the Bannú territory, which see.**

In the year 1118 H. (1706 A.D.), shortly after the Prince had reached Pes'háwar from Kábul, the news reached him of the death of his father, Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír. Afẓal Khán was held in esteem by the Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur; and his son, Prince Rafí'-ul-Kadr, who was much attached to field sports, and had often been taken out into the Khaṭak hills by Afẓal Khán, where they had enjoyed the chase together, had a great liking for the Khaṭak chief. He says: "The Prince got his son, Prince Rafí'-"ul-Kadr, and Náṣir Khán, to try and induce me to accompany him on his advance

* The Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, was appointed Ṣúbah-dár of Multán, and set out for that province, in the last month of 1108 H. (July, 1697 A.D.). His eldest son, the Sháh-Zádah, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, had been previously sent thither as Ṣúbah-dár. In the eighth month of 1111 H. (February, 1700 A.D.), the government of the Panj-áb was also given to the Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, by the removal of Ibráhím Khán; and his deputy acted for him. According to one statement, Muḥammad Mun'im, son of Sardár Khán, who was subsequently raised to the dignity of Khán, with an increase of his rank in the army, was his deputy. In 1113 H. (1701 A.D.), Sher-i-Zamán, governor of the citadel of Kábul, was made deputy of that province, through the removal of Náṣir Khán, who appears to have been under a cloud at the time, since the Ma'áṣir says he lost a step in rank, but why, is not mentioned. He was subsequently made Ṣúbah-dár.

In the ninth month of 1115 H. (February, 1704 A.D.) Mun'im Khán, who was Díwán of the Prince, through the removal of Muḥammad Aslam Khán, became Díwán of the province of Kábul; and Aslam Khán, through the removal of the Sayyid, Mírak, became Díwán of the Láhor province.

† *See* page 372. Bahrám thought to pay off the Bannútsís for not receiving him better.

‡ They give name to two villages in the Koháṭ or Lower Bangas'h district or territory. Ismá'íl was among his own people.

§ This was *eighteen* years after Khush-ḥál's death, whom, according to Hai'át Khán, Bahrám "*soon followed*"; and such is the kind of "*peaceable possession*" Afẓal Khán was left in for "*sixty-one years.*"

|| *See* page 93, and note ‡. The above words have a meaning: "Nariab" none.

¶ Among the chief men or Arbábs at this period (1117 H., 1705 A.D.), were Muḥammad, son of Mastaját, Arbáb of Pes'háwar; Malik Johar, Mahmand; Malik Ikhtiyár, Wurakzí; and Yúsuf, son of 'Alam Khán, Afrídí, who were Arbábs of the Khaibar.

** *See* page 372.

" into Hindústán; and a *manṣab* or rank of commander of 4,000 horse was held out " as an inducement, and the promise of other preferments. The young Prince sent for " me to come to the Tasbiḥ Khána'h;* and he and Náṣir Khán tried to induce me to " go, but for several reasons I did not accept the offer. One was, that I had, on several " occasions, discovered the insincerity of the Prince's character; and I thought to " myself that, whatever service I might perform for him, there was great doubt " whether I might ever get a return for it.† Another reason was that he would " not leave any Ṣúbah-dár over the Kábul province, and there was an absolute cer- " tainty of great troubles arising; and, in case I went away, there were certain " parties among my own tribe [Bahrám to wit] only too ready to carry out their own " designs; and the tribe would be ruined, the territory become desolated, and I " should, in consequence, acquire an evil name.

" In the course of five or six days the Bádsháh‡ [for he had assumed the sovereignty] " advanced to Aṭak, and I accompanied him. My tribe had likewise performed their " allotted part in constructing the bridge of boats; and, when we reached the Gídar- " Galí,§ the Bádsháh directed me to guard well the route between Aṭak and Pas'háur, " and said that I should receive the reward of good services. When I received my dis- " missal Ismá'íl Khán of Bangas'h was with me; and, as he was indebted to some parties " there present [in camp], I relieved him of the debts in question, for he was in great " poverty. My ideas were, that, as soon as the Bádsháh had crossed the Abác-Sín, I " would take possession of the Tarí Bolák *maḥáll*, oust the rebel Ḳábil, and reinstate " Ismá'íl Khán. Ḳábil was in expectation of something of the kind, for he took " Bahrám to his side, and placed him in charge of Láchí while I was at Pas'háur in " attendance on the Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, before the news of his father's " death had reached him."

From this it appears that Sher Muḥammad Khán, the Malik-Mírí Kaṛlární, Khush-ḥál's old foe, had disappeared from the scene, and there were now two rivals for supremacy in the tribe, Ismá'íl Khán and Ḳábil Khán, two cousins possibly, or perhaps the latter was a Bá'ízí.‖ How Ismá'íl became Afẓal Khán's *protégé* does not appear. He relates these events as though the reader was perfectly acquainted with them. He may have related them previously, but, most unfortunately, the Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa' is very imperfectly arranged: matters which happened in Khush-ḥál's time are placed near the end: in many places the text seems imperfect, for an hiatus occurs every here and there. Nothing in chronological order appears until the following year, 1119 H. (1707 A.D.), when news was received of a great battle having been fought in Hind, and that the Bádsháh, Bahádur Sháh, had been victorious. Afẓal then says: "I now sent Ismá'íl Khán to Jammú, to the Afrídís, so that he might " be near to Kohát, and be able to reach it speedily. I also despatched some of my " relatives, and some forces, to support him; but Ṣadr Khán [son of Khush-ḥál] " acted with hypocrisy, and did not go. When Ismá'íl reached Jammú, the Afrídís " had left for Tí-ráh, and so their aid was lost. I then despatched other forces of my " own, which took post at the Takht of Khwaṛama'h¶ [south of Láchí, and between " it and the Ṭíraey To-e stream]. Ḳábil Khán, Koháṭí [Bá'ízí ?] and Bahrám, with " the Afgháns of Bangas'h, were at Láchí [also called Iláchí] of Bangas'h, and after-

* Tasbiḥ-Khána'h means, literally, a private chapel, but here the private closet of the Prince. His father, Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír, who passed so many years of his reign in southern India, used to hold his private consultations in his Ghusl-Khána'h or bath-room; and hence it is always referred to as his place of private audience and consultation. His eldest son adopted the name above for his.

† It must also be recollected that there was no satisfying an Afghán, and a Khaṭak, equal to his deserts, according to his own estimation. In this respect Afẓal Khán turned after his grandfather.

‡ Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír died on the 28th of the eleventh month of 1118 H. (February, 1707 A.D.); and on the 27th of the last month of that year, March, 1707 A.D., the news reached Pes'háwar. The Prince assumed the throne at that place, with the title of Abú-n-Naṣr, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh. At the end of Muḥarram, the first month of the following year (April), and the month following the receipt of the news of his father's death, he reached Láhor, where the Khuṭbah was read for him, and money was struck in his name. Mun'im Khán got the title of Khán-i-Zamán, and his son, Na'ím Khán, that of Khánah-zád Khán.

§ The Jackal's Defile, a short distance from Khair-ábád, on the road to Akoṛa'h.

‖ Although Afẓal Khán does not enter into details, nor does he mention the cause of quarrel between Ismá'íl Khán and Ḳábil Khán, this is evidently the commencement of the struggle between the Malik-Mírí and Bá'ízí branches of the Lower Bangas'h or Koháṭí Kaṛlárnís, which, after Afẓal Khán's history closes, ended in the Bá'ízís wresting the chieftain-ship over the three tribes of Malik-Mírí, Kághzí, and Bá'ízí, out of the hands of the former, and becoming independent of them. This is confirmed by the author of these surveys; for, when he wrote, the chieftain-ship of the Koháṭ Kaṛlárnís was in the hands of the Bá'ízís, and Nawwáb Khán of that tribe held it. *See* page 421.

During the struggle here referred to as just commencing, Bahrám, the Degenerate, of course, supported those who were hostile to Afẓal Khán, the Khaṭak chief.

¶ "Khoorum" of the maps

"wards moved to Doda'h [Dhodha'h]. Ismá'íl Khán, the Malik-Mírí, with Nijábat "Khán, the leader of the Khatak force, moved to Jammú, and afterwards to Tor "Khel, when Kábil gave up the game, and threw himself on the clemency of Nijábat "Khán. The *jirga'h* of the Tarí Boláks then made up the feud between Ismá'íl and "Kábil, and sent them back to Kohát, after which the whole of the Karlární *ulúsis* "of Bangas'h returned to the side of Ismá'íl." Afzal Khán assumed charge of the *mahálí*; and Saif Khán, son of Afzal Khán, was then made Fowj-dár of Láchí, the chief place of Tarí Bolák.

Kábil, however, soon broke out again against Ismá'íl, and did so several times. Afterwards he retired to Shar-ghír; and Ismá'íl Khán sent Nijábat Khán, who was then Fowj-dár of Láchí, to harry Kamar Dand,* and other of Kábil's villages.

Afzal continues :—"In the year 1120 H. (1708 A.D.), Ibráhím Khán, son of 'Alí "Mardán Khán, was made Súbah-dár of Kábul, and his son, Zabar-dast Khán, "accompanied him. I represented to the Súbah-dár that Ism'áíl Khán was a loyal "subject; and he was consequently acknowledged as the head of the tribe, and "received a dress of honour. Ismá'íl, in his joy, foolishly agreed to pay a sum of "70,000 or 80,000 rúpís yearly, provided he was allowed to retain the tract of territory "he then held; for, subsequently, he found he could not pay it, or would not. On "this, according to their usual line of policy, the Mughal authorities began to hold out "hopes to Kábil, his rival, who bribed a dancing girl of the Súbah-dár's with 10,000 "or 12,000 rúpís for her interest. He was sent for, and despatched with a Mughal "force from Pas'háur, against Ismá'íl; and I was ordered not to interfere. Ismá'íl "had made the fort of Kohát strong, and therein he took post. The Afrídís aided "him; and, out of consideration for me, the other Karlární Afghán clans of Bangas'h "did not venture to join Kábil: consequently, he and his Mughal allies could effect "nothing.

"In order to pay me off for supporting Ismá'íl, Kábil began to intrigue with the "Mughals against me. He represented to the Nawwáb [the Súbah-dár], that Ismá'íl "could not be reduced to extremity until such time as he [the Súbah-dár] should "confer Láchí upon Bahrám [who had been in the shade for some time]." Afzal Khán's mode of counteracting these intrigues by others of his own is ingenious, but suggestive, and shows the true state of affairs at the period in question. He says :— "Allah-Dád, Kheshkí [some time Fowj-dár of Langar-Kot], had been appointed Fowj-"dár of Bangas'h, but, instead of coming to take up his office, he remained at Khassúr "[probably on account of the disturbed state of the country]. In order to relieve Ismá'íl "Khán, who was now hard pressed by Kábil and his Mughal supporters, I wrote to Allah-"Dád, and advised him to come, and offered to aid him as far as I possibly could, or, at "least, to send his deputy with the *sanad* or commission of investiture. A deputy "arrived in a few days, and then I wrote to the Nawwáb, stating, that the deputy of "Allah-Dád Khán had arrived, that the *sanad* from the Court had also reached me, and "that it was therefore incumbent on me to assemble a force and put him in possession "of Bangas'h. Further, that it was a delicate affair, as the Bádsháh's service had to be "performed, and that quickly, while, at the same time, if I made a move with my forces "to do so, his own forces then operating against Kohát would be destroyed; that, while "the affair was one merely between Ismá'íl and Kábil, I had, on his, the Nawwáb's, "account, not interfered, but now that I had an imperial service to perform, it would "be better for him to withdraw his forces from before Kohát. The Nawwáb was, how-"ever, glad to have an excuse for so doing; and he wrote to me to send the deputy to "him with the *sanad*, that he might confer upon him a dress of honour, and make his "own apologies to the Bádsháh. At this time, Ismá'íl was so reduced, that it was "with great difficulty I could make him hold out for a few days longer.

"In 1121 H. (1709 A.D.†), therefore, I despatched a force along with Allah-Dád "Khán's deputy, by way of S'hádí-púr and Jammú, to Kohát;‡ and Nijábat Khán

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* "Kummurdund" of the maps. Perhaps those who wrote the name after this fashion were not aware that *kamar* signifies a "cliff," "crag," "precipice," etc., and *dand*, "a pool of water," "a pond," "a mere." The village is situated under a *kamar*, and near a *dand*, hence its name. It belongs to the Bá'ízí Karlárnís of Kohát.

† The year commenced March 1st, 1709 A.D. In this year, Bahádur Sháh came into the Panj-áb against the Sikhs, who were now becoming very troublesome. He died at Láhor, in the first month of 1123 H. (February, 1711 A.D.); and the disorder which arose was favourable to the Sikhs and their rise to power in the Panj-áb.

After a deal of fighting between his sons, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, who assumed the title of Jahán-dár Sháh, succeeded him in the second month of the same year (March), and in less than three months was slain, and succeeded by Farrukh-Siyar. *See* note ‡, page 387.

‡ By no means an impracticable route.

" was likewise directed by me to take the available forces* of Láchí to Kohát likewise. " The latter made such good use of his time, that, by the time the other force along " with the deputy had reached Jammú, Nijábat Khán managed to unite with Ismá'íl; " upon which Kábil and his Mughal allies decamped, and retired to Pas'háur.† " There Kábil had left a son as a hostage or security for himself; and, as soon as he " arrived there, he was thrown into prison, until he paid a certain sum of money [to " defray the expenses of the expedition].

" Ismá'íl Khán came forth to receive the deputy of Allah-Dád Khán; and Nijábat " Khán, having made all the necessary arrangements between them, returned to his " post at Láchí. Ismá'íl and the deputy then betook themselves to their respective " castles, and bickerings and altercations commenced between them."

Afzal Khán records nothing more respecting Bangas'h for some time after this.‡ Bahrám Khán, his uncle, the chief source of Khatak troubles for so many years, died at Noh-s'hahr in 1124 H. (1712 A.D.),§ but others in the family were quite ready to take his place. Four years after that, in 1128 H. (1716 A.D.),|| Iṣálat, the evil disposed brother's son of Ismá'íl Khán, Kohátí, unjustly, and without cause, put 'Abd-ullah and Kábil to death; and 'Izzat, son of 'Abd-ullah, and Shamsher, son of Kábil, fled to Niẓám-púr to Afzal Khán. He writes:—" They were interested persons, " and stated all sorts of things, but Ismá'íl was a *protégé* of my own, and, for reasons " mentioned in another place [not in the original MS., which is defective, and, " unfortunately, the author does not give us the particulars we should so much like to " have known. Ismá'íl must have been dead at this time], I was very desirous that " there should be peace and friendship between them. At this time, my son, Sa'íd " Khán, was Fowj-dár of Láchí; and I wrote to him, saying, that 'Izzat and Shamsher " had come to me to complain, and that he was to endeavour, if possible, to make up " this affair between Iṣálat and them. He accordingly despatched a number of Boláks " and some men of Láchí, as a *jirga'h* or deputation, and as arbitrators, but the " Bangas'h Karlárnís, who are a bad race, slaughtered them."

It was on this occasion that Afzal Khán dropped down at once to Niẓám-púr from Saráe, by water, related farther on.¶ He says:—" Having reached Niẓám-púr, next " morning I despatched a force under Muhammad 'Alí [his son]; and I wrote to " Ae-mal, Afrídí,** asking him to join him [with his available clansmen], which he " did, in Síní†† [the villages of the clan so called giving name to the lands around, " of which Gumbata'h, several times referred to, is one], where he halted; and a few " villages of the Bangas'h Karlárnís were plundered. Iṣálat Kán, son of Ismá'íl " Khán, had made his father's brother's son, 'Ináyat by name, and 'Álam-Sher, the " Malikzí, the leaders of his followers; and they marched forth to oppose my force " under Muhammad 'Alí, and Ae-mal, Afrídí, my ally. They encountered each other " at Da Beyalo Tang;‡‡ and the Almighty gave us the victory. The Bangas'h

* By "forces" here, and in all instances, the writer means the tribal levies he had to keep up according to the terms of his *jágír* or fief, and such other levies of his tribe as owed him military service.

† Had it been necessary, the force marching from S'hádí-púr and Jammú might have cut off the retreat of the Mughals by seizing the Sandah Bastah route. *See* Route, page 422.

‡ Afzal Khán, however, says that, in 1122 H. (1710 A.D.), Náṣir Khán, whose title was Náṣir-i-Jang, became Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul "as the Deputy of the Prince, Rafí'-ul-Ḳadr," son of Bahádur Sháh; and that, on account of his former acquaintance with Náṣir Khán, he (Afzal) went as far as Ḥasan-i-Abdál to receive him, and accompanied him on his way to Pes'háwar. Disturbances among the tribes of the Pes'háwar district brought Náṣir Khán from Kábul in the following year. He was removed in 1126 H. (1714 A.D.), and Sipah-dár Khán was appointed, but he was so incapable that he was removed the following year, and Náṣir Khán was again appointed.

§ *See* note *, page 400. This was the year in which Mír Wais, the Ghalzí, overthrew the Ḳazil-báshís under Kai-Khusrau Khán. Afzal Khán gives an account of his outbreak, which I shall refer to in my next section, and ends by saying that, "At this time, which is the year 1124 H., Mír Wais is still at Ḳandahár. He has been blessed with great good fortune, and *is a good Afghán*," but he does not say he is a "Khilichí " Turk from the banks of the Jaxartes."

|| The year 1128 H. commenced on the 15th December, 1715 A.D.

¶ Note ¶, page 447.

** This is not the Ae-mal Khán who so distinguished himself against the Mughals, for both he and Daryá Khán died before Khush-ḥál, who refers to them in one of his poems, in the following words:—

"Both Ae-mal Khán and Dar-yá Khán have passed away, in honour and in fame;
And, through bereavement from them, these my sighs and this mourning proceed."

See my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 241.

†† "Seynee" of the maps. They are known as Síní or Sírní, like the clan.

‡‡ The name of this place too has been made ridiculous in the maps, wherein it is written "Billootung," and "Billetang" by MacGregor. This is a proof, if any were wanting, of the necessity of having names of places correctly written, and not from the ears of the Surveyors. It is the name of a village, one portion of which is built on the northern face of a rocky spur, which appears divided, cleft, or sundered, as its name implies, and the other half is built on another portion of the spur, between from eighty to an hundred yards from the other. Some dwellings also extend along the more level part beneath.

"Afgháns were defeated; and 'Álam Sher, and Kábil,* who were he commanders, "together with a number of horse and foot, were killed in the fight; and the rest "were routed, and pursued as far as Kohát. I subsequently gave directions to attack "Kohát and oust Iṣálat, but he complained to Náṣir Khán, who was then Ṣúbah-dár. "He despatched my *wakíl* or agent, the Seṭh, Sádhú Rám, to me, with some horsemen "of his own, saying that I had taken revenge ten times over [for the slaughter of the "*jirga'h*], and that, as the *jágír* was an imperial one, the affair, if it went on, would "bring him into bad odour; and, therefore, for his sake, I recalled my force, which "returned home in triumph."

From what has been stated in the foregoing by the Afghán chief and author, it would appear that Ismá'íl Khán succeeded Sher Muḥammad Khán, the Malik-Mírí, as chief of the Kaṛlární Afgháns of Lower Bangas'h, namely, the Malik-Mírís, Bá'ízís, and Kághzís, but whether Ismá'íl was Sher Muḥammad's son or not does not appear, but the probability is that he was his son. It is also probable that Sher Muḥammad died in Hind, where Afẓal Khán says he was when Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, set out for the capital of his dominions. Ismá'íl, whose death likewise is not referred to by the Khaṭak writer, was succeeded by his brother's son, Iṣálat, who, like orientals generally, and not Afgháns in particular, commenced his chieftain-ship by removing dangerous competitors from his path.

In the first month of the year 1131 H. (1718 A.D.†), the Nawwáb, Náṣir Khán, the Ṣúbah-dár, died, and was succeeded by Sar-Buland Khán. "He was," says Afẓal Khán, "exceedingly arrogant on the number of his followers, and avaricious, and "unfriendly towards the Afgháns. He sustained a defeat at their hands in the "Khaibar; and I was asked to unite the forces of my tribe with theirs in hostility "against him. At this time, Aḥmad Beg Khán, the Ming-Báshí,‡ was Fowj-dár of "Kohát; and he offered to make matters straight between the Ṣúbah-dár and myself. "I was heartily glad of this, but, finding that the Ṣúbah-dár had fixed a sum of "several thousands of rúpís as *pesh-kash* for the *maḥáll* of Tarí Bolák, I was not at "all pleased. The Mughals, and the vassal forces of Bangas'h [Afgháns of Bangas'h], "came to Láchí to collect the money, and began to act with severity in so doing." The chance of meeting with opposition, the Khaṭaks having collected, and a raid by the Kamálzí Mandaṛs having been committed on the king's high road in the Khaṭak country, between Aṭak and Pes'háwar, saved the latter people in Tarí Bolák from its collection. The Ṣúbah-dár, however, took the *maḥáll* from Afẓal Khán, and gave it to one of his brothers, Námdár by name, for the nominal sum of 200 rúpís per month. While Afẓal was preparing his followers to oust Námdár, on the 1st of Rabí'-ul-Ákhir—the fourth month—1134 H. (January, 1722 A.D.), news came that Sar-Buland Khán, the Ṣúbah-dár, was to be removed; and it was on the occasion of the receipt of this good news that the stampede took place among the Fowj-dárs and Thánah-dárs mentioned at page 422.§ He had been Ṣúbah-dár for rather less than three years.

Afẓal Khán says:—"When Tarí Bolák was taken from me, I retired into Tsautara'h, "At this time Yúl-Bárs Khán, who was a grandson, on the mother's side, of Ághúz "Khán [of the early part of Aurang-zeb's reign‖], came from Hindústán as Fowj-dár "of Bangas'h, to which the *maḥáll* of Tarí Bolák, as previously noticed, was attached, "and he received charge of it." When he was on his way to Kohát, and arrived at

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* *Sic* in MS., but 'Ináyat is mentioned before as one of the leaders. Of course, this Kábil is a different person from Kábil, the Kohátí, who was put to death.

† The year commenced on the 12th November. He died at Pes'háwar on the 8th of Muḥarram (20th November), but some say on the 24th. He was succeeded by the Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, Sar-Buland Khán, Túní, who was Ṣúbah-dár three years, less three months. He again was succeeded in 1134 H. (March, 1722 A.D.), by Náṣirí Khán, son of Náṣir Khán, who was at Kábul at the time of his father's death; and he continued to govern the province until the fifth month of 1136 H. (February, 1724 A.D.), when he was removed, and no other was appointed up to the time that Afẓal Khán's history closes. Náṣir Khán was the son of Ḥusain Beg Khán, the Zík, a relative of 'Alí Mardán Khán, who betrayed Ḳandahár to Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh.

Four months after Náṣir Khán's death, Farrukh-Siyar, Bádsháh, was blinded; and then came Rafí'-ud-Daraját, and Rafí'-ud-Daulah, his brother, after whose short reigns of two or three months, and in the same year, 1131 H., Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muḥammad Sháh, succeeded to the fast crumbling throne of Dihlí. During his reign it was that Nádir Sháh invaded Hindústán.

I have given these dates, because, without attention to them, and the more important events which took place in other parts of the Mughal empire, we should be unable to understand how such events, as are related by Afẓal Khán, could have happened in this portion of it, without its downfall being close at hand.

‡ In Turkish, "Ming-Báshí" means commander or head of a thousand. The word is rarely used in Indian history at this period; and there must have been some reason for his being styled by this Turkish name. *See* page 66.

§ *See* note ‡‡ to that page.

‖ The Ághúz Khán mentioned in note **, page 404. Yúl-Bárs is the Turkish for tiger.

Aṭak, Afẓal Khán despatched one of his sons to receive the new Fowj-dár, and he entertained him at Saráe.* Yúl-Bárs Khán, knowing that Afẓal had previously held it, and had been recently deprived of it, offered to let him have the *maḥáll* again, but it was declined with thanks, Afẓal at the same time promising to aid him in his charge to the best of his ability. He likewise wrote to Iṣálat Khán, Koháṭí (with whom he must have made up the quarrel after the defeat at Da Beyalo Tang), and to Ḥasan Khán, and 'Izzat Khán, telling them† that the new Fowj-dár was of high family, and appeared to be a nice person; and advised that they should go to Pes'háwar to receive him.

On the removal of Sar-Buland Khán, Náṣirí Khán, son of the late Náṣir Khán, was made Ṣúbah-dár of the Kábul province, and Ganj 'Alí Khán was appointed his deputy at Pes'háwar. Subsequently, in the year 1136 H. (1723–24 A.D.), Sar-afráz Gul, a descendant of the Shaikh, Raḥím-Kár,‡ broke out, and was the cause of much disturbance and trouble in Láchí and Khwaṛama'h. Afẓal Khán wrote to Yúl-Bárs Khán, informing him that some hereditary rebels in his tribe were creating serious disturbance, and that they had also made use of his, the Fowj-dár's, name in their doings. Afẓal asked him, through his deputy at Koháṭ, to aid Asad-ullah Khán, his son, then Fowj-dár of Láchí, against whom the insurgents had brought considerable forces, and, further, to issue an order in the name of Asad-ullah to exercise authority for him (the Fowj-dár) in that part, so that the mouths of the insurgents might be closed, while he himself proceeded to Pes'háwar to lay the matter before the authorities. "I also directed Asad-ullah Khán," he says, "to hold out as long as he "possibly could, and, if necessary, to retire upon Koháṭ, which he did. I set out "for Pas'háur on the 12th of Rabí'-ul-Ákhir—the fourth month—of 1136 H.§ "Subsequently, I summoned Asad-ullah from Koháṭ, and sent him home [to "Saráe].

"I now found Yúl-Bárs Khán quite changed from what he at first appeared, and "he now talked nonsense and mere empty words. I represented the matter to the "Ṣúbah-dár, and he was on the point of taking it up, when, suddenly, on the 24th of "Jamádí-ul-Awwal—the fifth month—1136 H. (1724 A.D.),‖ news came that the "Ṣúbah-dár was to be removed, and all the country became turned upside down. "That very same night I left the city of Pas'háur, and retired to the Wurakzís; and "on the 28th I reached home, and immediately summoned a *jirga'h* of the tribe."

These few extracts respecting the Kaṛlární Afgháns of Lower Bangas'h, namely, the Kághzís, Bá'ízís, and Malik-Mírís, to which tribe the chieftain-ship then appertained, and who are not even mentioned by name by Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, and other "masters of the subject," are sufficient to show that there is no tribe, and never was a tribe, whose name was "Bangash," the term having been quite misunderstood. Although the Karlární Afgháns, both of Higher and Lower Bangas'h, are styled in history "the tribes *of the* Bangas'hát," and those of Lower Bangas'h, "Koháṭís," the term "people or tribes *of* Bangas'h" is only applied to them as being resident in the territory known as Bangas'h, and in no other way, and might as correctly be applied to Awáns or Hindús dwelling in it.

Afẓal Khán, subsequent to this, was put to great trouble through the disturbances raised by this Sar-afráz Gul, and thought of retiring from his native country altogether. The Nawwáb, 'Abd-uṣ-Ṣamad Khán,¶ however, who was then Ṣúbah-dár of the province of Láhor—for there was no Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul at the time—urged him to remain, and promised him that he would himself march against the rebels. The Nawwáb's deputy at Pes'háwar, Malik Muḥammad Khán, also urged him to stay. Accordingly, Afẓal Khán, who had taken shelter among the Yúsufzís, north of the river of Kábul, in Rajab—the seventh month—of that same year, took up his quarters at Miṣrí Bánḍa'h, opposite Akoṛa'h, but ready to fly in case of necessity. Subsequently, aided by some of the Mandaṛ and Yúsufzí clans near by, the Kamálzís, Amánzís, Radzaṛs, and others, to the number of about 3,000 men, his forces encountered the forces of the Mullás, Ṭálibs, and Darweshes, with whom were a few Afrídís of the

* The Fowj-dárí of Bangas'h appears to have been independent of the Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul: indeed, the office of Fowj-dár appears to have been independent of the Ṣúbah-dárs of the provinces. *See* also page 417.

† These were apparently the heads of the other two divisions of Lower Bangas'h Kaṛlárnís.

‡ Raḥím-Kár was the son of the Shaikh, Bahádur, of the Yasín Khel Tarís, and was the contemporary and spiritual guide of Khush-ḥál Khán. *See* note †, page 434.

§ End of December, 1723 A.D.

‖ The year 1136 H. commenced on the 19th September.

¶ Entitled Dilír-i-Jang. He was successful against the Sikhs in the beginning of 1125 H. (1713 A.D.). He succeeded Zabar-dast Khán, who bore the title of 'Alí Mardán; and was a grandson of the 'Alí Mardán who betrayed Ḳandahár to Sháh-i-Jahán.

Zá Khel, and some Khalíls, Dá'údzís, etc., numbering altogether between 7,000 and 8,000 men, on the 22nd of Shawwál—the tenth month—(July, 1725 A.D.), on the banks of the Khotlí Khwaṛ, between Miṣrí Bánḍa'h and Noh-s'hahra'h, and gave them a complete overthrow, with a loss of upwards of 600 killed, 140 of whom were in mail and plate armour ; and night alone saved them from greater slaughter.*

With the account of this affair Afẓal Khán's history closes. Whether he continued it or not, is unknown, but nothing more has come to light. The remaining years of the life of this intelligent Afghán chief must have been very stormy ones, and pregnant with disturbance. The fact that the important frontier province of Kábul was left for a long time without a Ṣúbah-dár, to take care of itself, shows with what rapid strides the Mughal empire was hastening to its fall. Therefore, it is no matter for surprise, when the Mughals were almost powerless in the Kábul province in 1136 H. (1724 A.D.), to find that they were still more so fourteen years after, and that Nádir Sháh had so often to complain of what he attributed to the unwillingness, not the inability, of the ruler of Dihlí to restrain the hostility of the Afghán tribes, over whom, even in the zenith of their power, their hold was but very partial. Nádir Sháh attributed it to the former cause, and made it the plea for invading Hindústán and sacking Dihlí. As early as the middle of Aurang-zeb's reign their sway over the Afghán tribes nearest them was merely nominal; and, soon after, almost ceased, as the preceding pages, containing the accounts of eye-witnesses, sufficiently show. It was on this account that Nádir Sháh found it so easy to invade India ; for the only opposition he met with, and that not very serious, was from separate independent Afghán tribes. India itself was so rent with sedition, treachery, disaffection, and disorder, as to render the task of the invader easy.

I now resume the account of the Seventy-ninth Route from page 387.

"The river of Kohát, or Kághzí river, as it is also called, after this branch of Malik Mír's descendants, lies half a kuroh to the left [west] of Tappí;† and from it the people have cut a large canal for the irrigation of their lands. The hills on the left hand and the right, at this point, begin to approach closer on either side. Leaving Tappí, you proceed half a kuroh in the direction of north-west, and reach a wooden bridge over the river of Kohát, which comes from the right hand, and, flowing towards the left, unites with the river of the Kághzí.‡ From this bridge you proceed another kuroh, in much the same direction as before, and reach Kohát.

"Kohát consists of two towns ; and the old town is less populous, in comparison, than the new one. A canal of some size flows through the place with considerable briskness. A canal has also been cut from the river of the Kághzí for irrigation purposes; and the waters from the mountain tract to the north-west, which is the place of abode of the Afrídí tribe of Kaṛlární Afgháns, have also been brought into the lands round the place for irrigation purposes.

"The climate of this part is excellent ; and the lands are, for the most part, dependent on rain for irrigation, but some are artificially irrigated from the rivers. The lands of Kohát yield a considerable revenue. Those lands which are dependent on rain are assessed at one tenth of the produce, but the others are assessed at one fourth.

"Nawwáb Khán, of the Bá'ízí tribe, who is the Sar-dár of the Lower Bangas'h Kaṛlárnís, is permitted to have the *naubat* beaten at his gate, and possesses the power of a sovereign prince. He also enjoys a *jágír* to the value of several thousands of rúpís from the Kábul government, which he receives through the Ḥákim or Governor, of Pes'hawar ;

* This is the sort of "*peaceable possession*" Afẓal Khán was left in "*for* 61 *years*," on the authority of Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar. A person should have, at least, some little knowledge of history before he attempts to write it. At this period, Khush-ḥál Khán had been dead *thirty-seven years*, and Bahrám, who so "*soon* "*followed*," on the same authority, *twelve years*. Such crude history may be the Afghání of *Hai'át*, but it is the *Maut*-i-Afághinah, as far as their history is concerned.

† Tappí is the name of one of the clans of the Bá'ízí Kaṛlárnís.

‡ Just above, the writer states that the river of Kohát is also styled the river of the Kághzí, while now he says that the former unites with the river of the Kághzí a short distance from Tappí, thus indicating that considerable changes have taken place in the beds of the rivers, hereabouts, even in this mountainous tract. In proceeding from Tappí to Kohát *now*, you have no occasion to cross what we call the Kohát river, and to do so would be to go out of one's way : you have to cross it before reaching Tappí. The writer, therefore, refers here to the stream rising in the mountains immediately north-east of Kohát, which he says "comes from "the right hand," in going from Kálá-Bágh to Pes'háwar by Kohát, "and flowed towards the left"—the west—and united with the main stream coming from the north-west—the left hand—which we call the Kohát river, and the writer the river of the Kághzí. The united streams, after their junction within about a mile of Tappí, went by the name of the river of Kohát, and river of the Kághzí, indiscriminately. *See* also pages 93 and 95, where the Kághzí clan and dara'h, and village, are referred to. There is no wooden bridge or river to cross now in going to Kohát from Tappí, as the river flows some distance away to the left. *See* also first paragraph of the next Route.

and in time of war the Khán furnishes a contingent of several thousand horse and foot soldiers to the Bádshâh's army.

"Three routes branch off from Kohát. One goes into Upper Bangas'h, and thence to Kábul; the second leads through the *kohistán* or mountain tracts of Tí-ráh to Jalál-ábád;* and the third is as follows.

"Setting out from Kohát, and proceeding a kuroh and a half to the north-east, you come to a *burj* or tower, constructed of stone [or brick: the word used may mean either], built by Nawwáb Khán, before mentioned. The road for half this distance lies through rice fields; and the waters from the mountains of Tí-ráh run into these fields. The great, high mound of ashes,† which, in bygone times, was the residence and seat of authority of the rulers of this part, lies near by on the right hand, and adjoining the new town. North of the burj or tower before referred to, there is a *kol-i-áb*, or large pond,‡ which contains water at all times.

"From the tower you proceed one kuroh to the north, and reach the crest of the high mountain range immediately in front, at which point the territory of the Karlárnís of Bangas'h terminates, and that of the Afrídís commences. The passage over it they call the Bandí Ghás'haey or Bandí [Banda'í ?] Pass;§ and the mountain on the left hand is called Kham Chúk, and that on the right, Kolár Tsapar.|| In days gone by, on each of these hills there stood a great city, called by the names these hills bear.¶ Descending from the crest of this mountain range for the distance of one kuroh in the direction of north, you reach a small lake or pond dependent on rain, and, after it, this point is called Bandí [Banda'í ?]. It lies near by on the left-hand side of the way. Likewise, on the left hand, in the direction of west, are several villages belonging to the Afrídí Afgháns, known by the name of Shakar Dara'h.** Having passed the Bandí [Banda'í ?] or small lake, and proceeded one kuroh and a half in the direction of east, through a gorge or defile in the hills, you come to two villages, standing on the slope of the hills on the right-hand side, belonging to the Afrídís, and known as Gadará Kashár. You then continue onwards, in the same direction as before, for another kuroh and a half, and reach Sand-Bast or Sandah-Bastah, the name of a great rock of quadrangular form, about eight cubits high, and four thick, and through it there is a great hole.†† It is stated, according to tradition, that, in ancient times, the daughter of the Rájah, Kolár Cher, was in love with a famous youth of this territory, who was wont to come every night to this spot; and, having secured the bull upon which he used to ride as far as this rock, he used to ascend the hill [to visit his mistress], until this affair became notorious; and the rock afterwards became known by the name of Sandah-Bastah, or the Bull's place of tying—the Sanskrit word for bull being *sand* or *sánd*.‡‡

"Having passed the Sandah-Bastah rock, and the narrowest part of the road through this mountain tract, separating the Kohát territory from Pes'háwar, a little farther on, in the direction of north, there are two villages standing aside from the road. That on the left hand, distant rather less than a kuroh, is called Zarghún Khel,§§ and the

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* *See* pages 94 and 404.

† The writer probably means that it contains ashes, broken pottery, and other *débris*, such as other great mounds, the sites of ancient cities of these parts, contain, not ashes solely, as the word used signifies.

‡ Elphinstone notices this. He says (page 64), "Near the town runs a stream as clear as crystal, which "issues from three fountains, and is first collected in a reservoir not far below. It is hot in winter, and cold "in summer."

§ Elphinstone calls it "a tremendous cotul [*kotal*]."

|| The same word as occurs in Kábul Tsapar, Tor Tsapar, etc.

¶ These places, in all probability, were included in the fortified places which Rájah Jai-Pál had agreed to surrender to the Musalmáns when he ignored the treaty he had entered into. *See* note *, page 319. Judicious excavations made here might produce some interesting results.

** That is to say, the villages of, or in, the Shakar Dara'h or valley. It is a different Shakar Dara'h from that mentioned at page 379, which belongs to the Sághari Khataks.

†† In Persian, such a rock would be styled, "Sang-i-Súrákh," or the "Perforated Rock." There are several mentioned in the history of these parts.

‡‡ Afzal Khán says:—"In the fourth month of 1134 H. (January, 1722 A.D.), when Sar-Buland Khán "was removed from the Súbah-dárí of Kábul in Farrukh-Siyar's reign, but which city, the capital of the "Súbah, during the three years, less three months, he held the office, he never could conveniently visit, that "grandee at once sent for all the Fowj-dárs and Thánah-dárs, such as the Fowj-dárs of 'Ash-Naghar and Kohát, "to come to him at Pas'háur. The latter lost no time, fearing the route might be closed as soon as it became "known; and he set out the very same night by way of Sandah Bastah, and reached Pas'háur unmolested, "but the 'Ash-Naghar Fowj-dár was not so successful. He was beset by the Muhammadzís; and crossed the "Sind [the Landaey Sín] in a precious plight, with the loss of only a few killed, but all the baggage was "carried off."

§§ A road leads from this place, or rather these villages, to S'hádí-púr, which, crossing the Indus, leads to Láhor, as will be subsequently explained.

Elphinstone halted here on his first stage from Kohát. He says (page 67):—"We halted that day at "Zerghoon Khail; and it is remarkable that the hills were so high, that the surveyors could not see the sun "to take an observation at noon day."

other, on the right, rather more distant, is called Kahú-kí;* and both belong to the Afrídí tribe. From the point reached, two roads branch off, that on the right hand leads into the Khaṭak territory: the left-hand road is as follows. Having proceeded half a kuroh north from the point at which the two villages named above lie on either hand, you reach a place where the road again separates into two. The right-hand road lies over the mountains direct to Mitanní;† and the pass which leads over them is called the Kháwangaey Ghás'haey. The ascent, from the south, is about half a kuroh, and the descent, on the north side, about the same distance; and it is very difficult. From the northern end of the pass the village of Mitanní will be distant three kuroh. By the left-hand road, which was followed by the writer of these surveys, you pass on, from the point where the road separates, for a short distance to the west, and reach the small village of Kondalí, on the right-hand side, and near the road. From this place, likewise, you cross the high mountain range, on the right hand, towards Mitanní; and the pass leading over it, which is somewhat difficult, in one place very narrow, and commanded here and there, is called the Kondalí Ghás'haey.‡ Leaving Kondalí village, and proceeding for a distance of one kuroh in the direction of north-west, along the dry bed of a river, you reach the Kotlaey, which, as its name indicates, is a small fort, built of stone and mud-mortar. It marks the frontier boundary of the Afrídí tribe of Afgháns in this direction, and is situated near the road on the left-hand side. The people of this fort levy a small sum by way of toll from travellers and traders, and permit them to proceed on their way.

"Setting out from the Kotlaey before mentioned, you proceed three kuroh and a half in the direction of north-east to Mitanní, which is a large village named after a clan of the Afghán tribe of Mahmand.§ The mountain tracts on the right hand lie near, but those on the left are distant. The road to the village, after clearing the Kondalí Pass, is level. The village of Yalam Guzar‖ previously referred to at page 94 lies away on the left hand, and is distant about four kuroh.¶

"The next stage from Mitanní is to Badáber or Badábera'h,** distant six kuroh to the north, which is a large village belonging to the Mahmands. On the way you cross two or three small streams dependent on rain, which come from the left hand, and, flowing to the right, become lost, through being drawn off for irrigation purposes, and in forming ponds. These streams come from the mountains some miles north-west of the Kondalí Pass, and a little to the east of the point where the Báṛah river leaves the mountains, east of the little village of Gand-áb, referred to in the Eighth Route. From that river they have cut a large canal, and brought the waters into their fields.††

"From Badáber or Badábera'h you proceed four kuroh north and reach the city of Pes'háwar, which has been already referred to; and the route from thence to Kábul has been previously described (at page 35)."

The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, also went by the Sandah Bastah route. He says:—"The Sandah Bastah "*Kotal* is lofty on the south side, but not so much so on the north, nor so difficult. It is infested with "thieves. The ascent is about two *kos*, and the descent [on the north side] somewhat less. The length of "the defile is about twenty *kos*."

* "Kooe" of the map.

† Turned into "Mutunnee" in the map.

‡ Not in any maps.

§ For a long period the chiefs or head-men of the Ghwaríah Khel in the Pes'háwar district, such as the Pes'háwar Mahmands, and the Khalíls, have the title or designation of *arbáb* applied to them. When, or why it was first used, is not known, but it was in use before the time of Khush-ḥál Khán, at which period Malik Mustajáb was the Mahmand Arbáb.

The word is a pure 'Arabic [Semitic] term, the plural of "*rabb*," signifying "lord," "master," and likewise, "possessing," or "endowed with," authority or power—the *Rabbi* of our version of the Gospels. The word is applied to those Maliks (precisely in the same manner as the title "Nawwáb," which is the plural form of Ná'ib, is applied as an adjective in the superlative degree), who are delegated with authority by a tribe or sub-tribe to conduct their affairs with the government to which they are subject when they do not acknowledge the authority of a single chief. *See* note ¶, page 415.

Some very ludicrous mistakes have been made respecting this 'Arabic term, some even going so far as to imagine that a particular tribe of people was meant. A joke is related of a Brigadier-General commanding the Panj-áb Irregular Force, who, writing about Pes'háwar, reported to Government, that "*another description of people*" was to be had there, "*named Arbabs, who were matchlock men*"!

‖ It is sometimes called 'Alam Guzar, but never "Alum Guzzur."

¶ *See* the Seventh Route, page 93.

** But neither "Budabher" nor "Buduhbair," as in maps and gazetteers.

†† *See* page 94.

Eightieth Route. From Pes'háwar to the Bázár of Aḥmad Khán, the seat of government in the Bannú, or Banú, territory.

"The route between Pes'háwar and Kohát has just been described. Setting out, therefore, from Kohát, and proceeding a quarter of a kuroh to the south-west, you reach the river of the Kághzí,* and cross it easily, the water, on ordinary occasions, not being deep. From thence you go on a distance of two kuroh and a half in the direction of south-west, as before, to Chína'í;† and on the way thither you meet with many rises and depressions, ascents and descents. You then go two kuroh farther, in the same direction as before, but inclining west, to Gadá Khel or Gada'h Khel;‡ and six kuroh south-west, as before, to Láchí,§ a large village belonging to the Síní clan of the Khaṭak tribe.|| On the way thither you have to cross a great *kotal* called the Shaikh *Kotal*.¶ From Láchí, the next stage of eleven kuroh takes you to Ṭíraey, another large village belonging to the Khaṭaks. It is situated on a mound, on the northern bank of the river known as the Ṭíraey To-e, or Ṭíraey Stream—the word *to-e* being derived from the Pus'hto verb, *to-yedal*, to flow, to percolate, and the like—which comes from the direction of west, flows towards the east, and unites with the Abáe-Sínd.

"Leaving Ṭíraey, you proceed a long stage of thirteen kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining west, by S'hewa'h, to Laṭi-Mar,** another large village belonging to the Khaṭák tribe, and then ten kuroh more, in the direction of south-west, crossing several water courses by the way, to Mai-Sagaey,†† another village of considerable size, under the sway of 'Umar Khán, the Bannútsí, and within the Bannú territory. From the last-named place you go on half a kuroh south to Zakar Khel, sometimes called Zikr Khel; and then about the same distance farther, and in the same direction, to Duram Khel. A similar distance, in the same direction, brings you to the banks of the river of Kurma'h; and, having crossed to the other side by means of a raft,‡‡ you enter the town known as the Bázár of Aḥmad Khán, previously noticed (at page 84)."

The Territory of Bannú.

The first time that I find Bannú mentioned by that name in Muḥammadan history§§ is in the year 801 H. (1398 A.D.), when the Amír Tímúr invaded the Panj-áb and Hindústán, at which time he came through the Dara'h of Kurma'h into Bannú. In his history—the Zafar Náma'h—as elsewhere stated, it is always written Bánú or Bánnú, with long "*a*" in the first syllable. Leaving a body of his troops in that *maḥáll*, as it is called in that work, he crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats, constructed in the course of two days, at the very place, so it is stated, where the Sulṭán, Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, plunged into the great river when defeated by the Chingiz Khán,|||| and entered the Chúl or desert, in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, which is, after him, styled the Chúl-i-Jalálí to this day, and previously described.

Bábar Bádsháh's raid into Bannú has also been referred to previously; and the little contained in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí about Bannú has also been related.

Upwards of two centuries ago, when the Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, was induced to invade Bannú at the instigation of Khush-ḥál Khán's degenerate son, Bahrám, who sought to ingratiate himself with the Mughals, to the detriment of his nephew, the then chief of the Khaṭaks, is said to have contained no less than three hundred forts, or fortified villages; and it was stated that all the lands therein were *ábi* or artificially irrigated, and yielded great revenue; in fact, that it was a perfect garden. The Prince

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* *See* note ‡, page 421.

† Turned into "Chumbai" in the map.

‡ "Guddakheyl" in the map.

§ Afẓal Khán, Khaṭak, sometimes writes this Iláchí.

|| Of the Áto Khel division. The word is also written Sírní.

¶ Not noticed or mentioned in our maps.

** "Luttummur" of the maps, and "Latamr" and "Latamar" of gazetteers. *See* also page 376.

†† There is another place of this name, situated about eighteen kuroh westward from the Buland Khel village. *See* page 87.

‡‡ The course of the river, as here again shown, must have altered considerably since these surveys were made.

§§ *See* note *, page 319.

|||| Not "about twelve miles below Attock" as newspaper writers tell us, but nearer sixty.

was told that, wherever he might pitch his camp, the pomegranates, apples, and quinces, would hang down from over-head upon his tents. Likewise, that up to that period Bannú had never been interfered with by any sovereign, and was totally independent. This was in 1112 H. (1700 A.D.).

The author of these surveys thus describes the Bannú district or territory:—

"It is a broad and extensive tract of country, extending from east to west, from the extreme point of the border of the country of the Marwat Afgháns to the commencement of the kohistán of Bálá or Upper Bangas'h, nearly fifty kuroh; and, from the kohistán on the south [south-west], to the mountains on the north [north-east], inhabited by the Khaṭak tribe of Afgháns, twenty-five kuroh in breadth.

"The Bannú Afgháns do not follow a nomadic life, but are sedentary, and occupy permanent dwellings, and are cultivators of the soil. The lands are chiefly *rúdí*, called in Pus'hto, '*lúnd-aobey*' or '*numd-aobey*,' or irrigated artificially from rivers or canals, and yield heavy crops. In the *lalmí* lands, or those dependent on rain for irrigation, called by the Afgháns '*wuch-aobey*,' *jowár*, *bájrá*, *muṭhh*, and barley are produced. In the cold season, a little snow, and much rain, falls; and, in the hot season, the heat of the sun is less powerful than in Hindústán. Much fruit, the produce both of hot and cold climates, is grown.

"The river of Kurma'h, which is one of the four* considerable rivers which rise in the Spín-Ghar or Safed-Koh range,† flows through the Bannú territory, and goes on to Laka'í; and the river of Dawar, as the Tonchí is also called, comes from the westward, from the direction of the lands held by the Mírí clan of the Bannútsís, and unites with the river of Kurma'h a few miles south of the ruins of Akaṛa'h. From both these rivers the people have cut great canals, and brought water into their lands and mills; and rice, sugar-cane, *zard-chobah* (turmeric), cotton, wheat, and barley, are produced in great abundance by means of this system of irrigation. Through every village, indeed through every dwelling, good and sweet water runs by means of cuts from these canals.

"On the *rúdí* or *lúnd-aobey* lands the government levies as a tax one fourth part of the produce; and on the *lalmí* or *wuch-aobey* lands the usual amount of one tenth. In this district wells are unknown.

"Respecting the weights and measures in use in this part, the weight of thirty rúpís is called a *ser*; and four *sers* make one *aojzaey*. A measure of one hundred and twenty *aojzí*, in Bannú, they term a *ghendaey*. The measurement of land is after the following fashion. The breadth of eight fists side by side they term a *gaz*; and eight *gaz* one *khalla'h*. In planting and sowing they consider that a piece of land, seven *khalla'h* in length by one in breadth, requires one *aojzaey* of seed.

"The Bázár of Aḥmad Khán,‡ which at present is the chief place and seat of government of the Bannú territory, is a town of considerable size, but of modern date, situated on the banks of the river of Kurma'h. Merchandise and the productions of different countries are brought here and disposed of; and merchants and traders from Sind, Kábul, and Hind come and go by this place, and here they have to pay certain transit dues.

"The river of Kurma'h passes on the north side of the town, but close to it; and you have to cross by means of a raft to enter it from that side. Akaṛa'h, the ancient capital of the Bannú territory, is situated more centrally, and lies a few kuroh farther to the south.§

"The horses and swords of Bannú are remarkably good; and the people are exceedingly brave and bold. They [the latter] are Shítaks, the descendants of Sharaf-ud-Dín, *alias* Shítak, son of Kaṛlárnaey, and are, therefore, Kaṛlárnís like their neighbours, the Khaṭaks, and the tribes of Upper and Lower Bangas'h. The Shítaks of Bannú are styled Bannútsís, that is, dwellers in Bannú, in the same manner as the Bá'ízí and other Kaṛlárnís of the Koháṭ district are styled Koháṭís. The Bannútsís consist chiefly of the three septs of Surrárín, otherwise Surrání or Súrrání,‖ Samí, and

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* *See* page 95, Section Second.

† Consequently, the "*Khoorrum*," as it has been called, does not "take its distant *rise near the celebrated fortress of Ghuznee*," nor within a hundred miles of it; neither does "*the impetuous Kúrm*," as another writer styles it, "*rise in the Spínghar chain, near Ghazní*," because, as above mentioned, the "chain" is not within a hundred miles of Ghaznín.

‡ The "Ahmed Khan" of the maps. It has much decayed since these surveys were made, and is no longer the chief town of the district.

§ See the short account of the ancient history of Bannú, and the traditions respecting it, in a previous page.

‖ Their progenitor was Súrránaey, son of Shítak, son of Kakaey, son of Kaṛlárnaey; and the others are the

Mírí. These three septs or divisions contain altogether more than 20,000 families. They likewise contain numerous smaller sections or clans, after whom their villages are generally named.

"In affairs of government they are great blockheads; and there is not one man who will pay any obedience to another man. Shiráfat Khán, the Sar-dár of this people, dwells at the Bázár of Aḥmad Khán. The yearly sum of 25,000 rúpís is the amount of revenue fixed,* and payable to the Bádsháh of Kábul, Tímúr Sháh; and this sum the Khán is unable to collect from them. The upshot is that a Tháṣíl-dár or Collector from Kábul comes to aid him, and from each person much more is collected than his share would have been had he paid according to his assessment."

The Bannú district, as at present constituted under the government of the Panj-áb, is very different from the Bannú here described, and embraces a much more extensive tract of country, extending, in one direction, across the Indus into the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah. Bannú, as described above, from having been one of the most turbulent and disaffected districts under the grinding sway of the Sikhs, under the British rule, from the time it came under the energetic charge of the late Sir H. B. Edwardes, C.B., then a young Lieutenant, previous to the annexation of the country, has become one of the quietest districts under the Panj-áb Government.

Eighty-first Route. From Pes'háwar to Laka'í, the chief place, and seat of authority, in the territory of Marwat.

"This route follows the preceding route from Pes'háwar to Kohát and the Khaṭak village of Láchí, from which point it branches off.

"Setting out from Láchí, you proceed seven kuroh to the south-west, inclining south, to Sháh-báz Gaṛh, a large village and fort of the Khaṭaks in the Tsautara'h Dara'h, situated on a mound some twelve or fifteen *gaz* in height, nearly flat on the summit, and with precipitous sides. It is the place of residence of Sháh-báz Khán,† one of the four principal chiefs of this tribe of Afgháns. From thence you go another seven kuroh in the direction of south-west, to S'hewa'h, another large village belonging to the Khaṭak tribe. Here two roads diverge: that on the right hand (westward) leads, by Laṭi-Mar, to the Bázár of Aḥmad Khán; and from this place (S'hewa'h) to Laṭi-Mar is a distance of fourteen kuroh‡ to the west, the road, for the last half of the distance, lying through mountain defiles.§

"The left-hand road is as follows. Leaving S'hewa'h, you proceed ten kuroh to the south, when you issue from the difficult tract, and from ravines, and the dry beds of torrents, into the *jangal* waste or *chúl*, known as the Thal, which, however, every here and there, furnishes good pasturage. Continuing onward through it for fifteen kuroh farther to the south you reach Laka'í, the chief place of Marwat-i-Be-Muruwat, as it is called, or 'Marwat, the Inhospitable.' It is so styled from the sandy, arid, and dreary,

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descendants of Samaey, and Míraey, two sons of Gíwaey, son of Shítak. The other sons of Shítak have been mentioned previously at page 386.

Whatever may be the character of the Karlárnís of Bannú in a moral point of view, they are certainly not "a mongrel tribe," nor are they descended from "one Shah Afrid;" neither are they "descended from many "different Afghan tribes"; and such as can read *are* "able, like the neighbouring people, to trace their lineage "back to the founder of the family," because they are descended from a common stock, but they cannot be blamed if others cannot understand what they tell them on the subject, and thus make a complete jumble of it. *See* page 388.

They are, by no means, of such fine build and stature as other Afgháns, which is attributable chiefly to the humidity of their country, beautiful though it is, and the malarious atmosphere in which they pass their lives. In this respect they resemble the Yúsufzí Afgháns of Suwát, whose physical constitution is attributable to the very same causes as act upon the Shítaks of Bannú. *See* page 212, para. 3.

* From the different statements I have noticed, given by the heads of tribes themselves, whether Afghán or Gakhaṛ, Balúch or Awán, with their lands "*rent free for ever*," their object was plain enough. They pretended that their predecessors paid little or nothing in the shape of revenue to the Durrání Government, in hopes that they might not be called upon to pay more to the British Government. In cases where a payment is acknowledged, it seldom exceeds, even if it comes up to, one half of the real amount. The sums mentioned in these pages are the actual amounts of assessment existing at the period these surveys were made, namely, towards the close of the reign of Tímúr Sháh, son of Aḥmad Sháh, Durrání, and confirmed by themselves.

† He was the great-grandfather of the present chief of Ṭíraey. The place is now in ruins, which are strewn all about, and indicate that, in the time of its prosperity, it must have been of considerable strength. It is of much older date than is generally supposed, and was named not after this Sháh-báz Khán, but his ancestor of that name, the father of Khush-ḥál Khán.

‡ The distance is rather more.

§ What is called the Surdágh Pass in the maps is probably what is referred to here.

There were no Aḥmadzí Wazírís in this Thal at the period these surveys were made, they having begun to possess themselves of it between sixty and seventy years ago. The eastern part, near the mountains once belonged to, or was occupied by, the Khaṭaks, who used to graze their cattle therein.

appearance of the country, except in time of harvest, after plenty of rain has fallen in the spring, at which time its aspect is altogether different, and it then looks like a vast corn-field. Halfway on the last stage from Laka'í, you cross the river of Kurma'h, which is generally fordable. The river Gamílá or Gamíla'h, also known as the Gambíla'h, flows past the town of Laka'í on the northern side.

"Before completing the description of these routes which branch off through the Khaṭak country, it is necessary to refer briefly to the Khaṭak tribe."

The Khaṭak Tribe of Afghâns.*

"The Khaṭaks are a large tribe, and number nearly 100,000 families. Their territory extends from near Bannú to the village of Bázár,† a little to the north-east of Aṭak-Banáras, a distance of about sixty kuroh in length; and from the territory of the 'Ísá Khel Níázís to the afore-mentioned village of Bázár, between forty and fifty kuroh in breadth. It consists chiefly of a very mountainous tract of country, through which it is difficult to pass, and *chúls*—sandy, desert, tracts—and *jangal*. The Khaṭaks, for the most part, are sedentary, and cultivators of the soil, but some follow a nomadic life. Their chief towns are Akoṛá or Akoṛa'h, Sháh-báz Gaṛh, Kálá-Bágh,‡ and Makhaḍ.

"There are four well known Sar-dárs or Chiefs over as many subdivisions of this great tribe. The first is Sháh-báz Khán, before mentioned, whose territory is a difficult mountainous tract, and who resides in the fort of Sháh-báz Gaṛh. Although he is not taxed, and has no contingent to keep up at his own expense, nevertheless, when called upon, he furnishes a body of troops from his tribe for the Bádsháh's service. The nomad Khaṭaks pay obedience to him; and Málg-ín, and other parts of the hill tracts containing salt [part of the Salt Range], are in his possession. The second Sar-dár is Yúsuf Khán, who is a great Chief; and the seat of his authority is the town of Akoṛa'h, situated on the southern bank of the river of Kábul. There all sorts of commodities are disposed of, and the country all round is very productive, and yields a revenue of nearly two *lákhs* of rúpís. He has to furnish a contingent of troops to the Bádsháh's army. The third Sar-dár is Ma'áz Khán, the Wálí of Makhaḍ, who furnishes a contingent of some hundreds of troops to the army of the Bádsháh of Kábul, and pays into his treasury the sum of 8,000 rúpís in lieu of taxes. The fourth Sar-dár is Surkh-rú Khán, Chief of the Bangí Khel sept of the Khaṭaks, previously mentioned."

As the author of these surveys has not touched upon the descent and antecedents of the Khaṭak tribe, I will do so very briefly, leaving a more detailed account of it for another occasion. The Khaṭaks are Kaṛlárnís, and are descended from the same progenitor as the Dilazák Afghâns, whose pedigree is easily traced, as I have already shown, and who are looked upon as the head of the Kaṛlární sept, the immediate ancestor of the Dilazáks being the eldest of the sons of Kodaey, one of the two sons of Kaṛlárn or Kaṛlárnaey. It might equally be said of the Khaṭaks, and quite as correctly —or of the Afrídís, Wurakzís, Mangalís, Shítaks, Wazírís, Khogíánís, or Utmán Khel —that they are "*tribes of Arab, not Afghán origin*," as a recent writer incorrectly says respecting the Kaṛlární tribes inhabiting Lower Bangas'h, whom he calls "*the Bangash tribe*," for they are all descended from the same Kaṛlárn or Kaṛlárnaey, as previously stated, who was the reputed son of a Sayyid; and, as all Sayyids are of 'Arab descent, it stands to reason that the descendants of Sayyids are likewise of 'Arab descent.§

The progenitor of the Khaṭak tribe was Lukmán, son of Kodaey, son of Kaṛlárn or Kaṛlárnaey, but he became known by the nickname of Khaṭak, and from the following incident.‖ Lukmán, and three of his brothers, while out hunting in the open

* "Khuttuck" is an impossible name.

† *See* pages 32 and 273.

‡ *See* note **, page 370.

§ Captain (now Major) T. C. Plowden, B.S.C., in his English translation of a book entitled "Kalíd-i-Afghání," which contains about a dozen pages of the Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa' (taken by its compiler, a missionary, from that portion of the same history contained in my Afghán Selections entitled the "Gulshan-i-Roh"), with rare inconsistency, after he had himself, in his translation, traced the descent of the Khaṭak, Dilazák, and other tribes, from Kaṛlárn or Kaṛlárnaey, and given, from that text, a correct tree of their descent, says the Bangash are "*a tribe of Arab, and not Afghán origin*," and that the Dilazáks are "*a non-Afghán people*," and yet "the Arakzais" [he means the Wurakzís], and others descended, like his "Bangash" and Dilazáks, from the *very same* Kaṛlárnaey, "*are Afghán tribes*," even by his own account.

‖ *See* the original, which will be found in my Gulshan-i-Roh, in the extract from the Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa', pages 37 and 38.

country, by chance, met with four Afghán damsels of another tribe; and one of his brothers proposed that they should cast lots for them, and make them their wives, as their dress indicated that they were unmarried. Lukmán would not consent to this arrangement, saying, that, as the elder of the four, he would first choose one of the damsels, after which they might cast lots for the other three. The girls must have been veiled rather closely; and Lukmán selected the one who was the best dressed. The other brothers, having cast lots, were anxious to see how fortune had favoured them; and it was found that Lukmán's choice was very plain, dark, and stout, while the other three damsels were very comely. The brothers began to laugh and jeer their brother, saying "*Lukmán pah khaṭey lár*,"* which, in Pus'hto, signifies "Lukmán "is gone in the mud," which is equivalent to the English phrase, "So-and-so has stuck "in the mud," or "put his foot into it;" and thus the term "khaṭak," which may be freely translated "stick-in-the-mud," stuck to him, and to his descendants for ever after—

> "Truly, the pretty face which *may be* the veil under,
> When thou openest it, *may be* a mother's mother's." †

However, Lukmán's choice, Sabáka'h by name, bore him two sons, named respectively Tormán‡ and Bolák. Tormán, the eldest, had two sons, Taraey and Tarakaey, but, as Taraey was more able and talented, all his father's descendants, including those of his brother, are called Tarís after him, consequently the Khaṭaks are all either Tarís or Boláks. Khush-ḥál Khán, the warrior, poet, and historian, was fifteenth in descent from Lukmán, *alias* Khaṭak.

The Bangí Khel are a section or clan of the Boláks, their progenitor being Bangaey, son of Ságharí,§ son of Bolák. The chief town of the Boláks at present is Jahángíra'h, mentioned previously at page 273.

The first historical trace which we obtain of the movements of the Khaṭaks is from the chronicle of their own chief and historian, Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, who quotes from the writings of his grandfather, and states that their *first settlement* was in the mountain range of Shuh-ál, which was (when he wrote, and still is) the country of the Wazírís,‖ who are also Kaṛlárnís, being descended from Kaṛlárnaey's second son, Kakaey. The Khaṭaks were subsequently forced farther eastward by another wave of the Afghán people, displaced, in all probability, by foreign invasion, and came into the Bannú territory. What is still more probable, however, is that, like the bees, they swarmed from the parent hive to make room for others, and find subsistence for themselves in a new country, as other Afghán tribes had to do. Arrived in Bannú, they took up their residence with their kinsmen, the descendants of Mangalaey and Honaey.¶

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* In his "Gazetteer of Central Asia," Part I., page 149, MacGregor, quoting the "Hyát-i-Afghání," says "the name Khatak is said to come from the Pukhtu expression '*pah khattar*,' meaning he has come to grief." Of course, "*pah khattar*" is meaningless; and this shows the danger a compiler is liable to fall into when attempting to quote from a language unknown to him. Perhaps the error came from the translation of Hai'át Khán's work, which has "*pa khat lár;*" and it is so written in the original 'Urdú, thus showing that Hai'át Khán's ideas of Pus'hto were somewhat hazy.

† The original of the above is a literal translation of the Persian quoted by Khush-ḥál in the text:—

> "Bas ṣúrat-i-khúsh kih zer-i-chádar báshad,
> Chún báz kuní mádar-i-mádar báshad."

Plowden, in his translation of the extracts from the Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa', referred to in note ‡, page 376, renders this couplet as follows:—

> "The youth was by her veil'd face and fine apparel gull'd:
> When her veil he lifted up on his grandam he chanced."

He cannot surely have meant this for a translation of this Persian: perhaps, he is not acquainted with the Persian language.

‡ This is correct, but not "Túrmán."

§ Whatever the "Awán" Malik of Kálá-Bágh may have said to the contrary, Awáns being no authorities whatever respecting the descent of Afghán tribes, any more than for their own descent. The Bangí Khel and other Ságharís know their own descent better than any Awán can be expected to know. *See* note **, page 370, and page 430.

‖ He means that *at that time* the Wazírí Kaṛlárnís were dwelling therein. It is called in the original a mountain range, therefore it cannot be "a valley." The whole of the mountainous tract of country around the Takht-i-Sulímán, as far west as the western slopes of the mighty range, was known as Shuh-ál, or Shú-ál Ghar. *See also* the "Translation" of Hai'át Khán's book (page 210), where it is styled "Mount Shamwal, one of the western faces of the Sulieman range." Mr. Bellew, in his latest work, makes "*Sanwál*" of this name, and makes "*Shattaks*" of the Shítaks, to make their name rhyme with "Khattaks" perhaps. The original Pus'hto text is as I have written it above. *See* note ‡, page 376.

¶ It is very easy to say that "Honai and Mangalai" took possession of the Bannú valley "*circiter* 1150;" that it had been "depopulated by Mahmúd Ghaznaví;" and that "the Shítaks came down from Shwál *in circiter* 1300;" or to assert that "during the thirteenth century the Khataks *are supposed* to have left Sháwal "[*sic*], in the Súlimán range, and subsequently settled in Bannú," but who says so? in what history is it

To those acquainted with Afghán genealogies this was quite natural, for Mangalaey, the progenitor of the Mughbals, Jzandráns or Jzadrárns, and Bahádurzís, was Lukmán's, *alias* Khaṭak's, full brother; and Honaey, the ancestor of the Honí tribe, was a son of the Sayyid, Muḥammad-i-Gísú-Daráz, referred to at page 384, who married a Kaṛlární wife, who bore him two sons, Honaey and Waṛdag. They were, in fact, all Kaṛlárnís together, either on the father's or mother's side.

When the tribes of Honí and Mangalí, through some enmity which arose between them and the descendants of Gíwaey, son of Shítak—and others the descendants of the latter, who were likewise Kaṛlárnís; for Shítak was Lukmán's brother—left the Bannú territory and went to Hindústán,* the Khaṭaks continued to dwell with the Shítaks, and the former held the Sadrawan *wála'h* or watercourse, and the lands pertaining to it, with, in all probability, the Shítaks consent.†

It is then stated that feuds with their neighbours, the Shítaks, and the movements of other tribes, or sections of tribes, pressing onwards from the west, caused the Khaṭaks to move farther eastwards and northwards, but quarrels with the Shítaks is the more probable cause; since the latter have not been affected by the movements of other tribes, and still dwell in their old seats. The Khaṭaks then allied themselves with the Kaṛlárnís of Bangas'h against the Wurakzí Kaṛlárnís, with whom they were at feud, who now dwell in the mountain tracts of Tí-ráh, in the Khaibar Dara'h, and in the Jalál-ábád district. These they expelled from the Kohát district, or Lower Bangas'h, which the Malik-Mírís, Bá'ízís, and Kághzís took possession of; and the Khaṭaks appropriated the tracts as far east as Resa'í on the Sind or Indus, and parts around, and farther northwards along the Indus, and river of Kábul. This must have happened in the latter part of the reign of Akbar Bádsháh, because, in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí of Abú-l-Fazl, it is stated that the Wurakzís were still included in the *tomán* of Kohát, and were set down as able to furnish 300 horsemen and 5,000 infantry.

The Khaṭaks first appropriated the Lowá-Ghar,‡ Ṭíraey, and parts adjacent; and, by degrees, overran the country farther east, as far as the Sind or Indus, a little below

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recorded? I may add that there is not the shadow of a proof of it, and that the only record is that given above.

The expulsion of the great tribe of Dilazák Kaṛlárnís, in the time of Humáyún Bádsháh, from Pes'háwar and its districts paved the way for the entry of other tribes into the tracts south of the route from the Indus to Pes'háwar and Kábul by the Khaibar and other roads, such as the Khaṭaks, Afrídís, and Malik-Mírís and other tribes of Bangas'h. *See* note ‡, page 375, pages 328 and 329, note §, page 350, and page 390.

* Not all certainly; for, two centuries since, some of the tribe of Honí were dwelling among the Khaṭaks around the Níl-áb mountain. The Káká Khel, who are so venerated among them (as descended from the Sayyid, Muḥammad) are probably Honís. The Mangalís retired to Khost and parts adjacent, where they still dwell, but some, probably, emigrated into Hindústán.

† It is still known by the same name. Edwardes refers to it in his book (page 318, Vol. I.), under the name of "Sudurawan," and settled a dispute between the Wazírís and Bannútsís respecting it. He says it is in the "Jhundookheyl" *tapa'h*, and was nearly half a *tapa'h* in extent, and lies east of the river of Kurma'h, and, consequently, the Khaṭaks were not wrong in claiming part of the Thal as theirs. *See also* page 319 of the same work. It appears in the maps as the *Ahdhummee* N., and in MacGregor's book as the *Ahdhami* ravine.

‡ The Lowá-Ghar is that range of mountains, in some places rising to the height of from 4,000 to 5,000 feet, commencing a few miles north of Kálá-Bágh, and through which the Chichálaey Ghás'haey or pass, mentioned at page 370, cuts. At its commencement it runs in the direction of south-west, first throwing out several short ridges to the south. It is then cut across from north to south by the pass above mentioned, after which it runs in three parallel ridges for about ten or eleven miles, when the northernmost ridge, bounding Tsautara'h on the south, ceases, and the other two continue to run in the same direction for another ten or twelve miles, when both bend to the south. These continue to run in that direction for about the same distance, when the easternmost ridge terminates, and the westernmost continues onward, gradually lessening in elevation, and inclining easterly, until it reaches the Tangaey or Dara'h-i-Tang, referred to at page 440, where the river of Kurma'h pierces it on its way to the Indus, at which point the range is very low. This range of mountains separates the country of the 'Ísá Khel Niázís, and Kálá-Bágh, from the Khaṭak country, and the Chúl or Thal, now occupied by the Wazírís, the eastern parts of which latter certainly did belong to the Khaṭaks, who used to graze cattle in it.

The Lowá-Ghar looks on the map like the petrified remains of a gigantic antedeluvian monster, the head being those parts of it immediately east of the Chichálaey Pass, and west of the Gháso-e defile, and its body the three parallel ridges, while the tail is formed by the other two gradually tapering away until the westernmost one terminates at the Tangaey or Dara'h-i-Tang. Its southernmost peak, about six miles above the Tangaey, is known as the Lakey Tijzey, the plural form of the same name as mentioned at page 123, in Bájawṛ. It was to a stronghold in this range that Ilḥdád, the Táríkí, retired when he found he could not stay at Ghaznín, after Yalang-Tosh, the Úzbak, deserted him, and made peace with the Şúbah-dár of Kábul, as mentioned at page 393; and it was here, likewise, that he was killed, as related in the same page.

The stream which takes its rise in the dara'h formed by the two northernmost ridges of the three immediately west of the Chichálaey Pass, runs down between them in the direction of south-west, and is known as the river or stream *of the* Lowá-Ghar, but there is no river actually called the Lowá-Ghar; for *ghar* signifies a mountain and range of mountains, but in our maps the "*Lavagur*" is duly marked. The stream referred to receives others coming from the north, in the hills about Laṭi-Mar and Kaṛak (not "Kurruk," as in the

which the Ṭíraey To-e or Ṭíraey stream unites with it, the Awáns, a people of Jaṭ descent, for the most part, retiring before them into the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah on the banks of the great river.*

Subsequently, the Khaṭaks carried their inroads into that part of the Panj-áb as far east as the Sakí Sara, or Sú-hán Sakí Sara [*sara* is the Sanskrit for a lake] district, whither the Awáns had gone and taken up their abode; and, after that, as far east as Bharah and Khush-áb on the banks of the Jhilam. During the time of Khush-ḥál Khán, the Mughal government being too powerful for them, their inroads were put a stop to, and they had to fall back again towards the Sind, but they still retained the district of Makhaḍ on the east bank, and still continue to hold it.†

There were no Khaṭaks north of the river of Kábul in Akbar Bádsháh's reign; for Malik Akoṛ or Akoṛaey, only founded the town of Akoṛa'h after he became a vassal of that sovereign early in 994 H. (January, 1587 A.D.); and the tradition of the Khaṭaks that Sháh-báz Khán, father of Khush-ḥál, who died in 1050 H. (1640–41 A.D.) "subjugated the whole" of the Mandaṛ tribe of Afgháns is pure invention; for the whole strength of the Mughal empire of Dihlí could not effect it. The constant invasions, battles, and devastations, which occurred north of the river of Kábul, after the destruction of the Mughal army in the Karakaṛ and Malandaraey Passes, related at page 261, paved the way for the Khaṭaks, who were Mughal vassals, to commence appropriating the territory on the northern bank opposite Akoṛa'h; and they, by degrees, began to annex the Mandaṛ territory along its banks.‡ Yaḥyá Khán, son of Malik Akoṛ, is said to have seized upon the part nearest the river, known in after years as Tarí and Bolák, after those sections of the Khaṭak tribe who took up their abode in it. There is a colony of Khaṭaks in the Lúndaey Khwaṛ Dara'h; and, in Khush-ḥál's day, there were Khaṭaks dwelling at Rustam in the Sudam Dara'h, where, with the consent of the Mandaṛs, they had taken shelter from the Mughals; and they were of the Tarí sept of the tribe like himself.

I have given accounts of this celebrated warrior-chief and poet, and of Ashraf his son, and Muḥammad Afẓal, his grandson, in my "Translations from the Poetry of "the Afgháns," pages 142 and 249, and need not repeat them here.

When the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs assembled on the banks of the Níl-áb, a little above Aṭak-Banáras, in Shawwál, 1077 H. (March, 1667 A.D.), and crossed over, and

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maps); and in time of flood pours into the river of Kurma'h in a violent torrent, about nine miles east of the ruins of Akaṛa'h. Great part of the year there is no water running in its bed, which, in some places, is some fifty feet deep, but, by digging four or five feet more or less, plenty is obtainable; and it is here that the Wazírís and their flocks obtain it. Such water pits in the bed of a river are called *jzawar*, in Pus'hto, but not "*joor*." *See* also page 324, paragraph 2.

In our maps, the northernmost part of this Lowá-Ghar range, forming what I have called the head of the huge petrified monster, appears as "*Lukkur Ghur*." *See* page 393, note ‖.

* *See* note †, page 377.

† When Sháh 'Abbás, Ṣafawí, took Ḳandahár in 1059 H. (1649 A.D.), and Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh was on his way to Kábul at the time that his son, the Sháh-Zádah, Muḥammad Aurang-zeb, was directed to besiege that stronghold, Khush-ḥál Khán, the Khaṭak chief, as his vassal, proceeded in the Bádsháh's train from Aṭak as far as Ḍhákah; and was sent back from thence to bring along the *Birinj-árís* and escort them from the Aṭak ferry to Kábul. When about to dismiss Khush-ḥál on this duty, the Bádsháh asked him several questions respecting the Afghán tribes of those parts, and their strength, the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs in particular; and the reason of the feud between them and the Khaṭaks, his own tribe, all of which he replied to. Then the Bádsháh inquired of him what connection there was between his tribe and those Khaṭaks who were in the habit of making raids into the Khush-áb and Bharah districts. The Khán replied that they were all Khaṭaks together, sprung from the same ancestor, but that they (the Ságharí Boláḳs, including the Bangí Khel) were now separate, and independent of each other. Sháh-i-Jahán then inquired into the state of the route between the territory of the two Khaṭak septs. Khush-ḥál replied that the Níl-áb Ghás'haey or Pass separated them from each other. Then the Bádsháh asked him if it was practicable for horsemen. The Khán gave answer that it was difficult for horsemen, but that infantry could easily cross it. While this conversation was passing Sháh-i-Jahán was being conveyed in a *takht-rawán*, or portable throne, and Khush-ḥál Khán rode at his side. Having been strictly enjoined to bring on the *Birinj-árís* as soon as possible, the Khán received his dismissal.

‡ The Ákhúnd, Darweza'h, the great saint of most of the Eastern Afgháns, did not think very favourably of the Khaṭaks; and on their side, too, there was not much love displayed towards him. He says, "The "women of the Khaṭak Afgháns [he calls them Afgháns, it will be noticed, although they are Kaṛlárnís], "seated on the ground, grind the corn in their hand-mills with one hand, and with the other laid on the "breast, pretend to make their *rukú'* and *sujúd* [bowing the body in prayer, and, bowing the head to the "ground so that the forehead may touch it], without rising up, by bowing their heads only, so ignorant are "they of even the outward forms and ceremonies. This they imagine to be *namáz* (the prayers prescribed by "the Muḥammadan law); and although it is not, still it is better than not even going through the appear-"ance of making it." He adds that the Khaṭaks were much in the same state as the Chamkanís, who, long before this period, had separated from the rest of the Ghwarís or Ghwaríah Khel, and taken up their quarters about the Spín Ghar or Safed Koh; that "their food is chiefly *arzan* or millet, and their garments "*pashm*. Most of their females go about with their heads bare, and an old worn-out piece of cloth about "their necks; and, thus dressed, they go out into the wilds and forests and pick up firewood, collect grass, "and take out the cattle to graze."

were defeated by Kámil Khán, the Fowj-dár of Aṭak, near the Hazrau ferry—due south of Ụhanḍh—Ashraf Khán, son of Khush-ḥál, was present with him in command of the Khaṭak contingent, along with other vassals.

During the incessant civil strife that went on between Khush-ḥál Khán, and his son, Ashraf, and grandson, Muḥammad Afẓal, on the one side, and the former's degenerate son, Bahrám, on the other, supported by other disaffected members of the family, and by the Mughals, who made use of Bahrám to destroy the power of Khush-ḥál, and the Khaṭak tribe generally, upon one occasion, in the month of Muḥarram, the first month of 1084 H. (April, 1673 A.D.), the Mughals, and Bahrám's supporters, appeared before Niẓám-púr, about twelve miles below Níl-áb, and rather less than three from the west bank of the Indus, where Khush-ḥál had taken up his residence.

Some 200 or 300 Khaṭaks and Afrídís made a night attack upon them, but without result. The Mughals and their allies subsequently moved to Gharbín, but were then defeated with loss. Khush-ḥál Khán says, in his Diary, "I set out towards Ḍanbara'h on the 5th of the month, and came to Gharbín, where there were some Afrídís [who were allies of Khush-ḥál against the Mughals], but they were without heart. I accordingly held counsel with them; and I remained there two nights; and they united with my force.

"On the 11th, the Mughals and their allies broke up from before Niẓám-púr, and I set out with my followers in pursuit of them; the Afrídís in two bodies, and the Khaṭaks in one, the whole amounting to just 700 men, of whom 120 were cavalry. Some of them were armed with firearms, who, in all, may have numbered 200 men. We came up with the enemy at the Súniála'h Ghás'haey or Pass;* and between 400 and 500 of their matchlock men were left behind as a rear-guard. They were hill-men of Jammún [in the Kohistán of the Panj-áb, not the Afrídí Jammú], and they occupied the pass. A fight ensued, which lasted one watch [three hours], when the Mughal forces and their allies took flight, after losing 12 killed, and more than 20 wounded. The Tsíní villages were burnt; and that night we passed at Gárú.†

"Next day, the 12th, we moved towards the villages of Níl-áb, in the same order as before; and the two villages in the Toha'h hills were attacked and plundered, in which affair some 20 or 30 of the Kaṭhar tribe were killed, many prisoners taken, and much booty acquired. We returned safely to Ḍanbara'h on the 13th; and the Afrídí Kad-khudás,‡ who, with their men, had behaved so well, were allowed to return home, after promising faithfully to come back soon."

The Khán further states, that, on the 26th of the same month, he despatched a force of about 350 men, Khaṭaks and Afrídís, under Mullá 'Usmán, to attack Jánah-gaṛ, which is a small dara'h or valley among the mountains, bounding the Pes'háwar district on the south, and lying about south-east from that city. It is between two and three miles in length; and a never failing stream of water runs through it. Its width is about half its length; and the entrances at either end contract into narrow defiles.§ This force descended the Jánah-gaṛ Ghás'haey or Pass, the entrance of the dara'h on the Khaṭak side, and, at midnight, attacked the village of Mewrah.‖ A few men were killed, but 300 head of cattle, and some provisions, were captured, and the place was then fired.

Upon another occasion the Mughals sought to compel Khush-ḥál Khán to change his quarters from Totakí,¶ a strong position difficult to get at, situated on the banks of

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* The well known pass lying between Pes'háwar and the Panj-áb by one of the old routes by the Níl-áb ferry, now called the Kahoá ferry. On the Pes'háwar side the road, for about a kuroh, lies in the bed of a rocky ravine, the passage over the crest is stony, and the descent down to Súniála'h, in the Khwaṛa'h, after which it is called, is not difficult. From thence other roads lead to other places north and south, as mentioned in the above narrative. The pass appears in our maps as "Kunnakheyl." The village of *the* Kanah Khel, certainly, stands near the northern entrance of the pass, but there is no pass called *Kunnakeyl*, though it might be styled "*the pass leading to Khanah Khel.*" *See* page 442.

† "Garoo" of the maps, a village in the Khwaṛa'h, situated in a strong position on a height, and surrounded by ravines. Here, likewise, roads branch off to other passes to the west, and the ferries over the Indus to the east.

‡ The head-man of a village or small clan is called the Kad-khudá.

§ This fruitful little valley is, at the present time, peopled by a section of the Adam Khel Afrídís, known as the Ḥasan Khel, which contains still smaller subdivisions. It has been looked upon by the frontier authorities as a very strong position. Its inhabitants, who live in several small villages, are still independent, or were so very recently. Khush-ḥál Khán shows how it could be easily entered.

‖ This village does not appear to exist at present.

¶ "Tootkay" and "Tútkai" of the gazetteers and maps. It is a village on the Afrídí border, six miles east of Jánah-gaṛ, with the mountains on its south, and the stream referred to above on the north. This

a stream, which, rising in the Jz'wákí hills and flowing north-west, unites with the Abáe-Sind a little south of Nizám-púr; and they gave Bahrám to understand that, if he could not accomplish it, they would send for Ashraf Khán, his brother, and make over the Khaṭak territory to him. Here Khush-ḥál had taken up his residence in order, should necessity require, to be able to fly for shelter to the Adam Khel Afrídís, whose territory was close by. The Mughals applied to his degenerate son, Bahrám, who had supplanted his brother Ashraf as vassal of the Mughals for the time being.* A force was got together by Bahrám, consisting of men from among his supporters in the tribe, and men of other tribes in his pay, which force advanced to Mihrájí, in the Káwar Dara'h; and the Aoríá Khel Khaṭaks, then dwelling there, joined them. They then moved down the Pass on the route to Mír-i-Kalán village, where others among the disaffected Khaṭaks also joined them.

The old Khán says, "I also had prepared for hostilities. All the Afrídís had returned "to Tí-ráh, but about 50 or 60 of the Ḥasan Khel Adam Khels came from Jánah-gaṛ "and joined me, besides some others; and, altogether, I may have got 500 men together. "Although not many in point of numbers, their courage and valour was enough to cope "with Bahrám's whole following, which amounted to over 3,000. I had summoned all "the Boláḳs of Paṭ-yálaey,† but none of them came.

"Bahrám's force moved to Da Kamar Meney,‡ as we had closed the Gharbín Tangaey "or defile. It was the 8th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal—the third month—of that year. The "sun had entered Taurus, and the flowers of spring were still blooming."

Khush-ḥál Khán was, however, deserted by most of his party, who returned to their homes; and the few Yúsufzís with him, and his own Mahmandí Khaṭaks, did not know what to do. One of the head-men of the latter told him:—"Seven eighths of the Khaṭaks "are on the side of Bahrám, and we Mahmandís, who are but an eighth, cannot fight "so many." He, accordingly, advised that the Khán should leave Totakí, and that, in a few days, his (the head-man's) clan would join him; and that all should depart and go into Ṭíraey Tsautara'h,§ and dwell there. The man's object was to get the Khán away, after which they could manage to appease Bahrám. Others of the Mahmandí clan refused to abandon the old Khán in his adversity; and they urged, that they should set to, at once, against Bahrám's force, lest the rest of the Mahmandís should likewise desert his cause. This advice was acted upon. The Khán could only send out about 30 or 40 horsemen, under Mullá 'Uṣmán, against Bahrám, who was about one kuroh distant, but, when these few appeared, Bahrám's force, not knowing what desertions had taken place among them, became nervous, thinking Khush-ḥál Khán's whole force was upon them, and they began to disperse, but, finding how few they were, they again began to rally.

Khush-ḥál Khán says, that, if he had only had the whole of the deserters along with him, he could have defeated Bahrám's force in such a way, that no one would have known the fate of his comrade. Nevertheless, Bahrám, finding what a strong position his father held, and knowing that he would make a desperate struggle, did not attempt to attack it very seriously, and retired towards Nashúra'h,‖ which road was left unguarded.

The old Khán returned towards Totakí, where he had left his own family and those of his other sons, while those who had deserted him [when Bahrám drew near], had gone off to the Gharbín Darga'h,¶ and to Saṛ-Aobey to look after theirs'; and thus was he left with only 30 horsemen and 50 foot. He continues: "I had given strict orders to "my family not to leave Totakí on any account, but, when the enemy drew near, "the wife of Ashraf Khán, Afẓal Khán's mother, who perceived them from a long "distance, and some others, fled, leaving everything behind them. When I entered "the Totakí Dara'h in order to bring them back, both horse and foot of the enemy "were moving along the heights; and they commenced discharging their arrows at "me. Some of them had pushed on in pursuit of the females; and, on entering the

stream rises in the mountains a few miles north of Jammú of the Afrídís. The dara'h in which it lies Khush-ḥál calls the Totakí Dara'h. It is the "Indurra" of the maps.

* Khush-ḥál having given up the chieftain-ship in favour of Ashraf, his eldest son.

† "Patiálá" of the gazetteers, and "Puttiala" of the maps. It is a district inhabited by the Boláḳ sub-division of the Khaṭak Kaṛlárnís, and lies west of the ferry at Khush-hál Gaṛh. Ziyaṛa'h lies north of it.

‡ Mena'h in Pus'hto signifies a place of habitation or a dwelling. The "*n*" in the word is sometimes changed for "*l*," as in some other words, and is then pronounced *mela'h*. Here the word is changed by inflection to *meney*.

§ Ṭíraey *and* Tsautara'h really, but the names of the two districts are generally written together thus by the author.

‖ Also Lashúra'h, "*l*" being substituted for "*n*." "Lashora" of the maps.

¶ *See* page 402.

"Dara'h, I was in front; Ashraf and his few horsemen, were close behind me, and "evening was coming on. All at once, I perceived a great number of horsemen "approaching, and thought they might be the Afrídís coming to my aid, but, on closer "inspection, seeing saffron-coloured garments, I knew them to be the enemy."*

After a hand-to-hand fight in the pass, most of the saffron-coloured horsemen were killed by Khush-ḥál Khán (who with his own hand slew two of them), his sons and grandsons, consisting, besides Ashraf, of 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir, Niẓám, and Yaḥyá, together with Malik Sulímán and Kalá Khán, the Afrídí. "It was" says Khush-ḥál, "the "time of evening prayer, when, after this lamentable strife, in which one part of a "family has to shed the blood of another, we set out to overtake the fugitive families. "When we overtook them, we found them in a terrible state of fright; and mothers "were unable to find their children. I now intended to take up my quarters at Saṛ-"Aobey,† but there was no water procurable there. I sent off the families to "Ḍanbaṛa'h, and there was no water there either; so we set out for the village of "Manṣúr Mena'h, and even there water was scarce; for it had to be brought from a "dara'h in the mountains near by, and so we were obliged to stay there for a short time. "Next day, we started at dawn, and, at mid-day, reached a watercourse or rivulet, "where we remained until the time of afternoon prayers, and then moved on again. "We had no cooking vessels and no grain; so were obliged to push on once more, and "reached Da Anáro Kats,‡ where we passed the night among the jujube *jangal*. The "Mahmandí families along with us again took up their quarters in the Ziyaṛa'h "*tapa'h*, in Gharbín and Gharíba'h, but we halted at Jammú."§

These events took place shortly before the annihilation of the Mughal army under Muḥammad Amín Khán at the Gharíb Khána'h *Kotal* in the Khaibar, related at page 40; and, some time after that event, Khush-ḥál took advantage of the state of affairs and resolved to drive Bahrám out of Akoṛa'h. Having gathered some fresh strength, and the Adam Khel Afrídís having come to his support, he proceeded from Ráj-gaṛ by Jammú and the Níl-áb Ghás'haey to Palosí, and afterwards to Niẓám-púr. Then setting out with his available forces, he marched into the *tapa'h* of the Aoríá Khel by the Mír-i-Kalán Ghás'haey|| or Pass. The Khán says, in his Diary, "Bahrám, too, had occupied the Súníála'h Ghás'haey farther up. I crowned the "heights along the route with the infantry, and with the horse proceeded up the "Ghás'haey. The men sent on the west side soon drove off the enemy there; and "Bahrám, on this, retired down to the mouth or entrance of the Súníála'h Ghás'haey "again [that is, towards the north], and fell back on the village of Mihrájí¶ at the "entrance of it." Gaining strength as he advanced by the Káwar Dara'h, and sending his footmen by the Bandar Kando route, Khush-ḥál Khán burnt Bukhta'h because its Aoríá Khel people were unfriendly, and then marched to Sháh Koṭ, which was also set on fire and burnt. Mustering his forces there, he found they amounted to the respectable number of nearly 4,000 men, of whom between 300 or 400 were cavalry. Dividing this force into three divisions, one of Khaṭaks and two of Afrídís, he moved on to Bukhta'h.** At Spín Kárnaey†† was the village of Darwáza'h of the Fatḥ Khel, and that too was fired.

"Bahrám was posted at Hoṭí da Ghlo,‡‡ where he had thrown up breastworks; and the sound of his kettledrums could be distinctly heard. We advanced, the Khaṭaks

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* Ráj-púts, apparently, in the Mughal service, as Mughal forces were sent along with Bahrám's party.

† Saṛ-Aobey signifies cool water, or the place of cool water, which, at one time, gave name to the spot.

‡ *See* note †, page 317.

§ Gharíba'h is in the Jammú dara'h or valley, in the Jz'wákí Afrídí territory, lying close to the westernmost part of the Khaṭak dara'h of Ziyaṛa'h. A force moving from S'hádí-púr by the Ziyaṛa'h *tapa'h* could reach it.

There is no village called "Jummoo," as might be supposed from the maps: Jammú is the name of the dara'h or valley.

|| This pass lies about five miles to the south-west of the Súníála'h pass, and is so called after the village of that name near its eastern entrance. It leads to Pes'háwar, and also to Koháṭ through the Khaṭak country, but it is rather a roundabout way, and at present, through other roads to Koháṭ having been made available, its importance is not so great in that respect, but, in times of local disturbance, should necessity arise, other passes near by might be turned by it and *vice versâ*, as shown above. The Khaṭaks had used this road for centuries, and yet we are told in a recent compilation that it was "discovered" by Major Coke in 1855.

¶ "Maharaji" of the maps. Bahrám's object here is evident, for, had he not done so, Khush-ḥál would have got into his rear.

** "Bukhtai" of the map.

†† Literally, "White-stone" or "White-rock," in Pus'hto. It is made "Spínkahk" of by some, but appears in the map as a village under the name of "Speenkana." It is in the tract inhabited by the Ismá'íl Khel Khaṭaks.

‡‡ Neither this, nor many other well known places here mentioned, are to be found in our maps.

in front, and the Afrídís in the rear; and, on my reaching the Khwaṛa'h* of Lukaṛa'í, Bahrám's forces gave way, and dispersed in all directions. We followed them; and, at the shrine of the Shaikh, Raḥím-Kár,† our advance fell in with some of them, killed a few, took some prisoners, and carried off a number of cattle. I then encamped at and around Wala'í;‡ and great was the consternation in that part. The whole of the disaffected Khaṭak clans might have been slaughtered, captured, or plundered, but this I did not seek to do. All night the people were crossing the river of Kábul; and several boats were wrecked from being overcrowded. Koṭ Saráe was totally abandoned. Continuing to advance, I proceeded on the route towards Áwa'h, and, opposite Ísoṛí, got into the *sháh-ráh* or royal road, and burnt the Ísoṛí, Ḍangarzí, Shaidú, and Tarí villages; and from thence marched on to Khair-ábád, and directed that the camp should be pitched at Naríála'h. I remained until the gateways [of Khair-ábád]§ were burnt in my presence; and, having ordered that all the large buildings should be overthrown, I proceeded to my camp.

"The garrison of the fort of Aṭak now opened fire; and the cannon balls began to pass over our heads: consequently, some of the force fell farther back [out of gunshot], but I remained where I was, and directed that my kettledrums should beat the roll of victory, upon which the Mughals in the fort of Aṭak began to beat the *naubat*."

Next day, Khush-ḥál paraded his force for the Mughals to see; and he says, "They "extended from the Káwaz-war Dara'h ‖ to Khair-ábád and Mandú Khel, and appeared "to good advantage. After that I encamped at the 'Áshiḳah To-e;¶ and, burning "the villages of the disaffected near the hills as I went along, marched back to "Nizám-púr again by the Gaṛáng Ghás'haey or Pass. The Afrídís, who had behaved "so well, were now allowed to return home, and to take salt with them free of duty, "but a few of them still remained with me."

Khush-ḥál Khán, it will be noticed, had made a complete circuit back to Nizám-púr again, thus showing the practicable nature of the routes he followed in so doing. Continuing his narrative, he says: "I remained for some days at Nizám-púr, after "which I sent out a force under 'Ábid Khán [his son], and Mullá 'Usmán, and others, "in all about 60 horsemen, by the Súniála'h Ghás'haey or Pass, to drive off the cattle "of the Zá Khel and Yúsuf Khel; and, having succeeded in their object, they brought "them in by the Ḳarmezí Ghás'haey, and joined me again at Gharbín. I then "proceeded by the Gharbín Ghás'haey to Ráj-gaṛ; and at this time I received "a letter from Ashraf [who, as head of the Khaṭaks, was then in attendance on the "Súbah-dár], saying that his rank had been increased, and the Tarí Boláḳ district "conferred upon him. This good news filled us all with delight."

Subsequently, Khush-ḥál Khán undertook an expedition against Noh-s'hahr or Noh-s'hahra'h, and came to an understanding beforehand with the Afrídís, when at Kunḍ-yálaey, to take part in it. Tátár Khán, brother of the renowned Daryá Khán, with a body of his Afrídí clansmen, came by the Jammú route into the Khwaṛa'h, while Khush-ḥál, with the Boláḳ Khaṭaks, moved, by the Gharbín Ghás'haey or Pass, from his residence at Ráj-gaṛ, into the Khwaṛa'h also. Arrived therein, he found that Tátár Khán had moved to Jánah-gaṛ by way of Boṛí, upon which, Khush-ḥál, making two halts at Ḳarmezí, set out to join him, and came down, by the Ḳarmezí Ghás'haey or Pass, to Ismá'íl Khel. The same day the Afrídís joined him, and his forces now numbered between 7,000 and 8,000 men. The next move was to the

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* "Lukrai" of the maps. Khwaṛa'h, in Pus'hto, means the sandy bed or bottom of a ravine or water-course.

† This is MacGregor's "Káká Khel Ziárat." He says, "The saint whose tomb is here is *one* Káká Sahib, "who is venerated by all the tribes round, and who gives his name to the Káká Khél. Káká Sahib was the "brother of a chief of the Khataks." The Shaikh in question was the contemporary of Khush-ḥál Khán, and his spiritual guide. Káká Sáḥib is the familiar name by which he was known, as Pír Bábá is applied to the Sayyid, 'Alí, the Tirmizí. *See* page 248. The Shaikh's descendants are known, as above mentioned, as the Káká Khel. Káká is the Hindí for paternal uncle. *See* note ‡, page 420.

In a report to Government by Lieutenant H. B. Lumsden, in 1851, he styles the Shaikh, Raḥím-Kár, by the strange name of "*Shaik Rahum Rao*," thus making a Hindú of him, and makes sad havoc among other proper names of persons and places.

‡ "Wullai" of the maps. It is about two miles north of the Ziárat of Raḥím-Kár. It is the residence of the chief man of the Shaikh's family.

§ This fort was in existence ages before the Sikhs obtained a footing in these parts. *See* page 33, also my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 193.

‖ This should not be mistaken for the Gáwaz Dara'h, which runs north-east from Ṭorkaey Súraey towards the shrine of the Shaikh, Allah-Dád; for that Dara'h is in the Jz'wákí Afrídí territory, and this is near Khair-ábád. *See* page 439.

¶ This To-e or Stream, and the Sájza'h To-e mentioned farther on, rise in the mountains bounding the Khwaṛa'h on the north, and unite with the Indus south and east of Nizám-púr.

Jaba'h, and then to Dágúnah,* and there he disposed his forces. The Khaṭaks were marshalled in two bodies, the Tarís in one and the Boláks in the other, and the Afrídís in three bodies, the first of the Aká Khel, the second of the Khatorí, and the third of the 'Áiysha'h Khel.† The next move was by the Jaba'h‡ to Pír Piáwa'h village, which was set on fire, but the villages of the Zá Khel and Yúsuf Khel were spared. Some 3,000 men occupied the Koṭ or fort of Noh-s'hahr, but they did not venture to appear outside.

Positions having been selected for attacking it, and taken up, the Khaṭaks on the west and north sides, and the Afrídís on the east and south, they commenced the assault—it was the middle of the day—and in the course of one watch (three hours) carried it. There was great slaughter among the Mughals and others, including some other Afgháns, but the Khaṭaks were spared.§ "The Afrídís," says Khush-ḥál, "took to plundering, and what they obtained they decamped with, and, consequently, "I must needs follow, although I wished to stay there for the night. Likewise, I was "under the necessity of setting all the Khaṭak prisoners at liberty, who thought they "were to have been taken along with me."

Khush-ḥál Khán intended to have returned to Noh-s'hahr again, and to have burnt down the old fort there, but he and his followers encountered a heavy fall of rain which wetted them to the skin, and therefore he moved to Niẓám-púr, to provide for the safety of the Tsíní|| families, by way of the Mír-i-Kalán Ghás'haey or Pass, and, subsequently, returned to Ráj-gaṛ by way of the Sájzah To-e. These events happened shortly before the overthrow of the forces of Aurang-zeb, under Jaswant Singh and Shujá'at Khán, by Ae-mal Khán, Afrídí, at Khápash, in 1085 H. (1674–75 A.D.), referred to previously at page 42, and about two years subsequent to the annihilation of the Mughal army in the Khaibar Pass, related at page 40.

Some considerable time after, upon one occasion, Ashraf Khán, in whose favour his father, Khush-ḥál Khán, had previously resigned the chieftain-ship of his tribe, moved to Gumbata'h, because the Mahmandí clan of the Khaṭaks were rebellious; and Afẓal, Ashraf's son, and author of the history often quoted in these "Notes," had to go and chastise them. This incessant civil strife was caused through the fickleness and avarice of the Khaṭak tribe generally, who were constantly changing sides, sometimes being hand in glove with Bahrám, and at others supporting their rightful chief, but, after a time, they were equally ready to betray him into the hands of his rival and the Mughals, his rival's supporters.

Afẓal Khán says, "They (the Mahmandís) had fled from Gumbata'h, and had "returned into the Khwaṛa'h again; and there they began to say that Bahrám, who "was collecting his followers, had acquired great power, and it would soon be seen "what dimensions the affair would assume." They also said that, secretly, they should pay court to him; and very probably they did so. Afẓal Khán continues:—

"Having come from Spín Kárnaey to Dzalúzí, on my march towards Saráe, the Mahmandí Maliks came to take their leave of me, on which I directed them to accompany me as far as Saráe, in order that the force then along with me might, in the eyes of the (Khaṭak) people, generally, seem larger than it was.

"Both at Kahí and Shiga'h,¶ they were told that their intrigues with Bahrám had all been discovered, and that if they accompanied me they would all either be killed or imprisoned. I, however, entertained no evil intentions in my heart towards them; and, without knowing anything of their suspicions and fears, continued on my road towards Saráe by way of Noh-s'hahr. After I had reached it they were going to follow me as before; and, it being the hot season, I got on board a boat with the intention

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* "Dag" of the maps.

† The Khatoṛí and 'Áiysha'h Khel are two of the three sections of the Adam Khel, and contain minor subdivisions. They are so called from their respective mothers, Khatoṛa'í and 'Áiysha'h, the wives of Adam, Afrídí. There is no Afrídí clan, whether Adam Khel or other, called "Asha Khél" or "Ashú Khel," or "Ashazai": all these are merely errors for 'Áiysha'h Khel.

‡ Jaba'h signifies a marsh, bog, or mere. There are several places so called from their proximity to marshes or marshy ground. *See* page 437, where it is again mentioned.

§ This successful affair he alludes to in his poem recounting the successes of the Afgháns over the Mughals. *See* my "Afghán Poetry," page 151, verse 4.

|| Those, who cannot realize the pronunciation of the Pus'hto letter "*ts*," style these Khaṭaks "Senís" and "Chínís," just as in the case of "*dz*" in the name of the village of the Dzalúzí, which is turned into "Jalozzaí" and "Julozai."

The Tsínís must not be mistaken for the Sínís or Sírnís, who dwell farther south, at and around Gumbata'h, south-west of Da Beyalo Tang.

¶ "Shuggai" of the maps. Shiga'h, in Pus'hto, means sand, gravel, pebble, etc., the plural form of which is *shigey*. Shiga'í means sandy, gravelly, or pebbly soil. Afẓal Khán always writes the name as above. "Shuggai" is, of course, meaningless.

of dropping down the river to Saráe. They were, however, so worked upon by the rascal, Hakímaey, who shed crocodile tears, and told them that they were going to certain death, and so frightened, that they asked him what they should do. He said, 'Make 'some excuse respecting the *kulang* [revenue]; and with all the Mahmandís leave the 'Khwaṛa'h and retire into the Ziyaṛa'h *tapa'h*. He will then send a deputation after 'us, and we shall then be able to make terms, and extort promises of safety for our 'lives, before going to him again.' They also consulted with others, who gave them similar advice; and the upshot was that they fled from Noh-s'hahr into the Khwaṛa'h by the Súníála'h road. . . . On the fourth day, some men reached me from the Khwaṛa'h with the news, that, certain Maliks having fled from Noh-s'hahr, the people were dispersing. I sent Malik Shamsher thither to assure them of safety, and remove their doubts. When he reached the Khwaṛa'h, the rascal, Hakímaey, who had come down the Súníála'h Ghás'haey or Pass, would not return to the Khwaṛa'h; and some persons went to Bahrám, and told him that they had caused the dispersion of the people from the Khwaṛa'h, and advised that he should despatch a son of his own, with the Afrídí troops [in his pay], and that then whoever were well disposed towards his cause would join him, and those who were not could be compelled to decamp. Bahrám acted on this advice, and despatched his son to the Khwaṛa'h accordingly.

"I had sent Sikandar Khán [his uncle] direct from my presence [at Saráe] to assure the minds of the Mahmandís, and, on his arrival among them there, stumbled upon the whole Afrídí force. They made after him, but he retired by the Gumbata'h Ghás'haey or Pass to Súníála'h in good order, and sent me word of what had happened. I then, without delay, moved to Mihráji; and, when I reached it, spies brought me news that the enemy had marched by the Mír-i-Kalán Ghás'haey towards Lashkarí Mela'h,* in hopes of aid from Malik Salím, the Tsíní, and his clan. Next morning I sent a force to Súníála'h against Salím, and to tell him that the enemy had merely come in expectation of obtaining aid from him, and that he should go and break the bone of contention with the enemy, or I would burn the village about his ears; and such of the Tsínís as were loyal to me, which they mostly were, I sent along with him for that purpose. The enemy's force, however, perceiving them at a distance, did not consider it advisable to wait for them, and retired down to Gárú. I moved by the Tsaparí† route to Salím's village, and encamped there. Before sunrise I again moved, and descended to Súníála'h. Some of the enemy's footmen [with Bahrám's son before referred to] had gone to Gumbata'h, but, seeing some of my footmen, they retired in disorder on their main body, which became shaky, and also began to retire. I detached Sikandar Khán with a body of horse in pursuit; and he, having followed them to Da Moríо Mela'h,‡ being without provisions or forage, was unable to keep up the pursuit. That night I passed at Gárú. It was the time for water-melons; and the whole *maira'h* [desert plain] of Gumbata'h was so covered with melons, that, although the enemy's force had taken as many as they liked, and the men of my force did the same, there did not appear to be any diminution of the numbers.

"Next morning I moved to Da Kamar Mela'h, and the enemy retired to Saṛ-Aobey of the Afrídís, their object being, if they could get us out into the open country, to slaughter us. I was on my way back to Nizám-púr, and they [the runaway Mahmandís], fool-like, sent a deputation to me, asking me to receive their apologies, and offered to make the most solemn promises that, if pardoned this time, they would never commit themselves again. Their object, however, was merely to play with me, but, as I wanted a pretext for returning to Nizám-púr, I accepted their promises for what they were worth, and returned thither accordingly, but my ear was open to hear of their evil doings.

"News subsequently reached me from the Dzalúzís, that, the horsemen who were with Bahrám's party having taken to flight, he had raised a body of between 400 and 500 foreign horsemen; and that those of his forces who were at Saṛ-Aobey of the Afrídís, having united with this body of horse, intended to come to Dzalúzí (village). I took into consideration that if I went thither again, they would be in their own homes, so to say, and I certainly would not fight in the Afrídí country; for of what use was it to do so? I therefore thought it advisable to encamp at Mihráji, and if they came out into the open country I could act as occasion might require:

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* As previously remarked, Mela'h and Mena'h are used one for the other, and both signify the same thing.

† "Chaprí," "Chaparí," and "Saparí" of the maps and gazetteers, the Pus'hto "*ts*" not being realized. There is but one place so named in the neighbourhood, not two.

‡ This, and many other places and passes here mentioned, do not appear in our maps.

if they did not, it would not matter; for I should be then in my own house as it were. I sent out 100 horsemen to Dzalúzí to watch the movements of Bahrám's force; and he, one night, finding the open country clear, marched to Dzalúzí. One watch of the night remained when this news reached me at Mihrájí, and before day broke I was on my march thither. By the time the sun appeared I had reached the Jaba'h of the Aoríá Khel; and I then moved by the Sháh Koṭ road, and, while we were marching towards Dzalúzí, the enemy's force had moved out of that place, and had passed beyond the Ziárat of Shaikh Mírzá on the Sháh Koṭ road. Suddenly, we encountered each other; and when the enemy perceived us they were filled with consternation. The Afrídí matchlock men behaved well; and, in the first charge, in which two of my men were wounded, the enemy broke, and fled by two different roads, pursued by my troops in both directions. The strange horsemen, who had been enlisted at Pas'háur, fled in the direction of that place, and were pursued as far as Dzalúzí. Of the enemy, who were on foot and on horseback, Afrídís and others, a number, amounting to near upon 100, were killed, and nearly 500 horse and foot made prisoners between the scene of their defeat and Bostán Darga'h; and we returned triumphant to Dzalúzí. Arrived there, I released those who had been captured, for they were not such enemies that there was any occasion for their extermination, and had chiefly gathered around Bahrám in hopes of plunder, and enough had been killed to make the chastisement sufficient.

"Bahrám escaped with difficulty; and, during the flight and final scene at Bostán Darga'h,* some of the enemy, in fear for their lives, entered that cane forest, and a wild hog, frightened thereat, issued forth, and fled along by the side of Bahrám. A person found the date of this successful fight in the words, '*Khanzír pah lár*'—'The Hog on the road,' which is 1111 H. (1699 A.D.).† After this we returned triumphant to Saráe.

"At this time, the Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, was Ṣúbah-dár of Multán; and I reported to him the death of Amír Khán,‡ the Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul [referred to in another place], and my success."

Afẓal Khán, the intelligent Khaṭak chief from whose valuable history the preceding extracts have been taken, at his death left eight sons,§ three of whom were the most notable; two, Sa'd-ullah Khán, and Muḥammad 'Alí Khán, in a political point of view, but the fame of the third, Káẓim Khán, the Poet, is more likely to be handed down to posterity. The former of the two took up his residence at Akoṛa'h, and the latter at Tíraey; and this was the primary cause of another split in the Khaṭak tribe;‖ for, in Aḥmad Sháh, Durrání's, reign, Sa'ádat Khán, son of Sa'd-ullah, accompanied him into Hind, where he greatly distinguished himself; and, during his absence, his cousin, Lashkar Khán, son of Muḥammad 'Alí Khán of Tíraey, attacked Akoṛa'h, and murdered Sa'd-ullah, and his son, Ja'far Khán. This act of treachery was subsequently revenged by Sa'ádat Khán, who put the murderer to death. Sa'ádat was raised to the title of Sar-faráz Khán by Tímúr Sháh, son of Aḥmad Sháh;¶ and he was the last Khaṭak chief who held sway over the whole tribe.

When Azád Khán, Bámízí, Durrání, rebelled in Kash-mír, which matter has been previously referred to,** among the feudatories who accompanied the army of the Sar-dár, Madad Khán, a Najíb-ullah Khán, Khaṭak, is mentioned; and, when these surveys were made, Yúsuf Khán was chief of the Akoṛa'h Khaṭaks,†† and Sháh-báz

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* Darga'h, in Pus'hto, means a copse, or brake, a cane forest, or the like, where trees or underwood grows close together. There are several in the Khaṭak country, and round it.

† The year 1111 H. began on the 18th June, 1699 A.D.

‡ *See* page 445.

§ In his "Central Asia," Part I., MacGregor says, in an account of the Khaṭak tribe, but from whence derived I am unaware, that Afẓal Khán, son of Ashraf Khán, "had two sons," but this, as shown above, is not correct. Here are their names:—Sa'd-ullah, Muḥammad 'Alí, Káẓim, Asad-ullah, Muḥammad Ashraf, Sa'íd, Ḥasan 'Alí, and Saif-ullah.

Káẓim, the poet, who wrote under the name of Shaidá, I have given an account of, together with some of his poems, which may be considered the most polished of any in the Afghán language, in my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 305; and the originals will be found in my "Gulshan-i-Roh."

‖ The Ságharí Boláḳs, including the Bangí Khel, it must be remembered, had separated from the other Khaṭaks long before, as mentioned in note †, page 430. Malik Akoṛ or Akoṛaey, and his son Yúsuf, were both assassinated by the Boláḳ division of the tribe; and Yaḥyá Khán, Akoṛaey's son, avenged his father and brother by slaughtering numbers of the Boláḳs. From that time the separation alluded to by Khush-ḥál in the note just referred to took place.

¶ Compare Hai'át Khán's account, Priestly's Translation, page 212, from which the above differs very considerably.

** *See* note *, page 279.

†† *See* page 34.

Khán, son of Sa'd-ullah Khán, a younger brother of Sa'ádat Khán, otherwise the Sar-afráz* Khán, was chief of the Ṭíraey Khaṭaks, as already mentioned.†

A few years afterwards, when Sháh-i-Zamán, Durrání, entered the Panj-áb, to endeavour to recover the Durrání dominions in that quarter, and entered Láhor in 1211 H. (1796–97 A.D.), the Khaṭak contingent accompanied him.‡ The Bádsháh had to abandon his enterprise through an outbreak in the western part of his dominions, and march back from Láhor, which he quitted in Sha'bán, 1211 H. (February, 1797 A.D.). Among his Sar-dárs was Núr-ullah Khán, Khaṭak,§ with a body of 500 Khaṭak cavalry; and there was also a contingent of 300 Kohát Kaṛlárnís, furnished by Azíz-ullah Khán, Koháṭí; and he held Kohát in fief, with its dependencies, for their maintenance. Lashkar Khán, the Kamálzí Yúsufzí, whose clan dwell near Pes'háwar (around Torú), who were also tributary to the Bádsháh, furnished about 500 spearmen, and sometimes many more. On this occasion there were 300 Yúsufzí horsemen under Aḥmad Khán, and 2,000 cavalry of his own; Bahádur Khán, Muḥammadzí, son of Faiẓ-Talab Khán, with 500 horse; and Bostán Khán, Durrání, at the head of 1,000. These contingents, with other troops, to the number of 6,000 or 7,000 men, with 100 *shahangs*—camel swivels—and four pieces of artillery, under the command of Aḥmad Khán, Bárakzí, the Shahangchí Báshí, were left to hold possession of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah.

The author from whose work the above statement is taken, and who writes from his personal knowledge, adds :—" The chiefs of the Khaṭak tribe have been *jágírdárs* of " the Gúrgáníah Sulṭáns of Hind for several generations; and, at present, under the " Durrání government, the fortress of Aṭak and town of Akoṛa'h, with other towns, " villages, and lands, as far east as the Níl-áb ferry, are held by Núr-ullah Khán; and " the revenue of the two ferries [Aṭak and Níl-áb] is devoted to the payment of himself " and *dasta'h*—corps—consisting of an efficient body of 500 horse equipped with fire- " arms. The chief is a pleasant, good-natured, and good-tempered person, noble in " conduct and bearing, and straightforward; and the whole of the Khaṭak tribe " dwelling on the banks of the Sind are subject to his authority. A'ẓam Khán " [successor, and probably the son, of Ma'áz Khán, previously mentioned as chief when " these surveys were made], the Wálí of Makhaḍ, likewise furnishes a contingent of " 500 horse to the Bádsháh's army."‖

When the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone returned from Pes'háwar, from his mission to the Court of Sháh Shujá'-ul-Mulk, the chief of the Akoṛa'h Khaṭaks, he says, was " Asoph Khaun,"¶ whom he describes as " a very respectable looking man, " very handsomely dressed, and well attended." At the time Moorcroft and Trebeck were on their journey to Pes'háwar, the chief of the Akoṛa'h Khaṭaks was 'Abbás Khán, son of Fírúz Khán, son of Núr-ullah Khán (previously mentioned); and the chief of the Ṭíraey Khaṭaks was Khush-ḥál Khán [son of Arsalá Khán, son of Náṣir Khán, son of Sháh-báz Khán, of the time of these surveys]. Moorcroft says, " he " ('Abbás) had only recently returned from Láhor, where he had been to tender " allegiance to Raṇ-jít Singh. We were assailed by various reports of the predatory " habits of this person, and of his people, and were assured that he had been " encouraged by Raṇ-jít to oppose impediments to our journey, if not actually to " plunder us. Some intimation of such a purpose showed itself in the pass of Gidar " Gali, where a number of persons rolled down stones from the tops of the hills upon " our foremost cattle."

* Sar-afráz, or Sar-faráz, as it is also written, signifies " eminent," " exalted," " distinguished," etc. Sa'ádat Khán is sometimes called Sa'ádat-mand Khán.

† The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, who came into these parts on his way to Kábul in 1196 H. (1782 A.D.), and proceeded from Níl-áb to Pes'háwar by the Mír-i-Kalán Pass and Dzalúzí, says, that at that time the whole country between Dzalúzí and Níl-áb was under the sway of Sháh-Báz Khán, chief of the Khaṭak tribe.

‡ At this time, which was about five years after the MS. of these surveys was completed, Zardád Khán, Popalzí, was governor of the Pes'háwar province. He is described as " a man mild and humane, honest and " just, discerning and discreet, not avaricious, and much liked by the people whom he governed."

§ This was seven years after these surveys were completed.

‖ The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, who preceded the author of these surveys by about ten years, says, " the " people of Makhaḍ are Afgháns of the Khaṭak tribe, subjects of Tímúr Sháh, Bádsháh of Kábul, and are " generally engaged in hostilities with the Sikhs," but he does not mention the name of the chief.

¶ He means " Aṣaf Khán," son of Sa'ádat Khán, and the nephew of Sháh-báz Khán, who ruled at Akoṛa'h for his uncle, but the above is as he wrote the name. Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, in his book, follows Elphinstone, but the former's statements are not to be implicitly depended upon, as his summary of Khaṭak history indicates; which may be compared with that in MacGregor's work with much advantage as well as amusement, particularly as far as Khush-ḥál and his son Ashraf are concerned; and may be well termed curiosities of history.

'Abbás Khán's conduct with respect to the Sikh ruler was by no means approved of by his tribe, according to the same author, and Khush-ḥál Khán* of Ṭíraey particularly reprobated it. Their differences were, however, supposed to have been adjusted when the sister of 'Abbás Khán was given in marriage to Khush-ḥál Khán. The latter was subsequently invited to Akoṛa'h to a hunting party. He came with a few attendants, and was at first received with all outward marks of cordiality; but, at the first hunting excursion, he was set upon by armed men, employed by 'Abbás Khán for the purpose, and assassinated. Next day 'Abbás Khán marched to endeavour to surprise Ṭíraey, a strong position, but the news of Khush-ḥál Khán's murder had preceded him, and the mother of the murdered man closed the gates; and he gave up the attempt. Such is the account given by Moorcroft; but, according to other accounts, 'Abbás Khán, Khaṭak, with a body of his tribe, joined the forces of the Sar-dár, A'ẓam Khán, Bárakzí, against the Sikhs; and, when the Sar-dár retired, 'Abbás Khán and his tribesmen joined the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, and took part in the disastrous battle of Noh-s'hahra'h, on the left or northern bank of the Landaey Sín, or river of Kábul, which was fought on the 14th of March, 1823, and perished with the greater part of his followers. Moorcroft, who reached Pes'háwar in December, 1824, speaks of "the "recent engagement." There must be some error in the dates and circumstances mentioned by him, because it is notorious at Pes'háwar that 'Abbás Khán was killed in that battle, and a ballad on the subject was composed by a minstrel whose poetical name was Ḥakím, and was very popular at Pes'háwar, even as late as 1849–50.

Eighty-second Route. From Pes'háwar to S'hádí-púr, which Route leads to Láhor.

"These are really two roads. The left-hand one, which is the nearest, and about twenty-five kuroh, is the most onerous. It leads through a difficult mountain tract, in which there is scarcity of water, and in which the nomads of the Khaṭak tribe dwell.

"The right-hand road is as follows. From Pes'háwar to Mitanní, and Zarghún Khel of the Afrídís, the road has been already described in the preceding route. Setting out from Zarghún Khel, you proceed six kuroh in the direction of east to Ṭorkaey Súraey,† a small hamlet—or really two, close to each other—on the way to which you have to pass through much *jangal,* and water is very scarce. From this place the large village of Togh is distant eight kuroh in the direction of south-west, towards Kohát; and the road is of much the same description as before.

"Leaving Ṭorkaey Súraey, you go five kuroh in the direction of north-east, and reach the Zíárat—signifying a place of pilgrimage—of the Mián, Shaikh Allah-Dád,‡ around which a small village has sprung up, built on the side of a ravine. Another stage of four kuroh from thence in the direction of west brings you to S'hádí-púr,§ a small village, situated on the hill side, on the bank of the Abáe-Sín, overlooking the river; and the road from Ṭorkaey Súraey to this place is of much the same description as before. There is a ferry here."

Eighty-third Route. From Akoṛa'h to Málg-ín by way of S'hádí-púr and Khush-ḥál Gaṛh.

"Setting out from Akoṛa'h, you proceed twelve kuroh in the direction of south, and reach the small village of Amír. The road, for great part of the way, lies through a mountainous tract of country, with numerous ascents and descents, in which water is scarce. You then proceed another two kuroh in the direction of south,

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* This is the person, apparently, who is referred to by MacGregor in his work under the strange name of "Khúshiál." The name given above has a signification: "Khúshiál" has none. In the same way the name of the present chief of the Ṭíraey Khaṭaks is Khwájah Muḥammad, not "Khoja Mahamad." The Nawwáb, Sir Khwájah Muḥammad Khán, K.C.S.I., is the son of the great great grandson of Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, the author of the Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa', who was the grandson of the renowned Khush-ḥál Khán, the warrior and poet, but in a report entitled "Rough Notes on the Khattaks," by Lieutenant F. R. Pollock, the latter says that the "present *contractor*" of "Téree," alluding to the above-mentioned Khwájah Muḥammad Khán, is only "an *adopted son* of the widow of Khushhal Khan," son of Náṣir 'Alí Khán, son of Sháh Báz Khán, a grandson of Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, whose writings I have been quoting.

† The "Turkí" and "Swerí" probably of official reports, and "Toorki" and "Swayree" of the maps. Súraey, in Pus'hto, signifies "a gap," "a hole," "a passage," "an orifice," etc.

‡ It is called "Shekh Aladád," and "Shaikh Aladad," in the maps and in official documents, but "Zíárat of Shaikh Allah-Dád" is the correct name; for the village has sprung up around the shrine.

§ It still continues a very small place, and contains only about 150 inhabitants. Since the annexation of the Panj-áb a road has been made by our Engineers from this place to Kohát. *See* note **, page 441.

inclining south-east, to Gajjú Khel,* a small Khaṭak village, and then another two kuroh, in the same direction as before, to Nammal, another small village of the Khaṭaks. From this place the next stage is S'hádí-púr, previously mentioned, distant eight kuroh in the direction of south, inclining south-west, over the Níl-áb Ghás'haey or Pass. At this point two roads diverge.† The right-hand one leads to Kohát by way of the Ziárat of the Mián, Shaikh Allah-Dád, and the left-hand road is as follows.

"From S'hádí-púr you go twelve kuroh south, inclining a little to the south-west, to Khush-ḥál Gaṛh, subsequently mentioned, and by the way experience difficulty in obtaining water. A lofty hill-tract lies on the right hand as you proceed; and the Abáe-Sín shows itself in a depression of the mountains on the left. The next stage is six kuroh to the south-west, to the Khaṭak village of Nak-band;‡ and from thence another six kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining west, bring you to the banks of the Kághzí river§—the Resa'í ferry lying about two and a half kurohs on the left hand—which comes from the right hand, from the direction of the villages of the S'hádí Khel clan, and, running for a distance of six or seven kuroh towards the left hand, unites with the Abáe-Sín. From thence a long stage of fourteen kuroh takes you through the district or territory of Khwaṛama'h,‖ so called after a branch of the Bolák Khaṭaks inhabiting it, to Málg-ín, previously noticed. You have a range of hills near by on the left hand nearly all the way, until near Málg-ín, and a range of mountains on the right, but distant, beyond the Kághzí river. The road is of much the same description as that from Akoṛa'h to Amír."

Eighty-fourth Route. From Laka'í to Ṭíṭa'í.

"Setting out from Laka'í, and proceeding ten kuroh to the east, you reach the river of Kurma'h; and this stage they (the people) style the Tangaey, that is to say, the entrance to, or mouth of, a dara'h or gorge or defile among the mountains, on the south bank of the river. On the way you pass through much cultivation, but the road is very sandy. The Gamíla'h river flows near by on the left hand for some distance, the first part of the way, and farther north, distant about a kuroh or more, is the river of Kurma'h, which flows parallel to it, and then unites with it; and the combined streams continue their course for about seven kuroh to the Tangaey before mentioned, and, subsequently, unite with the Abáe-Sín. The road skirts the banks for the greater part of the way. This tract is peopled by the Marwat tribe, who follow a nomadic life.¶

"After heavy rains, the united rivers at the Tangaey, where the hills prevent the waters from spreading out, become so flooded as to be impassable; but the waters generally subside, and find their way to the Abáe-Sín, in the course of a day and night.

"Proceeding from the entrance to the above-mentioned Tangaey, and going four kuroh in the direction of east, in a dara'h among the mountains,** along the banks of the united Kurma'h and Gamíla'h, you reach Ṭíṭa'í, or Ṭíṭa'í Mena'h, which, in former times, was a considerable town belonging to the 'Ísá Khel section of the Níází tribe, but, at present, it is depopulated and desolate. Three kuroh farther east from this the river of Kurma'h joins the Abáe-Sín.††

"This route from Ṭíṭa'í branches off both to the right hand and to the left, up and down stream: one way leading upwards to Kálá-Bágh, and from thence to Makhad; the

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* "Gujookhel" of the maps.

† There are several routes and passes leading from the Afrídí territory into Khwaṛama'h of the Khaṭaks, some of which have been mentioned in the extracts from Afẓal Khán's history.

‡ Not "Nakhband."

§ The "Kohat Toe" of the maps. *See* page 380, and note *.

‖ There is likewise a practicable route from Nara'í Aoba'h by Balah-min, mentioned at page 84, into the Khwaṛama'h and to the Resa'í Ferry by Chakhtú, Láchí, Da Ghoriahzío Ṭol, and Til-khan. *See* page 445.

¶ At the present time, about half of them have abandoned their nomadic life, and taken to agriculture. Others would probably do the same were there greater facilities for irrigation.

** This dara'h is now generally known as the Tang Dara'h or Dara'h-i-Tang, which signifies, "the narrow gorge or defile," but "*Tang-i-dara*," as in MacGregor's "Central Asia," is meaningless, being nothing less than the cart before the horse, namely, *narrow of gorge*. The name is simple Persian. *See* note †, page 370, and page 373.

†† Vast changes have taken place since the time of these surveys; indeed, since the Indian Atlas map was published. The river of Kurma'h (the main stream), before uniting with the Indus, now turns from east to south; but much of its water is dispersed through other minor channels running to the north, and finds its way into the Indus in that direction. These changes are continually going on; and all trace of Ṭíṭa'í has, I believe, disappeared.

other downwards to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, which routes have been already given."

Eighty-fifth Route. From Laka'í to Khassúr.

"Setting out from the town of Laka'í, and proceeding eight kuroh to the south, you reach the Níl Ghar, the name of a defile and pass, the rocks in which are of a blackish colour [literally, blue], and which has about one kuroh of ascent and descent. From thence you go on for another five kuroh in the direction of south-east, and reach the Rátá Roh or Rátá Pahár, that is to say, the Koh-i-Surkh, which, as its name indicates, together with the parallel range immediately east of it towards Khassúr, is—from the Tangaey, referred to in the preceding route, where the river of Kurma'h separates it from the Lowá-Ghar range to the north—a portion of the outer or easternmost ranges of the Koh-i-Surkh or Rátá Pahár, farther south-west. From the aforesaid Tangaey, it runs in the direction between south and west as far as the Painzú Ghás'haey or Pass, when it turns to the north-west, and runs in that direction towards the point where the Gamíla'h river issues from the mountains, when it unites with the main portion of the range running south, which has been previously described.*

"The road lies through a defile and pass difficult to traverse; and from thence, proceeding seven kuroh more in the direction of south-east, you reach Khassúr,† a village of considerable size, so named after a tribe of Afgháns already noticed. On the way thither from Laka'í you pass through a very mountainous tract, containing many ascents and descents, in which there is scarcity of water; and the inhabitants are few, who roam about after the manner of nomads. This route also leads to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán."

Eighty-sixth Route. From the town of Makhaḍ, in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, to the fort of Aṭak-Banáras by way of the banks of the Abáe-Sín, or Sind river.

"Between the town of Makhaḍ‡ and the fort of Aṭak, on either side of the Abáe-Sín, there are ranges of mountains of lesser or greater altitude difficult to cross; and merchants and traders consequently prefer going by water. The villages which will now be mentioned are chiefly built on the skirts of the mountains, on the right and left hand, on either bank of the Abáe-Sín, but some are closer to the banks than others, and some are situated a kuroh or more inland.

"Setting out from Makhaḍ (which will presently be described), you proceed twelve kuroh, the river winding considerably, in the direction of north-west, several small villages lying distant on the left hand on the west bank, and reach S'hahr-kí,§ the name applied to two villages on that side, belonging to the Khaṭaks, about a kuroh north of which the Ṭíraey To-e or Tíraey stream enters the Sind.

"From S'hahr-kí you go eight kuroh north to [opposite to] But kí Gaṛhí,‖ which is also situated on the left-hand side; and, about one kuroh before reaching that point, you arrive opposite the place where the Kághzí river unites with the Sind. You then have to go on for another three kuroh to Ḳaṣṣáb,¶ also lying on the left-hand side, and on the way, about a kuroh and a half before reaching it, you pass by Resa'í,** where there is a well-known ferry, much used in former times, on the route into the

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* This range appears, or rather these two ranges, which are parts of each other, appear in our maps, the western one as the *Murwut* Range;" and in MacGregor's "Central Asia" as the "*Móhar* Range." The eastern portion is laid down in the maps as the "*Khusore* Range," but in MacGregor's book it is the "*Khasor* Range." Both are but portions of the Koh-i-Surkh, and form its northern portion or extremity. Rátá Roh or Rátá Paháṛ is the Hindú name of the range, *rattá* or *rátá*, in Sanskrit, being of the same signification as *surkh* in Persian—red. *See* also pages 5, 17, 324, 333, and 341.

† This place appears in the Indian Atlas map as "Keeree Khusore," and immediately south-west of it appears "Kissore ka Kirree." I wonder what is the difference here. *See* note *, page 325, and page 341.

‡ Written correctly, except with "*d*" for "*ḍ*," in the Indian Atlas map, but it is "Makhud" in the Revenue Survey map.

§ Not "Sharki," as in the maps. Wood examined the river as far as this point, in his attempt to get up the Indus in August, 1837. He says: "Quitting my boat here [Tora'h Mela'h or Tora'h Mena'h, five miles "north of Makhaḍ], I landed and examined its channel as high as Sharkí, a village on its western shore. To "this place I concluded the boat might possibly be dragged; but all hope of being able to advance higher was "completely cut off by perpendicular banks several hundred feet high, which, a little above Sharkí, buttressed "the river." At that time the river was in flood: hence, probably, his want of success.

‖ This place does not appear in our maps.

¶ But neither "Kasab," nor "Kusubba," as in the maps.

** The Resa'í ferry, mentioned above by the author of these surveys, has been frequently referred to by Afẓal Khán in the extracts I have given. It was considered of vast importance in former times; and the reason why it became disused was because Khush-ḥál Khán, son of Sa'd-ullah Khán, son of the same Afẓal Khán, founded a village at the ferry now known as the Khush-ḥál Gaṛh Ferry, a few miles above Resa'í, and

Bangas'h-át and to Pes'háwar by way of Koháṭ.* Just opposite Resa'í is the bed of a considerable river, which comes from the east, and unites with the Abáe-Sín, but its bed is dry for great part of the year.

"Proceeding upwards from Ḳaṣṣáb two kuroh and a half farther in the direction of north, inclining north-east, you arrive at Khush-ḥál Gaṛh, an old village, also on the left-hand side or west bank, situated on a hill slope, overlooking the river. Here there is an established ferry; and travellers between Láhor and Koháṭ cross by means of boats, and proceed on their way.

"From Khush-ḥál Gaṛh between three and four kuroh farther, in much the same direction as before, is the village of Turtálí,† situated on the right-hand or east side. Five kuroh farther north from thence is Dand,‡ a large village on the same side, overlooking the river. Immediately south of Dand, a river which comes from the eastward, from the direction of Thaṭṭhá, mentioned farther on, unites with the Abáe-Sín. Two kuroh north from thence again are two other villages, that on the west side is called S'hádí-púr, previously noticed, and that on the east side, Náṛá.§ At S'hádí-púr, likewise, there is a ferry, which is crossed by means of boats; for this is one of the routes between Láhor and Pes'háwar.

"About half a kuroh before you reach S'hádí-púr, on the opposite side of the river, another stream, coming from the eastward, from the direction of Náṛá, unites with the main river.

"Leaving the S'hádí-púr ferry, and proceeding three kuroh in the direction of north-east, you reach Sahín‖, on the west bank; and from it three kuroh farther, in the same direction as before, is Páṭá,¶ on the east bank, south of which a small river, rising in the mountains farther east, unites with the Abáe-Sín, but at this point its bed is generally dry, except after falls of rain.

"Another three kuroh upwards from Páṭá, in much the same direction as before, bring you to Sijhanḍah, also called Sijhanḍ,** an old place, likewise on the right or east bank, but distant half a kuroh from it. Proceeding seven kuroh [by the river] from thence in the direction of east, inclining a little to the north-east, you reach Níl-áb, a very ancient town, lying on the east bank or right hand, about half a kuroh east of which the Abáe-Sín makes a sharp bend to the north, then bends south-east for about a kuroh, after which it turns abruptly north again. South of Níl-áb there is a spring from which a little water flows, of great purity, and of a blue colour:†† hence the name of the spring and of the town, Níl-áb, or Blue-Water. It flows onwards and reaches the Abáe-Sín. On the other or west side of the river, on the skirt of the hills, is the village of Toha'h; and rather more than half a kuroh farther on is a small fort, built

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called it after his own name. The value and importance of the Resa'í ferry, however, which appears in our maps and gazetteers, [redacted] under the incorrect names of "*Raysee*," "*Ress*," and "*Reshi*," has recently been discovered by the local authorities; and, as there are some rapids in the river between it and Khush-ḥál-Gaṛh, which render the ascent of the river difficult, Resa'í has been "recommended as a depôt for steamers on the "Indus instead of Khush-ḥál-Gaṛh," thus, in a measure, restoring it to its former position, which was, no doubt, selected in olden times as being the best crossing point, in that direction, on the Indus.

This ferry, and the routes leading to it, have been several times mentioned in these pages, and have been used for ages past; and the wonder is that the importance, and former use of this ferry, was not better known, and sooner appreciated. In the year 1059 H. (1649 A.D.), when Ḳandahár was invested by the Ḳizil-báshís, and troops were ordered off in hot haste under Prince Muḥammad Aurang-zeb, Bahádur, to its relief, they were directed "to proceed to Kábul by the nearest route through Bangas'h, and by the Resa'í ferry." Hearing that Ḳandahár had fallen, Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh issued instructions to Aurang-zeb and Sa'd-ullah Khán to hasten their movements, and get to Ḳandahár as soon as possible. On the 15th of Ṣafar, the second month of 1061 H. (1651 A.D.), Sa'd-ullah Khán with his troops passed the Níl-áb at the Resa'í ferry, where there was a bridge of boats, and moved to Koháṭ, where he halted awaiting the arrival of Aurang-zeb.

When the latter succeeded to the throne, this ferry was considered of such great importance as to have a Thánah-dár over it; and, in 1085 H. (1674 A.D.) "Muḥammad Wafá was nominated Thánah-dár of the Guẓar "of Resa'í and of Koháṭ."

We have seen, from the extracts previously given, how anxious the Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, always was about the safety of the Resa'í ferry, and how often he directed Afẓal Khán, Khaṭak, to take care of it, and the safety of the routes leading to it. *See* page 390.

* By the route given at page 445 from Til-khan and Ṭolgaey Kalaey.

† Not "Tootal," as in the maps.

‡ "Dandi" of the maps.

§ The village so called is three and a half miles farther east, inland, from the banks of the Indus, and could hardly have been seen from the river; still, it is no doubt the place referred to; for it appears to be an old place, and there is no other of the name hereabouts.

‖ Incorrectly spelt "Sayun" in the maps.

¶ "Bahtar" in the maps.

** Not "Shoojandhar" as in the maps, for there is neither "*sh*" nor "*r*" in the word.

†† The water is so pellucid that it looks quite blue, and, in the idiom of the language, is termed *níl*—blue, hence Níl-áb, or Blue-Water, or Blue-River, and hence the name of the Egyptian Níl, of which Europeans make Nile.

of unburnt brick, called Kahoá or Kahoa'h,* and here, likewise, is an established ferry, which you cross by means of boats. There are several islands or sand banks in the bed of the river here, which, in crossing, you leave on the right hand."

Toha'h and Kaho, as Afẓal Khán writes the words, situated about a mile from each other, formerly belonged to the Kaṭhars of Níl-áb. In the time of Khush-ḥál Khán they were sacked, and many of the principal Kaṭhars were slain, as has been already narrated, their property carried off, and many captives taken. This affair caused the Kaṭhar tribe to regard the Khaṭaks with bitter hostility; and this was shown, in after years, when Náṣir Khán was Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul, in 1130 H. (1717 A.D.),† and the territories under his charge were in a very disturbed state, as well as the empire generally. At this period, Ghairat, the Kaṭhar chief,‡ whose sister's daughter had been betrothed to 'Abd-ullah-Khán, the Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk, arrived at Aṭak to take up his appointment of Fowj-dár, Aṭak being subordinate to Láhor.

Shortly after, "the upstart, Ghairat," the Fowj-dár, having intrigued with the disaffected among the Khaṭak tribe—for, from the time of Khush-ḥál downwards, the quarrels and seditions between his sons, his brothers, and his grandsons, were never ceasing—attacked Khair-ábád of the Khaṭaks (what has been called by one compiler, "the fortress erected by Nadir Shah," and by another, "the old Sikh fort," Khair-ábád having been a well known place ages before); and, for the space of a whole month, firing was kept up on either side, but chiefly from the Aṭak bank, and a vast quantity of powder was uselessly expended.

In the meantime, the party of Khaṭaks left to guard the Toha'h and Mándoṛí ferries by Afẓal Khán, their chief, had been tampered with by other Khaṭaks who were disaffected towards him, and all the available boats had been removed for security to the Aṭak side. These rebels, consequently, instead of guarding and defending those ferries, sent secretly to Ghairat, the Kaṭhar, and offered to evacuate those strong positions as soon as his forces should begin to cross the river.

This they shortly after did, by means of two or three boats quietly prepared; and, subsequently, quite unobserved by others than the rebels, to the number of from 1,000 to 2,000 horse, and from 10,000 to 20,000 foot, according to Afẓal Khán's history, but a greatly exaggerated number no doubt, and, having marched up the river, by the west bank, they obtained possession of Khair-ábád.

Soon after, whilst Afẓal Khán was making his preparations to attack and recover possession of that fort, after previously defeating the Khaṭak rebels, and some of the Kaṭhar Fowj-dár's forces, in which affair, out of a body of some 800 or 900 Kaṭhars, Mughals, and Ráj-púts, only a few managed to escape on horseback across the river by the Gádí ferry, came the news of the death of the Ṣúbah-dár, on the 8th of Muḥarram, the first month of 1131 H. (November, 1718 A.D.), who had just reached Pes'háwar from Kábul, and the whole country was up.

To continue the account of the route to Aṭak Banáras.

"From the Níl-áb you go one kuroh and a half east, and then north for another kuroh, to the village of Rúṭa'h,§ lying a short distance from the river bank on the right hand, south of which the Harú river unites with the Abáe-Sín. Going upwards from thence for rather more than a kuroh in the direction of north, you reach the village of Ḍher, situated on the east bank; and half a kuroh farther north-west, on the opposite side, is a village named Manḍorián,|| while the same distance farther on, on the right hand or east bank, is Jábhá, on the left-hand side of the road leading to Aṭak, and another village on the opposite bank, known as Tir-Pání. Continuing onwards for rather less than two kuroh, but inclining slightly to the north-east, you reach the village of Dakhnír, which is also styled Dakhnír [with guttural *kh*], but

* Not "Kawa," as in the maps, neither is Toha'h called "Thowa." In ancient times, before Aṭak-Banáras was founded, the Yúsufzí and Gagyání Afghán traders, who used to pass to and fro between their own country and Hindústán, used to go by way of Kahoa'h and Níl-áb, the Jánah-gaṛ and Súniála'h passes, and used to cross the Lanḍaey Sín or river of Kábul at the ferry of Sargh-waṛa'í, and return home through the Kálah Pání district. *See* page 246.

† The year commenced on the 23rd November, 1717 A.D.

‡ *See* Griffin's "Panjab Chiefs," under "Fatah (Fatḥ) Khan Drek," page 564. The Kaṭhars account this Ghairat Khán the best of their chiefs, on account of his "Court interest," perhaps. 'Abd-ullah Khán was the youngest of the two brothers, Sayyids of Báṛhah, who usurped the whole power in the State in Farrukh-Siyar Bádsháh's reign.

§ Incorrectly called "Borotha" in the maps.

|| "Mandoria," as in the maps, is not correct.

which is more than a kuroh distant from the banks of the Abáe-Sín. From thence another two kuroh and a half, in the direction of north, but inclining to the north-east, passing by a very mountainous track on either side of the river, bring you to the fort of Aṭak-Banáras, on the east bank of the great river, which has been previously described in the route from Láhor to Kábul (page 32).*

" On the way upwards from Makhaḍ, besides the rivers already mentioned, there are several other smaller ones on either hand, which unite with the Abáe-Sín, but their beds are for the most part dry through a great part of the year.

" All the villages here named, and the mountain tracts likewise, which lie on the left hand, belong to the Khaṭak Afgháns; and the mountain tracts on the right belong to the numerous tribe of the Kaṭhars, also called Kahṭars, whose chief towns and seats of authority, in ancient times, were Níl-áb and Bhaṭúṭ or Bhaṭíúṭ. The latter place is now desolate, but Níl-áb itself still belongs to the Kaṭhars."

Some very interesting information respecting the Indus is given by Khush-ḥál Khán, Khaṭak, and his grandson, Afẓal Khán, from whose writings I will give a few more extracts.

Referring to the many hair-breadth escapes of his grandfather, the latter says, that, " upon one occasion he nearly lost his life through the lowness of the waters of " the Abáe-Sín. It was in this wise. In the year 1072 H. (1661-62 A.D.), at the " time that convulsions arose in Hind consequent on the imprisonment of the Bádsháh, " Sháh-i-Jahán, by his unnatural son, Aurang-zeb, who had been usurping the throne " about three years, hostilities arose between the Mandaṛ Afgháns and some of " the Yúsufzís on the one side, and the Fowj-dár of Aṭak on the other. At that " time, Khush-ḥál was a loyal vassal of the Mughal Bádsháhs, and he was, con-" sequently, together with his tribe, considered hostile by the other Afgháns " referred to.

" Their intention was to cross the river of Kábul by means of rafts, and plunder the country around Khair-ábád, Nawaey Saráe, and Noh-s'hahra'h, but they failed in their object. Khush-ḥál Khán set out from Saráe for the purpose of going to consult the Mughal commander at Aṭak; and he embarked on board a boat. The Khán says, in his Diary, ' It was when the sun was in Scorpio, and it was near the time of evening ' prayer that I reached the junction of the two rivers [the river of Kábul or Landaey ' Sind, and the Indus or Abáe-Sind]; and the water of the Sind was so low that the ' rocks and boulders showed themselves above the water, which, also, was exceedingly ' smooth. All of a sudden, however, when the boat came opposite Khair-ábád, she ' struck upon some rocks, and went to pieces, having gone sideways on the other ' great rocks in the river.'

" The Khán, with two or three others, seized on one of the planks, and succeeded in getting upon it; and it was prettily tossed about among the rocks and stones. Those among the party in the boat, who, when she went to pieces, were cast on the Aṭak side, all got safely to land, but those who were carried by the current to the Khair-ábád side were all drowned.

" There was the Khán afloat, and knocking about with others, on a plank in the waters of the Sind on a dark night; and great was the uproar and excitement at Khair-ábád and at Aṭak; for it was reported that the Khán was drowned. After one watch or more had passed since the accident happened, a raft pushed off, and succeeded in reaching him and his companions in calamity, took them off the plank, and landed them safely at Aṭak. The Khán, however, who was then fifty years old, while on the plank, nearly perished of cold; and a Hindú, who was one of the party on the plank, did die from the effects of the cold after he had been rescued from the water. The plank, which had been tossed about all this time among the eddies, but had not been carried down stream, for if it had been, all those upon it would have perished to a certainty, was borne down almost immediately after they had been placed on the raft."

Afẓal Khán then relates some of his own adventures on the Indus. The Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, when Ṣúbah-dár of Multán, had been directed by his father, Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír, to assume the government of Kábul and territories west of

* In 1079 H. (1668 A.D.), the twelfth year of Aurang-zeb's reign, Aṭak suffered greatly from the shock of an earthquake. On the 4th of Ṣafar—the second month—of that year (3rd of June, 1668), a great chasm opened in the ground to the extent of fifty *gaz* in breadth, but its depth no one could ascertain. This shock was likewise felt in Kash-mír on the same date.

the Indus, belonging to the Mughal Bádsháhs of Hind, on the death of the Ṣúbah-dár, Amír Khán, at Nímla'h, and the outbreak of disturbances in the province. Afẓal Khán had sent him the news by Ḳásids (couriers), who proceeded by water as far south as the Balúch boundary [to the Thal or Chúl-i-Jalálí, on the Indus, as far down as Mián-walí, probably], and then by land to Multán, which they reached within six days from the time they set out. Afẓal Khán proceeded to Ḥasan-i-Abdál to meet the Prince on his way to assume the government, and was despatched back to Khair-ábád to prepare for the construction of a bridge of boats across the Indus. Afẓal Khán says, "When I "reached Aṭak, the Fowj-dár there, Faẓl-ullah Khán, treated me in rather a cavalier "manner. I was not acquainted with him; and he seemed to be jealous of the favour "I was in with the Prince. All the boats available, with the exception of three, were "required for the construction of the bridge, and I required a boat for myself. He "got me an old boat, and informed me it was ready. I told him that my agreement of "service was not such that I should cross the Abáe-Sín in an old crazy boat; and, "at last, he had a new one produced, and in that I embarked.

"It was the autumn season of 1112 H. (1700 A.D.); and, as is usual with the Abáe-"Sín at that time of the year, its waters have great force, and the danger from their "violence is great. The boats required to form the bridge were anchored on either "bank, above the point at which I was about to embark, and the force of the current "was greatest below this. I had some of my own boatmen with me, and also some "from Aṭak. In the other boat which had been chosen for me, and which I refused "to enter, were embarked some of my cooking utensils, some horses, and some slaves, "and a few other people. When they pushed this old boat out into the stream, she "was carried down by the current upon Jalálía'h, a rock in the river, a short distance "below the fort of Aṭak, and went to pieces; and most of those who were on board "her perished.

"When the boat in which I was got into mid-stream, notwithstanding all the "efforts of the boatmen, she was carried down by the force of the current upon "Jalálía'h also, and struck three times thereon, each time being driven back, and "again drawn upon it.* After striking a fourth time, the boat got drawn into an "eddy or whirlpool. It was only after a thousand difficulties that she could be got to "move on again; and we succeeded in reaching Khair-ábád, where we found that the "boat had sustained much damage. . . . .

"In short, the Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, arrived, and encamped on the "banks of the river; and Hádí Khán was appointed to construct the bridge of boats. "He entrusted to me the procuring of the necessary materials and sending them in; "and, in a very short time, the bridge was ready; and we both received praise for our "work. I received also an increase of rank.

"The Prince gave orders for his troops and followers to cross, and performed two "genuflexions in prayer and thanksgiving to Almighty God on the Aṭak head of the "bridge, and likewise on the Khair-ábád head. I proceeded to the head of the bridge "on the Afghán side to receive him, and presented him with a falcon and two hawks, "at which he was well pleased. After halting two days at Khair-ábád, he marched to "Saráe and encamped, and then moved to Noh-s'hahra'h, where I was presented with "a horse, and received permission to return home. All the Afgháns of the different "tribes around yielded obedience to him, and many of them came in and presented "themselves."

This was, however, but the commencement of his acquaintance with them. Their subsequent conduct has been related in other places.

It was on this occasion, while the Prince was at Khair-ábád, that the Amat-ul-Ḥabíbah, a Káfirí slave-girl in his *ḥaram*, presented the Prince with a son.†

Eighty-seventh Route. From Khush-ḥál Gaṛh to Kohát, the chief town of the territory of Lower Bangas'h.

"From Khush-ḥál-Gaṛh you proceed for a distance of six kuroh in the direction of west, and reach Til-khan,‡ and by the way have to traverse two or three great defiles containing many ascents and descents. From thence you go another kuroh west to Ṭolgaey Kalaey,§ and the road is like a narrow river bed. You then proceed

* *See* page 33, Section First.

† Three Káfirí slave-girls were sent to Aurang-zeb Bádsháh by Allah-Dád, Kheshkí, Fowj-dár of Langar-Koṭ. Two of them died, and the third Aurang-zeb presented to his son in order to spite the latter's wife, the mother of Rafí-'ush-Shán.

‡ "Tilkuna" of the maps.

§ In one place written Ṭolkí Galí. The above is doubtless the most correct.

another kuroh, but inclining more to the north-west, to Ghuriza'í,* and after that, another two kuroh, in the same direction as before, to Síní or Síṟní,† where there is a *gumbaz* or *gumbad*—a cupola or dome—over the tomb of some holy man: hence the village is sometimes styled *the* Gumbaza'h or Gumbata'h by Afgh́áns. You next go on to the village of Khund-yánaey,‡ also called Khuḍ-yálaey, a little north of which the Jz'wákí clan of the Afrídí tribe of Kaṟlární Afghán dwell.

"At Khund-yánaey, or Khuḍ-yálaey, the Khaṭak country terminates in this direction, and that of the Kaṟlárnís of Bangas'h begins. Then you proceed another two kuroh, inclining a little to the north-west, to Da Beyalo Tang,§ a village of the Bá'ízí Kaṟlárnís of Lower Bangas'h, perched on two rocks. This village, and the country round, in former times, belonged to the Awáns, who, as elsewhere stated, held a considerable tract of territory this side of the Abáe-Sín. Another stage of two kuroh in the direction of north-west brings you to Togh, another village belonging to the Kaṟlárnís of Lower Bangas'h, situated at the foot of a great rocky cliff. At this point a small river gushes out, which, having flowed towards the west, unites with the river of Kohát, or the Kághzí river. After going another two kuroh and a half in the direction of north-west you reach Kohát, the chief town of the Kaṟlární tribes of Afgháns of Bangas'h-i-Pá'ín or Lower Bangas'h, elsewhere described; and on the way to it from Khush-ḥál Gaṟh the route contains numerous ascents and descents, and the tribes of Khaṭak and Bangas'h Kaṟlárnís dwell therein after the manner of nomads."

Eighty-eighth Route. From Láhor to Níl-áb and Pes'háwar, by way of Piṇḍí-i-Malika'h-e-Shahr-yár, also called Piṇḍí-i-Gahep, or Piṇḍí-i-Malika'h-e-Auliyá, et cetera.

"The route from Láhor to the Piṇḍí, or Village, of the Malika'h-e-Shahr-yár, also known as the Piṇḍí of the Malika'h-e-Auliyá, the Piṇḍí of the Malika'h,‖ and the Piṇḍí of the Gahep tribe of Jaṭs, has been elsewhere mentioned. Setting out from thence, and proceeding two kuroh north, inclining north-west, you reach the ancient town of Ikhláṣ, belonging to the Gahep Jaṭ tribe, but now almost desolate.¶ East of it is a small river called the Síhaṟ, which comes from the right hand, flows towards the left, and unites with the Sú-án or Sú-hán. In the hot season the Síhaṟ becomes dried up in several places.** From Ikhláṣ you proceed four kuroh north, inclining slightly towards the north-west, to Mián-Wálah,†† and then three kuroh, in much the same direction as before, to the large village of Kussrán,‡‡, at which point the *pargana'h* of Gahep terminates in this direction, and the territory inhabited by the Kaṭhar tribe commences. From the last-named village the road leads two kuroh and a half in the

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* This is "Da Ghoríahzío Ṭol" of Afẓal Khán, previously mentioned at page 401. When not inflected the word would be Ghoríahzí. This name, in Pus'hto, means an assembly or body of Ghoríahzí, *ṭol* signifying "a crowd," "throng," "assemblage," "a number of people assembled together." Ṭol-gaey in the preceding name is the diminutive of *ṭol*, and means the village of "the small assemblage."

† Not "Seynee."

‡ Afẓal Khán drops the "*h*" in this word, and writes it Kunḍ-yálaey. *See* page 409. In the maps it appears as "Gundyalee," but it is "Gundíalí" in MacGregor's book.

§ *See* note ‡‡, page 418.

‖ The name of this place has, hitherto, always been written incorrectly, as "Pindi Malik Oolia," "Pind Mulik Oulea," and the like. Malik is a masculine noun, and Malika'h is the feminine form of it. The word, which is 'Arabic (both words are common to the Semitic languages), is used almost peculiarly with respect to the Afgháns (although some people of Hindú descent have recently assumed it), and signifies "king" and "master." It is applied by the Afgháns to the chief man of a clan or section of a tribe, and to the head man of a village. Malika'h-e-Auliyá, therefore, signifies the Queen or Princess of, or among, Saints or Holy Persons, which Auliyá means. But Piṇḍí-i-Malika'h-e-Shahr-yár signifies, the Village of the Queen or Royal Princess, for Shahr-yár is an exclusively royal title, and would seem to refer to the member of some royal house, while Malika'h-e-Auliyá refers to some holy female, probably of a Sayyid family. That a male is referred to is impossible, from the way the words are written. Lepel Griffin, in his "Panjab Chiefs," refers to a "*Malik* Oulia *Khan*" of "Pindi Gheb," who figured as a petty chief in these parts "early in the eighteenth century," but it is evident that the word *Oulia* has some reference to this Malika'h-e-Auliyá, for it is a very strange name applied to a man in such a manner as he mentions it, with Khán appended to it.

¶ It has begun to raise its head again, and has lately improved.

** Great changes have taken place here too since these surveys were made. Ikhláṣ is now separated from Piṇḍí-i-Malika'h by the broad bed of this river, which, in our maps, is styled the "Seel," below Ikhláṣ, and the "Tota" above it.

In Major Wilson's new map terrible havoc has been made among the names of places, and the Sú-án or Sú-hán has been turned into "*Soban*."

†† "*Miawal*" of the Indian Atlas map, and "*Mawal*" of the Revenue Survey map. A road from this place leads to Aṭak by Kálar Koṭ, Bhaṭíúṭ, Kahṭúr or Kahṭor, Bú, Jassí Kussar on the Harú, Sar-wálah, and Dakhnír, or Dakhnír with guttural *kh*.

‡‡ "*Kesra*" of the Indian Atlas map, but "*Kainsra*" of the Revenue Survey map.

direction of north-west, inclining north, to Maṭhíal,* a village inhabited by a section of the Kaṭhars, and included in the *pargana'h* of Bhaṭíúṭ;† and from thence three kuroh in the same direction to Ṭhaṭṭhá.‡ The town of Bhaṭíúṭ, giving name to the *pargana'h,* lies seven kuroh distant on the right hand, or east. You then have to go on a distance of ten kuroh, in much the same direction as before, to Chhaudh,§ a large village situated on the west bank of a stream rising in the hills immediately south of it, a tributary of the Harú river. It runs for about two kuroh to the north-west, inclining north, and unites with the Harú a short distance before its junction with the Abáe-Sín, about a kuroh east of Níl-áb. A still smaller stream runs west of it, and unites with the other immediately north of the village. On the way from Ṭhaṭṭhá to this place the country, which is exceedingly rough and broken, containing numerous ascents and descents, and with high mountains on either hand, is uninhabited; and here the boundary of the Kaṭhar tribe terminates.

"From this village you go on to Níl-áb, distant three kuroh in the same direction as before, the road being very difficult. Níl-áb was once a great city, and the seat of government of the Kaṭhar tribe: consequently, they used to style it the Takht-i-Níl-áb—the Níl-áb Throne or Capital. At present it is in the hands of the Khaṭak Afgháns, between 2,000 and 3,000 families of whom dwell around. It still has a few dwelling places inhabited; and its ruins are still prominent.‖ East of this ruined place there is a spring of water, exceedingly insignificant, but of such great purity, that it appears of an azure colour; and this, it is said, gave name to the place—the city of the Níl-áb or Blue Spring, or Blue Water. The Abáe-Sín flows below the place on the west; and a short distance, about a kuroh or more, to the east of it, this mighty river, which, from Aṭak downwards, flows nearly north and south, and with great velocity, makes a sudden bend to the east: consequently, there are several small islands or banks in its bed opposite Níl-áb. Above this bend the Harú river enters the Abáe-Sín, and probably is partly the cause of its taking this sudden bend.¶ On the opposite bank of the great river, on the cliff or steep bank, is a stone-built fort,

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* This is turned into "*Mital*" in the maps.

† "Batiot" of the maps.

‡ "Thathe" of the maps.

§ This place appears to be indicated in our maps under the name of "Choe" and "Choi." It is, as above, in three different copies of the work.

‖ The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, in the account of his travels, says, that at the Níl-áb ferry there is a small village, which is called Níl-áb; and that there was another village of the same name on the west side of the Indus. In his time, 1196 H. (1782 A.D.), he says, "the village on the east bank belonged to a Sayyid, who "took the fees and transit dues." At this period, likewise, the chief of the Khaṭaks, west of the river, was Sháh-Báz Khán, and all the ferries were under his control.

See page 444, where the author says that Níl-áb itself still belongs to the Kaṭhars. He means here that the Khaṭaks were then the dominant tribe.

¶ The Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥakím, brother of Akbar Bádsháh, invaded the Panj-áb for the second time, and reached Láhor in 988 H. (1580 A.D.), but retired again on the approach of his brother, crossed the Chín-áb at Jalál-ábád (now Jalál-púr), and the Jihlam near Bharah, then took the Gahep route by the Ḳahár *Kotal*, and recrossed the Indus at the Níl-áb ferry into his own territory, which extended eastwards as far as the west bank of the Abáe-Sín or Indus.

Akbar Bádsháh, soon after, reached the banks of the Níl-áb, as the Abáe-Sín is here also called, as well as the Sind-Ságar, crossed it near the point where the river of Kábul and the Níl-áb unite, not far from where Aṭak-Banáras now stands, and gave orders for founding the fort of that name. Previous to this period, the bed of the Níl-áb or Indus at a short distance above Aṭak-Banáras, as far up as Jammú and Nakkárchí, mentioned at page 290, as the country thereabout shows, was very wide and shallow, and full of swamps and marshes, extending eastwards for miles to near Shams-ábád and Hazrao, and the river itself flowed in a broad and shallow stream. This swampy tract has, in course of time, been reclaimed.

While Akbar Bádsháh was advancing by the Khaibar route to Kábul, Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím thought of advancing from Kábul by the nearer Bangas'h route, that described at page 68 of these "Notes," and fomenting troubles in the Panj-áb; for, even at that period of time, the twenty-fifth year of Akbar Bádsháh's reign, it was well known that the Khaibar route was so difficult that no one used it (notwithstanding that we were told, during the late Afghán campaign, by some of the "masters of the subject," of "*the Emperor Sultan Mahmood*" coming "*riding down the Khyber*"), but Akbar Bádsháh, subsequently, had it "so improved, that wheeled "carriages could be driven all the way to Kábul. After that time Túránís and Hindústánís generally used "it." Amír Tímúr took the usual easy route, the easiest perhaps, on one side of the Kahibar route, while Bábar Bádsháh took another route, also easier than the Khaibar, along the northern bank of the river of Kábul, as described in the preceding routes in these "Notes." See also page 32.

Wood, in his "Journey to the Oxus," gives a graphic account of his dangerous passage down the Indus from Aṭak to Kálá-Bágh.

He also says that "two miles below the Hurrú [the Harú river] is Niláb, where the ruthless Tamerlane, "when he marched on India, crossed the Indus." Here he is mistaken. I beg to state that the "ruthless Tamerlane" (which European writers have made out of Tímúr-i-Lang, who was *a lamb* compared with the Chingiz Khán and his sons) crossed the Indus much lower down, as I have elsewhere shown.

This gallant officer of the Indian Navy was not the first, however, who made the same dangerous voyage. Afẓal Khán, the Khaṭak chief, so often quoted in these "Notes," made it on two different occasions. The first time was in 1113 H. (1701 A.D.), at the time that the Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, was Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul and the territories subject to Dihlí, west of the Indus. The Sháh-Zádah, being at Pes'háwar at the time,

named Kahoá or Kahoa'h [the Kaho of Afzal Khán, Khaták], and here there is a ferry, known as the Níl-áb ferry, which is crossed by means of boats.

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set out from Badáber for Kohát by the Sandah Bastah route (*see* page 422), and Afzal Khán had agreed to meet the Prince there by way of S'hádí-púr, some fifteen miles or more below the whirlpool referred to by Wood. Being about to take up his residence there, Afzal set out from Noh-s'hahra'h, on the river of Kábul, where he then was, his object being to save time, having his family also to take with him, to leave them at S'hádí-púr, and join Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur. He says: "It being the hot season, I set out by water. The Abáe-Sín was "in flood; and when I was passing abreast of Shiga'h [a place now in ruins, situated on the south bank of a "small stream which unites with the Indus just at the identical spot where Wood's whirlpool was], where the "river flowed among the mountains, the whirlpools were tumultuous, and the eddies dangerous, so much so that "I was very sorry I had come that way; for I had my family along with me. I, however, reached S'hádí-púr "in safety." He gives no other particulars.

He does not appear to have been deterred from undertaking the same voyage on another occasion, but at a season when the Indus was lower; and, from the way he relates it, the river does not seem to have been dangerous at that time of the year.

In 1128 H. (1716 A.D.), on the occasion of the outbreak of hostilities in Bangas'h, he set out from Saráe, on the river of Kábul, in order to return quickly to Nizám-púr, his usual place of abode at that period, situated about three miles from the very whirlpool opposite Shiga'h before referred to. He says: "It was in the spring "of the year, and everything was in bloom. I had come up to Saráe in order to celebrate the betrothal of my "son, 'Alí Muhammad, with the daughter of a kinsman. Hearing of the outbreak of hostilities, I speedily "finished the betrothal ceremonies; and, embarking on the Saráe boats [with his party], dropped down to "Nizám-púr."

Wood confirms the statement above that the Harú causes a great change in the nature of the stream. He says, "Before reaching the end of the plain (below a rock which he calls Berrí) a range of black-looking "mountains ahead was seen, apparently crossing the river's bed, and even when we were close upon them, "no gorge or exit could be detected. The confluence of the Harrú river, which here joins from the eastward, "had just been passed, when our boat was forcibly carried by a violent current under the high impending "cliffs of the left bank, and, on sweeping round a corner [the bend alluded to in the text above], we dis- "covered, when we had time to look about us, that we were surrounded by mountains."

It is at the point where the river, after flowing nearly due west for about nine miles from its junction with the Harú, again bends sharply from west to south-east, and where there is a whirlpool, that the chief danger occurs. Wood says it is "the whirlpool of Ghora-Tarap"—he refers to a place on the banks known as the Ghorá Trap, or the Horse's Leap—and it has been supposed, in consequence, that it was here that the gallant Sultán, Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, after being defeated and surrounded on the banks of the Abáe-Sín by the Mughal hordes of the "ruthless" Chingiz Khán, plunged into the river on horseback, fully armed, and succeeded in reaching the opposite bank, in sight of the Chingiz Khán and his sons, and the whole Mughal host, the details of which will be found in my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 290, note 4. No doubt considerable changes have taken place, in the river's course even among these blue slate hills, in the course of six hundred and eighty-two years, if the Sultán did cross here, but, according to history, the scene of this exploit would be much lower down, as stated in a previous note. If the point known as the "Ghorá Trap" was the scene, it must have occurred just below where the whirlpool is, where Wood's boat "darted into the fair channel." See the interesting account of this affair in his narrative, pages 76 to 79. Jalál-ud-Dín crossed in the month of September, but some say still later, in December; Wood passed down in August, when the river was almost at its full height.

Let us look a little further into this matter of Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín's crossing. He came, without doubt, from Ghaznín, by the Kurma'h route; and the only roads available for him by which to reach the Indus were, that by Bannú, which he did not take; that by Kohát towards the Resa'í ferry, which he most probably did take; and that by the Súniála'h Pass towards Níl-áb, which he may have taken, the two last named being well known caravan routes into India. In this last case he must have gone by Barsháwar (Pes'háwar), but there is no mention of his having done so, and, from other circumstances, I do not think he followed that route.

The configuration of the country between the Súniála'h Pass and the Indus towards Níl-áb, and on either side, if we look at the best map, is just of such a nature as we may gather it was from the accounts of these events, it being on the west bank somewhat in the shape of a bow, with the Indus as the string. A pursuing force of such vast numbers as the Chingiz Khán was at the head of might easily have occupied the bow of mountains on three sides, leaving the rapid river on the fourth. It is stated, indeed, that, on the morning of the eventful day, the Sultán found the Mughals on three sides of him, in front and on either flank, with the river in his rear. This was, in one way, of some temporary advantage to him; for the Mughals, at first, were not able to show a very extended front. They began by attacking the right wing of his very small force, a body of Mughals having advanced along the river's bank for the purpose of taking it in flank; and it was overpowered and nearly all slaughtered. Amín Malik, its commander, with a few men, made for Barsháwar, which they might have attempted to do by the Súniála'h or other passes near by, mentioned in these routes, but the Mughals had occupied the road, and they were cut off and slaughtered.

This place may have been the identical spot where he plunged into the Indus; for one historian, who wrote shortly after, says that the Sultán was encamped nearly opposite the Níl-áb ferry, preparing to send his family across the Indus. *See* Toha'h and Kahoa'h, page 443.

It is more probable, however, that the Sultán came by way of Kohát, not then built possibly, in order to reach the Resa'í ferry, where the passage is, and probably was then, not nearly so dangerous as it is farther up the river towards Níl-áb; and the physical aspect of the country immediately north of the point where the Kághzí or Kohát river unites with the Indus, with hills on the west, north, and south, and the Indus on the east, is not unlike that to the westwards of Níl-áb, previously described.

The only argument against these two localities being the identical scene of these events, particularly that near the Níl-áb ferry, is, that it is stated that the Sultán, after he reached the opposite bank, that same night entered the Chúl called after his name (*see* page 338), the extreme northern part of which is about thirty-five miles to the south of Resa'í, while it is about seventy south of Níl-áb.

Another argument against either of these points being the scene of this feat is, that it is distinctly related in the Zafar Námah that Amír Tímúr crossed the Indus at the very place, and that his tent was pitched on the identical spot where the Chingiz Khán and his sons stood when they witnessed Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín's feat, and were filled with wonder and admiration thereat.

"This ancient city lay in one of the routes between Láhor and Pes'háwar, and one of the old routes to Kábul and Ghaznín by Kohát and the Kurma'h Dara'h. Setting out from Kahoá, you have to proceed sixteen kuroh to Gajjú Khel,* previously referred to, passing by the way a few small villages, lying on the left-hand side, on the banks of the Abáe-Sín. This village belongs to the Khaṭak Afgháns; and from it twenty-two kuroh distant, by way of the Mír-i-Kalán Ghás'haey or pass and Dzalúzí, is Chamkaní of Muḥammad 'Umar, from which town you go on to Pes'háwar. On the way from Kahoá to Chamkaní you have to traverse several lofty defiles, and cross difficult *kotals* or passes: water is scarce, and hereabouts some of the Khaṭaks dwell after the manner of *íláts* or nomads."

Eighty-ninth Route. From Láhor to Makhaḍ by way of the Pinḍ-i-Dádan Khán and Chakkú-wál.

"The road from Láhor to Chakkú-wál has been already described. This last-named place is a considerable town, and one of the chief places in the district known as Dhaní Gahep, Dhaní being the name of the tract, and Gahep, the name of a great Jaṭ tribe, who, with the Awáns, another Jaṭ tribe of this part, whose country is called Awán Kár, and number about 20,000 families, are subject to the Sikhs.

"Setting out from Chakkú-wál,† you proceed three kuroh in the direction of north-west, inclining west, to Maigan,‡ then two kuroh to Sayyid kí Saráe, and four kuroh more to Bal;§ and here the territory of Dhaní of the Gahep terminates in this direction. From that place you proceed three kuroh in the direction of west, and reach Dir-áb,‖ situated on the left bank (south) of a river so called, an affluent of the Sú-án, and within the *pargana'h* of Awán Kár, and then go on another two kuroh west to Nikká,¶ crossing a small river known as the Gambbhar, which, north-west of Dir-áb, unites with the river of that name. You then proceed two kuroh farther to Tallá;** and another two kuroh, still keeping west, to Ako-wál,†† a large village, and the place of residence and seat of authority of the Ḥákim or ruler of the *pargana'h* of Awán Kár, situated on the west side of a small river, rising a short distance farther south, and the bed of which here, and for about two kuroh farther north, is broad and sandy, and dry for great part of the year. It is an affluent of the Sú-án.

"At Ako-wál two roads diverge: the left-hand one—the northern—goes to Kálá-Bágh; and the right-hand one is as follows. Leaving Ako-wál, you proceed five kuroh in the direction of west, inclining north-west, to Síghún-wálah,‡‡ situated near the road, on the left-hand side; and another three kuroh, in much the same

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We know for a certainty that Amír Tímúr came through Bannú, and he appears to have crossed the Indus at "Dín-koṭ," that is to say Dhan-Koṭ, since swept away, which he effected by means of a bridge of boats, "constructed of trivets or tripods, boats, and canes." Now it is quite impossible that a bridge formed of such materials could have been constructed between Resa'í and Aṭak, or even much above Dhan-Koṭ, while, by crossing at Dhan-Koṭ, he could *at once* have entered the Chúl, which it is said he did. If this was the point of crossing, he must have marched right across the Bannú territory, and then have proceeded some way up stream along the west bank, or have marched by the Kúnah-i-Gáo pass through what is now known as Tsautara'h of the Khaṭaks, and have reached the Indus by the Chichálaey Dara'h, or have crossed the Rátá Roh range by the road described at page 441. His doing this, and apparently going so much out of his way, when his object was to reach Multán as speedily as possible, was evidently not without good reason. From Bannú, his direct route would have been by the present Paháṛ Khel and Laka'í, in the direction of south-east, not north-east. It is said that, in former times, and up to about this period, the low lying tract through which the Gambíla'h river now flows to join the river of Kurma'h, and as far south as the Paiṇzú pass, and east towards the Rátá Roh, was a vast swampy lake, the waters of the two rivers accumulating there. This continued until the river of Kurma'h forced its way through the hills, and formed the Tangaey referred to at page 440, known also as the Dara'h-i-Tang. This, evidently, was what caused Amír Tímúr to turn northwards to reach a point where the Indus was narrow enough to be bridged, and the waters were not too violent; and this was where Dhan-Koṭ formerly stood, near the present Kálá-Bágh, where the river, having left its narrow channel, began to flow in a broader stream, and with less rapidity; and there his bridge of boats was constructed, and "he at "once entered the Chúl-i-Jalálí at the skirt of the Koh-i-Júd," as related in his history.

Since that period vast changes have taken place in the courses of the Panj-áb rivers, as well as of the Indus, some of which I have pointed out in these pages.

* *See* page 440.

† "Chakowal" of the Survey maps.

‡ "Maingan" of the maps.

§ "Bhal" in the maps.

‖ "Drab" in the maps.

¶ "Naka" of the maps.

** "Talagung" of one map, and "Tullagung" of another. This place is now a considerable town, with a fort.

†† "Akwal" of the maps.

‡‡ "Singwala" of the maps.

direction as before, to Budah-yál.* Then you go two kuroh more to Tammán, situated between two small rivers, and about half a kuroh from each other: that on the east side, flowing towards the north, unites with the Sú-án, and that on the west, after flowing in the direction of north-west, unites with the last-named river farther west. You next go on to Khoiyán,† distant about two kuroh, in much the same direction as before; and another kuroh and a half in the same direction brings you to Multán.‡ Both these villages are situated on the right or northern bank of the small river known as the Múnj-wálah river, which unites with the Sú-án a little farther west. From Multán you proceed three kuroh, still in the same direction as before, to Sháh Muhammad Wálí,§ a village on the left or south bank of the Sú-án river, and then another kuroh west to Tir-áb,‖ a large village on the opposite side, at which place the Awán Kár boundary terminates. Half-way between these two places you have to cross the Sú-án river, which, at this point, generally contains but a small depth of water. It is, however, very broad here, in such wise that, in time of flood, it spreads out the whole distance between Sháh Muhammad Wálí and Tir-áb, while above it is still broader.

"Eight kuroh north-west of Tir-áb there is a large village belonging to the Khataks, called Bar-rá,¶ from which place the Khush-hál-Garh ferry is distant fourteen kuroh. On the way there is great scarcity of water, inhabitants, and cultivation; and the road contains numerous ascents and descents.

"From Tir-áb to Makhad the road leads three kuroh to the north-west to Bhalí Wálí Dhakí, a small *dhakí* or *kotal*, which is tolerably level, with mountains on either side, and still higher ones farther off on the north and west. The country hereabouts, for a considerable distance round, is very thinly inhabited. Proceeding another kuroh farther in the direction of west, inclining a little to the north-west, you reach the Bandíwáno kí Dhakí **—the Captives' Dhakí or Pass,—also called the Bandíwáno Dhakí, the name of a small *kotal* or pass, the ascent of which on the east side is slight, but on the west side its descent is nearly half a kuroh. After having cleared it and proceeded half a kuroh farther west, you come to the Makhad river, which is formed of the water from several springs rising a little farther north, in the range which this *kotal* crosses. It receives other small streams from the high mountains to the north; and below the town of Makhad it unites with the Abáe-Sín, but the water fails to reach it except after heavy rains, being lost in the bed two kuroh east of that place. Proceeding from this point two kuroh farther west in the river bed you enter Makhad.

"The country traversed in coming to Makhad, for a considerable distance, is very sandy, and contains but few inhabitants, especially the last portion of it; indeed, the north western part of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, between Kálá-Bágh and Atak, contains but few inhabitants.

"Another road leads to Makhad from Chakrála'h, also called Chakrían, which is distant thirteen kuroh. On the way there are very few inhabitants, and an excess of sandy desert waste. You have to cross the Sú-án or Sú-hán river, in which ordinarily there is but a small volume of water, near Chakrála'h.

"Another route, called the left-hand route, is as follows. Leaving Chakrála'h or Chakrían, which is situated on a spur of the mountains, on the north bank of the Sú-án river, you proceed three kuroh north-west, inclining west, to Thamí-wálah, crossing the Sú-án river by the way. From thence a stage of ten kuroh more brings you to Márí, which is the site of an old place on the east bank of the Abáe-Sín; and ruins of ancient buildings are conspicuous, including those of an ancient fortress on a hill. On the opposite side, distant two kuroh farther to the west, is Kálá-Bágh, a large *kasba'h* belonging to the Bangí Khel branch of the Khatak Afgháns, previously noticed; and you cross over to it by means of a boat. The road from Kálá-Bágh to Makhad has been already described.

"On the road between Chakrála'h and Márí, you pass through much sandy desert waste, in which there is great scarcity of water, and very few people. The mountains on the west side of the river lie near by; while those towards the south, and south-east, called the Koh-i-Sakí Sara, show themselves a long way off."

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* Not in the maps, unless "Badali" be meant for it.

† "Khooian" of one map, Kooian of another.

‡ "Mooltan" of one map, and "Mootian" of another.

§ "Shah Mahemedwala" in the maps.

‖ "Trap" of the maps.

¶ Not in the maps.

** Dhakí is the Panj-ábí for a kotal or pass. Bábar Bádsháh writes the word Dákí, as a foreigner might do. These two last-named places do not appear in our maps.

"Makhad is a town of considerable size, in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and takes its name from the little river of that name, which, after flowing for a distance of between two and three kuroh, unites with the Abáe-Sín south of the town. It is surrounded with a wall of unburnt brick, and belongs to the Bangí Khel section of the Ságharí division of the Bolák Khaṭaks; and it is under the sway of Ma'áz Khán, whose place of residence and seat of authority it is. The town is built on high stony ground, the western side of which is washed by the Abáe-Sín, and shows itself from a distance of two or three kuroh. The Abáe-Sín, at this place, is very broad, in such wise that the sound of a man's voice cannot be distinctly heard from one bank to the other, shout he ever so loudly. There is a high mountain range to the north, towards Aṭak, some distance off, and there are some mountains of lesser elevation in the same direction within two kuroh of the town.

"Here there is an established ferry, where boats are always available, and are here constructed. Having crossed the Abáe-Sín, you proceed to Kohát, Pes'háwar, and Kábul. Pes'háwar is distant fifty kuroh, Kohát twenty-eight, and Kábul one hundred and fifty, as has been already stated in the account of Fáristán."

Ninetieth Route. From Khush-áb on the Jhilam, to Dera'h-i-Ismá'íl Khán, by way of Harnolí.

An extract from this route will be sufficient here.

"Leaving Duhúkarí,* a large village of Awán Kár, situated at the foot of the Koh-i-Sakí Sara [the southernmost point of the Salt Range], you proceed, keeping in a direction a little south of east, seven kuroh to Kairán Wálí, another large village, and five more to Jaṭ Wálah, also a village of great size, under the rule of Surkh-Rú Khán, the Awán. You then go another five kuroh to Wajhárí Wálí, a considerable village under the sway of Khán Beg, an Afghán of the Biluts clan, previously referred to.† All these villages have each a large well with steps to descend into it, the structures of bygone times.‡ From the last-named place you have to go ten kuroh south-west, inclining west, to Harnolí,§ a town of some size, the residence, and seat of authority, of the afore-mentioned Khán. On the way thither you meet with excess of sandy desert tracts, and great scarcity of water; and the mountains on the right hand rise near by. Chakrála'h is distant from this town twenty kuroh north, and Kálá-Bágh thirty kuroh in the direction of north-west. From Harnolí you go fourteen kuroh west, inclining south-west, to Khalúr,‖ an ancient town with sixty villages and their lands dependent on it. The Sind river lies two kuroh to the west of the place; and one kuroh south

* "Dhokri" and "Dhokari" of the maps.

† At page 333, which see.

‡ It will be noticed that the names of numerous places in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, south of the Koh-i-Namak-sár or Koh-i-Júd, as well as in the Dera'h-ját, and even in the Dámán, terminate in Wa'án, which word is incorrectly written in the Panj-áb maps "*Van*."

In the great tract of country between Layyá and Khush-áb and Daryá Khán, opposite the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, and the *pargana'h* of Kul Bhalak, there were, when these surveys were made, about 10,000 wells, and some six or seven *sard-ábahs* of brick. "These, in the dialect of the Panj-áb, are termed *wa'án*, in Hindí, "*báwalí*, and in Turkí and Í-rání, *sard-ábah*, the signification of which is a great well, built of burnt brick, "with stone steps to descend into it." I recollect one I went into near Ruhtás which had one hundred and thirty broad stone steps.

The sinking of wells in this tract of country is a very difficult task, on account of the sandy nature of the soil. Props of wood and bundles of grass have to be used to prop up the ground during the work of excavation and building the brick work, and, after all, the sand gets in, and the wells soon became filled up again.

"It is stated that, as the troops of Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh, in their marches, when proceeding between Bharah and Khush-áb, and Harnolí and the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, sustained great privations through scarcity of water, he caused a large *sard-ábah* or *wa'án* to be constructed at every stage; and these still exist among the admirable and beneficial curiosities of this tract of country. Among other things obtainable are horses of excellent quality."

It is very probable that some of these *sard-ábahs* are of a much earlier date than the time of Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh.

§ "Hurnowlee" of the maps.

‖ "Kulloor Kot" of the maps. The main branch of the Indus is now much farther off, about two kuroh west of the place, but a branch flows close by it. *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," Vol. I., note to page 538. There are the remains of an extensive city here. The *maḥáll* of this name is mentioned in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí as being one of the three constituting the extra Panj-nad district of the Láhor Súbah, and as being peopled by Chandels. The other two *maḥálls* were Sahlúr, also peopled by Chandels and others, who were assessed, respectively, as being able to furnish 50 horsemen and 1,000 foot, and 40 horsemen and 700 foot, for militia purposes. The third *maḥáll* was Bilúts previously referred to at page 341.

of it is Nagharí,* from which you go another kuroh in the same direction to Nuwan,† another to 'Umar Wálí,‡ and three, in the direction of south-west, to Suwád-púr. Half a kuroh more brings you to Makkalwáḍh, previously mentioned in the account of the Balúch tribe of Hút (page 5). Both these last-named places are ancient towns, and the latter was, in the olden time, the capital of the Hút tribe. When Ismá'íl Khán and other chiefs of the Hút acquired considerable state and dignity, they abandoned the territory which had been their former dwelling place,§ and founded a large city [town] on the other side of the Sind, and styled it the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán. From that period these two towns began to go to decay, and were neglected; and now they are desolate.

"Up to this period of time the tract of country extending from Kahlúr to Daryá Khán, and from the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to Pahár-púr, they call Makkalwáḍh, after the above-mentioned old town. The last of the Hút chiefs who held sway over these parts was Nuṣrat Khán,‖ a descendant of Ismá'íl Khán, the founder of the Dera'h of that name."

My next section of Notes—the Fifth and last—will embrace routes leading out of the Dera'h-ját, beyond our frontier, towards Kábul, Ghaznín, Ḳandahár, and Herát, and the countries north and north-west of Kábul, and on and beyond the Oxus, of which no account has been, as yet, given in these pages.

1st March 1883.

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* Not in the maps.

† "Noon" of the maps.

‡ Not in the maps.

§ They had come originally from Mukrán. *See* note §, page 4.

‖ He was not taken a prisoner to Kábul by "Ahmad Shah Dúrání," but by Aḥmad Shah's son, Tímúr Sháh, as already mentioned at page 5, and his name is Nuṣrat, not "Nasrat."

SECTION FIFTH.

On the Afghánistán and its Boundaries.

Before I commence to give any account of the routes leading westwards to Ghaznín, Ḳandahár, and Kábul, and beyond those places, and of the different passes leading out of the Dera'h-ját which those routes traverse, it will be necessary to attempt to describe the main features, and general physical aspect, of the stupendous mountain tract, the *pusht* or back, and the north-eastern and western portions, of the Koh-i-Siyah, or range of Mihtar Sulímán, known also to the Afgháns as the Tor Ghar, to the Turks as the Ḳará Tágh, to the Hindí speaking people as the Kálah Pahár, and to the Balúch tribes as the Kálah Roh, the whole of which words are of the same signification as Koh-i-Siyah of the Tájzíks, the western portion of which extends westward as far as the eastern boundary of the province of Ghaznín, and northwards as far as the Kurma'h Dara'h, described at page 80.

The eastern ridges of this great mountain system, which run nearly due north and south, and also those of the eastern portion of the Koh-i-Surkh, Súr Ghar, Ulán Tágh, Rátá Pahár, or Rátá Roh, as it is known to the different races above mentioned, I have already attempted to describe in the First Section of this work, but now I must go farther westwards and northwards with my description of the remainder.

About twelve miles west of the Sekh Rám,* the highest peak of the Spín Ghar or Safed Koh, which is 15,620 feet above the sea, and about six miles north of the point where the Sirka'h river, from the direction of north-west, unites with the river of the Dara'h of Írí-áb† from the north-east, a great mountain rises, the principal peak of which attains an altitude of 12,700 feet. This great mountain the author of these surveys, very properly, describes as the termination of the Spín Ghar or Safed Koh range on the west. The peak here referred to is called "Matunge," and "Matunga" in our latest maps and survey reports. What it may really be it is scarcely possible to say without seeing it written in the language of the people, or hearing it from their lips.‡

From this peak several ridges spring. One, which runs to the north-east, separates the Dara'h of Írí-áb from the Dara'h through which the Surkh Rúd, a tributary of the river of Kábul, flows. Another, running towards the west-north-west, separates the valley of the Sirka'h river from the mountainous tract called Sirkai,§ which will be referred to again presently, in which that river takes its rise, a little to the east of the crest of the Ghás'hí-i-Mi-yandz Lári or Mi-yandzey Lárey|| Ghás'haey, described at page 71; and a third runs towards the south, in the direction of the large, straggling village of the 'Alí Khel section of the Dzádzí tribe, a little to the south of

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* As with all other names, so with the name of this peak. One surveyor makes it "*Sílá Rám*," another "*Sita Ram*," a third "*Síta Rám*," MacGregor "*Sítárám*," one word instead of two; and, in the latest map, "The Seat of War in Northern Afghanistan," third edition, of August, 1880, it appears as "*Sikharam*," but, in the latest edition of April, 1883, it is written "*Sikaram*," and in the "Indian Atlas" map it still remains "*Seetaram*." No two maps, and no two surveyors, agree in the way of writing the name. How the people of this part write the word I am unaware. *See* page 482.

If we consider that these parts were included in the territory ruled by the Kábul Sháh, Raṇ-pál or Ratan-pál, the Zantbíl of the 'Arabs, when first invaded by the Musalmáns, we may naturally look to the Sanskrit for the derivation of this word. In that language, *sekh* or *sesh* signifies "end," "termination," etc., and is also the name ascribed to the king of the serpent race, a large, thousand-headed snake, at once the couch and canopy of Wishṇu, and the upholder of the world, which rests on one of its heads. In the same language *s'wet* signifies "white," in Pus'hto *spín*, and in Tájzík *safed;* and the name of the range in those two languages last named, respectively, are Spín Ghar and Safed Koh, but these latter names are applied to the range as being generally white with snow, and to the particular part referred to in the text above as always snow-covered. The second name in that of this mountain, namely, *ráma*, is the name of the seventh incarnation of Wishṇu, who espoused Sítá, daughter of Rájah Janaka. Near the top is the tomb and shrine of a Mussulman saint.

† Turned into "*Ariob R.*" in one of the latest maps above referred to. It used to be "*Hariab*" and "*Harriab*," but the above is supposed to be "the improved form" apparently.

‡ This name is, doubtless, in some way connected with the Pus'hto adjective *mát*, signifying "broken," "shivered," "disjoined," "detached," "rent," etc., and the verb *mátedal* derived therefrom.

§ Not "*Surkhai;*" for it bears no reference to red, and has nothing to do with the Surkh Rúd or Red River.

|| Both *Lári* and *Lárey* are correct, the feminine noun *lár* takes "*i*," or "*ey*" when inflected.

which the river of the Írí-áb Dara'h unites with the Sirka'h river, and the united streams, which run south-west, receive the name of river of 'Alí Khel.*

The Mi-yandzey Lári Ghás'haey is the meeting or terminating point of several mountain systems of greater or lesser elevation, coming from the north, north-east, north-west, east, and south-west, besides that which I wish specially to draw attention to here. This latter is that range which rises up from the west bank of the Sirka'h river near Shamú Khel, immediately opposite to the western termination of the Spín Ghar, or Safed Koh, or Tí-ráh,† as it is also called, which, after running for about twenty-two miles in a direction a little to the south of west, just six miles west-south-west from the crest of the Mi-yandzey Lárey Ghás'haey, attains a height of 12,000 feet, and takes a course directly south.

This part of the range, before turning south, sends out several cross ridges, in the small dara'hs or valleys between each of which small streams run down, some flowing north-east to unite with the Sirka'h river, and some towards the south-east to fall into it lower down after it is joined by the river of the Írí-áb Dara'h, when it is sometimes called the 'Alí Khel river, the Kar-yá, and the Írí-áb.‡ One of the peaks of this range, the northernmost one, is known as the Kara'h Tíjza'h, and the other, which rises between three and four miles south-west of it, is called the Sara'h Tíjza'h.§ In this part some of the Ghalzí Afgháns dwell after the manner of *íláts* or nomads.

This range, until it turns south, is known as the Sirkai range, and is no other than the commencement of the western range, or western portion, of the Koh-i-Mihtar Sulímán, Koh-i-Siyah, or Tor Ghar, surrounding the whole of the Afghánistán or Pus'htún-khwá, presently to be noticed. Thus, in reality, the river of Kurma'h, and its affluents above the Dara'h of Kurma'h, separate the Spín Ghar, or Koh-i-Safed, or White Mountain range from the range of Mihtar Sulímán, or Koh-i-Siyah, or Tor Ghar, or Black Mountain range.

From the point where this particular range turns abruptly towards the south-south-west, it runs in that direction for a few miles, when it begins gradually to separate into two, or, in other words, to throw off a branch to the westward; and the road from Kábul to Gardaiz traverses the part where this separation commences. After running almost parallel to each other, and with but little interval between them, for about fifteen miles, what I may, for convenience, term the main portion of the range, and which the sequel proves to be so, takes a course almost due south, and separates the Dara'h of Gardaiz, so called after the ancient Tájzík town of that name, from the difficult mountain tracts to the east called Kar-yá,‖ inhabited by the Mangalí Afgháns of the Karlární sept of the Bálá or Upper Bangas'h territory.

About fifteen miles farther south again, from the point of separation noticed above, it throws out a considerable spur towards the north-east, in the direction of another which juts out to the southward from the Spín Ghar, or Safed Koh, from the Sekh Rám peak, crossed by the Spín-Ghwáyí,¶ Paiwar, Istíá, and other *kotals*, described in the Third Route, and separates the Kar-yá Dara'h, through which runs the road from the village of the Khirmaná Khel Dzádzís to Gardaiz, by the *Kotal*-i-Sín, described at page 80, from the Dara'h of Kumzí of the Dirmán Khel Karlárnís,** and from the mountainous tract inhabited by the Chamkaní Afgháns, one of the tribes constituting the Ghwaríah Khel. The spur from the Spín Ghar or Safed Koh separates the Írí-áb Dara'h from that of Kurma'h; and, at the point where the stream issues from the

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* *See* pages 71 and 72.

† *See* pages 95 and 467.

‡ *See* pages 78 and 80.

§ This peak appears in the map of August, 1880, under the name of "*Saratiga*," and its elevation is indicated at 13,100 feet, but, strange to say, not the other. It is in a map of the "Kuram and Khost Valleys," by Captain R. G. Woodthorpe, R.E., under the name of "*Karatiga*." The Pus'hto word *tíjza'h*, signifying a monolith, a flat rounded slab, a boulder, a rock, and the like, occurs in the names of several places (*see* page 123), and *sara'h* is the feminine form of *súr*, "red," agreeing with *tíjza'h* which is a feminine noun; thus, Sara'h Tíjza'h means a slab, or upright block, or mass of red rock, the peak of the mountain being rock of that colour. Kara'h, the word occurring in the other name, I know no suitable equivalent for, and it would require to be used in the feminine form, if a Pus'hto word, to agree with *tíjza'h*. Ḳará or Ḳarah is the Turkish for black, but it is scarcely possible that a Turkish adjective would be applied along with a Pus'hto noun, consequently, it can hardly be meant for black, which in Pus'hto is *tor*. We here come upon the Koh-i-Siyah and the Koh-i-Surkh, *siyah* and *surkh* being the Tájzík equivalents of Pus'hto *tor* and Turkish *ḳará*, and Pus'hto *sara'h* and Turkish *ulán*. *See* page 458.

‖ *See* page 78.

¶ Ghwá, is the Pus'hto for a cow, the plural and inflected form of which is *ghwáwí*, but the proper name must be Spín Ghwáyaey, or correctly, da Spín Ghwáyí *Kotal*, or the White Bull's Pass, because, if cow's pass were meant, the adjective *spín* would be written *spína'h* to agree with *ghwá*, and, inflected, would be da Spíney Ghwáwí *Kotal*. *See* note ‡, page 76.

** *See* note §, page 386.

Mang-yáṛ defile, the united rivers, coming from the westward, first receive the name of river of Kurma'h.

A few miles lower down again—not more than three or four probably—the main range throws out a lofty cross range, which stretches away towards the north-east in the direction of the fort built by Muḥammad 'Áẓim, Bárakzí, in the eastern part of the Kurma'h Dara'h (called Kurram Fort in the maps), from near the source of the Shamal river, west of the Namárá villages in the Jzadrárn Mangalí country. It separates the Dera'í of the Míáh Khel from those villages, and also the small Dara'h of Kumzí from the Dara'h of the Bakr Khel of Khost, and continues to run a few miles farther east, until, opposite the village of Sada'h,* on the east bank of the river of Kurma'h, where it bends from north-west and flows in the direction of south, the river severs this point of the Koh-i-Siyah, Tor Ghar, or range of Mihtar Sulímán, from the Koh-i-Safed, or Spín Ghar. This range also separates Khost and its dependent dara'hs from the Kurma'h Dara'h; and, on its eastern slopes, the Tsamair, a tributary of the Shamal river, takes its rise. It is called the Gabrá or Gabra'h range, and is crossed by the Traka'h, Khwájah Khiẓr, and Darwáza'h Ghás'hís.†

This point of the Koh-i-Siyah, or Koh-i-Mihtar Sulímán, is only separated from the extreme northern point of the eastern portion of the same vast range by the Dara'h of the Údzí Khel Dzádzís, also called the Maidán Dara'h, and by the great *kotal* mentioned at page 77, leading from the Maidán or Údzí Khel Dara'h to Segí in Khost through the Bakr Khel Dara'h, also called the Mának Khel Dara'h, described in the same page.‡

I now return to the main western range again. The westernmost offshoot of this range, previously referred to, which I had better dispose of before proceeding further with my account of the main one, continues to run as before in the direction of south-south-west for about twenty miles in the direction of Ghaznín, bounding the Dara'hs of Lohgar and Khar-wár on the east, and separating them from Gardaiz and Zurmat. After this, this range is joined by a cross range from the west-north-west, separating the Dara'h of Khar-wár from the Dara'h of Ghaznín. From the point of junction with this cross range, the other, though continuing its course in much the same direction as before, and separating Zurmat§ and Khaṭa'h-Wádza'h from Shil-gar and Kará-Bágh, begins to lessen considerably in altitude, and finally merges into the *sama'h* or more open and more level tract close to the northern bank of the Áb-Istádah or "Standing Water" lake.‖ The skirts of these two ranges immediately north and east of Ghaznín are what were known in history in the time of the Turk, and Shansabání Tájzík Sulṭáns of Ghaznín and of Ghúr, as the Koh-páyah of Ghaznín, to which I shall again have to refer.

I now return again to the main range. After turning southwards from the point where the other range just noticed completely separated from it, it continues its course in the same direction as before for about fifteen miles, when it again gradually begins to separate into two, just before which, the route from Sih-Rauẓah to Urgún crosses it. This is an important point in Afghán geography; for I am able to solve a doubt which I entertained before, and can now trace pretty clearly the movements of Bábar Bádsháh in this direction, related at page 76. The point where these two ranges begin to manifest a tendency to separate¶ is no other than the tract which the Bádsháh calls the Maidán-i-Rustam, which, being in other ways an important identification, I may be allowed to repeat here what he says respecting it.

In the account of his raid upon the 'Abd-ur-Raḥmání Afgháns of the Khogíání Karlární tribe, the same as are referred to in other places in Section Second as Dirmán Afgháns—the shortened, or rather vitiated, form of that name—who are descended from the same progenitor as the Mangalí Karlárnís mentioned at page 91,

* Incorrectly written "Sadr" in our latest maps. *See* page 93.

† *See* page 78, and routes through Khost, page 75.

‡ Major (now Sir) C. W. Wilson's map is very incorrect about this part.

§ Not known as "*Zarmat*," nor is Khar-wár called "*Kharwar*." The latest style of spelling names in the new maps is quite as faulty as in the old ones, and the inconsistencies equally great. For example: in one edition of the map of 1880, these two names are spelt respectively *Zurmul*, and *Khurwar*. The Afgháns write and pronounce the former of these two words Zurmat, Zurmal, and sometimes Zurmad, "*d*" and "*t*," and some times "*l*," being interchangable. The first form is the most correct.

‖ The first of these minor ranges is styled "Uluk Koh," and the other "Ghari Koh," in the map accompanying the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for 1879," and "Uluk Kúh," and "Ghari Kúh," in Wilson's map. "Uluk" is, of course, meant for Ulugh, the Turkish for great, etc., which may, possibly, in ancient times, have been a local name for this particular range. MacGregor calls it "Alá-Koh" in one place, and in another "Allahkoh." *See* Ulán Tágh under note ‡, page 458.

¶ Above this point the main range appears in some of our maps as the "Michelga Mountains," but why, or wherefore, does not appear. What the correct word may be, if it was heard from the people of these parts, I cannot say, unless I know what the original is.

the Bádsháh says, that, on the 29th of Rajab, 925 H. (July, 1519 A.D.), he set out from Kábul, and halted to refresh at Bek Wúghchán.* After afternoon prayer they set out again, and lost their way in the night, and suffered much annoyance and trouble, in consequence, among the hills and dales to the east and south of Pátakh-áb-i-Shaḥnah.† After a time they got out again upon the road, passed the *Kotal* of Chashmah-i-Tarah, or the Gardaiz *Kotal* (Chashmah-i-Tarah lies under the *kotal* on the north side), and moved towards Gardaiz by the Dara'h of Bákísh Líḳ; and, at the time of morning prayer, they emerged on a plain (more open country or table land, probably), and the light troops were sent out. Another body of troops moved towards the Koh-i-Karmásh (or Karmásh range: in some copies written Karmás) which lies south-east of Gardaiz. A strong body also moved towards the east of Gardaiz, towards the upper part of a *jal-gáh* (a grassy plain containing springs of water, or the upper part of a dara'h where there are springs, is so called‡), and he despatched others after them; and, after they had passed on, followed himself, as the upper part of the *jal-gáh* was the greatest distance off.

Bábar set out for Kábul the following day, and, sending the bulk of the force by the regular route (which appears to refer to the road he came; for the *Kotal* of Chashmah-i-Tarah is again mentioned, where the troops were directed to wait for him), he determined to proceed himself, slightly attended, by way of the Maidán-i-Rustam or Rustam's Plain, the road to which had not been examined. He says, "The Maidán-"i-Rustam lies in the midst of a *kohistán* or mountain tract, near to the crest of a "mountain range, and is an exceedingly pleasant spot. Between two mountains a "long *jal-gáh* stretches out, and towards the south side of it, at the foot of an "eminence or rising ground, there is a small spring, and around it are several very "large poplar trees. On the way that leads up from the side of Gardaiz upon this "Maidán-i-Rustam, there are other pleasant springs, and there are numerous trees "there likewise, but these trees are not large. Although the *jal-gáh* in that direction "is the most contracted, nevertheless, below this again, the trees are exceedingly "green, and the *ulúng* verdant and very pleasant. We came up on a mountain which "is on the south side of the Maidán-i-Rustam; and the Kohistán of Karmásh "[Karmán and Kurma'h ?], and the Kohistán of Bangas'h [Bálá or Higher Bangas'h] "lie spread out at your feet like a carpet. . . . . At the time of afternoon prayer, "having come to Honí, we halted, and the following morning halted near the Dih or "Village of Muḥammad Ághá,§ and subsequently returned to Kábul."

I have just said that this Maidán-i-Rustam, which I am now able to identify satisfactorily, is an important place in Afghán geography; for it is no other than the point where the two mountain ranges, referred to above, begin to show symptoms of separating.‖ In the lower or southern part of this *jal-gáh*, where these springs are which Bábar Bádsháh mentions, the Tonchí river and the river of Zurmat take their rise. This last-named stream is joined by another which runs down the Dara'h of Gardaiz, from north to south, a short distance east of that Tájzík town. In the upper part of this same *jal-gáh*, in the vicinity of the *Kotal*-i-Sín, or Sín Pass, mentioned at page 80, other streams run towards the north-east, and unite with the 'Alí Khel river;¶ and, in all probability, the S'haey Gumul, or Right-Hand Gumul, rises therein likewise. Another fact concerning this Maidán of Rustam is, that, in this vicinity, if not in some

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* This is what appears in the latest map as "Tangi Wagajan." *See* note †, page 91.

† Two villages near each other on the east bank of the river of Lohgar. They are mentioned in the annals of Humáyún Bádsháh's reign as Pánká (or Pánaká) and Shaḥnah, belonging to the *tomán* or district of Lohgar. They appear in our latest map, and in Wilson's, under the name of "Padkhow Shanai," and "Padkhow Shana" respectively, about eight and a half miles west of Khúshí, mentioned at page 69, on the road to Ghaznín; and a short distance beyond them, at Barakkai, the road to Gardaiz from Kábul branches off southwards by the route taken by the Bádsháh. The direct route to Ghaznín by the Sugáwand Pass also branches off from Barakkai, and another by the Wardag Tangaey, farther westwards, leads into the main route to Ghaznín and Kábul, as will be hereafter described. *See* page 72.

‡ *See* page 237, and note ††.

§ About fourteen miles to the northward of Pátká-áo-i-Shaḥnah, not Pánaká and Shaḥnah, the "Padkhow Shana" of the maps previously noticed. A subsequent note will explain these words.

‖ In about 33° 25′ to 33° 30′ north latitude.

¶ In the map of the "Kuram and Khost valleys," by Captain R. G. Woodthorpe, R.E., previously referred to, I notice that about five miles W.N.W. of what he calls "Saratiga," *i.e.*, the Sara'h Tíjza'h peak, previously noticed, he has several considerable streams running down to the southwards, and afterwards south-west, in a locality styled "Koshin," where they all unite and form what appears in the map as a very considerable river. In Lieutenant-General J. T. Walker's map of August, 1880, in which map Captain Woodthorpe's is embodied, this same river is continued in dotted lines, as though there was some uncertainty respecting it, for about eleven miles farther south-west, into a locality styled "Darra," nine miles south of the position in which "Gardez" is placed, but, whether intended for a Dara'h or for Daryá, is not apparent. Perhaps the surveyors heard

part of this very Maidán, the ruins of the ancient fortified city of Zábul, which, with the territory dependent on it, was the appanage of Rustam and his family, are to be found, and which were seen in the last century when the Sayyid, Ghulám Muhammad, proceeded from the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to Kábul, whose route will be given farther on.

I have mentioned, that here, in this Maidán-i-Rustam, the main range begins again to separate into two, and this is caused by the range in question sending out a branch in the direction of north-east. The Maidán-i-Rustam, therefore, is situated just at the point where this branch begins to diverge from the other. This branch range, which is of great elevation, runs away in the direction of south-east, with occasional short bends northward, and with only a very few breaks in it, for about forty-five miles; and then, after a much longer bend of some eight or ten miles to the north-east, a little to the north of the latitude of the Bázár of Ahmad Khán in Bannú, it takes a course nearly due east towards the eastern range of the Koh-i-Siyah or range of Mihtar Sulímán. It ultimately unites with the great eastern range, which, from its northernmost point immediately south of the Dara'h of the Údzí Khel, otherwise the Maidán Dara'h, first runs towards the south-east and separates that part of Khost from the Kurma'h Dara'h, and then turns southwards and divides Khost from the Bannú territory. This branch range, consequently, forms the northern boundary of the long and extensive dara'h through which the Tonchí river flows on its way towards the Indus. In the upper part of its course, this range separates the Farmúl Dara'h from the very mountainous tract inhabited by the Mangalí Afgháns, and, lower down, divides Khost from Dawar. It is crossed in going from Urgún to Segí in Khost on the route between Ghaznín and Bannú through Dawar, as previously described at page 85.

To return again to the main western range.* From the point where the range just described as bounding the Dara'h of the Tonchí on the north branches off, the main

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something about the *Dera'í* of the Mián Khel, which lies on the route between Gardaiz and the Namárá villages on the road to Khost, mentioned at page 75, and made "*Darra*" of it. After this, the dotted river is made to unite with the river of Zurmat, which, some fifty miles or more still farther to the south-west, is styled the "Jilgu" river. It is, without doubt, the river of the Jal-gáh mentioned by Bábar Bádsháh.

Now, from the facts contained in the surveys I have been here narrating, and the accounts contained therein of the routes between Ghaznín and Khost and Dawar, and the route from Kábul to Segí of Khost by Khirmaná Khel and the Sín *Kotal* at page 80, I am convinced that the existence of such a considerable river as appears in these maps in what is called "Koshin" is a myth. Captain Woodthorpe, evidently, obtained some information about the existence of streams in this direction when he accompanied the force under General Roberts into Khost, but he did not reach within thirty or forty miles of this point, and has brought them too far north. I cannot find any account of his observations in this part; and he may, from some elevated place, have obtained a distant view, in which case a *jal-gáh* or marshy valley, with small streams flowing through it, might, in the sunshine, from a great distance, appear like the bed of a long lake or large river.

The locality referred to is no other than that of the Maidán-i-Rustam, described by Bábar Bádsháh; and time will show that I am correct in my identification; that a river of such considerable size as indicated in those maps is not correct; and that the *jal-gáh* in question lies in the part indicated, in which several small streams, the sources of the larger rivers mentioned, take their rise. What confirms me in my opinion that the position of this so-called "Koshin" is incorrect with regard to the position assigned to Gardaiz in the same maps is, that a person in going from Kábul to Segí in Khost by the Sín *Kotal* by Khirmaná Khel, just below the 'Alí Khel villages in the Dara'h of Írí-áb, would never take such a roundabout route to reach Segí as to go to "Gardez" by that *kotal*, as it appears in those maps. *See* also the route from Kábul to Segí by way of Gardaiz, at page 75.

* Some miles S.S.W. of the Maidán-i-Rustam this main range is crossed in going from Ghaznín to Bannú by way of Sih-Rauza'h and Urgún, and thus lies between and separates those places. It has hitherto appeared in our maps as "Kúh Jadran" and "Kúh-i-Jadran," but I notice that the name has been dispensed with in the latest maps. It was the western offshoots, roots, or outer spurs and ridges of this range that Outram reached when he made a night march of some eighteen miles or more from Fath-ullah's fort in Zurmat, and surprised a band of what he calls "Kanjuk banditti in the Indran [Jzadrárn] mountains." These were a party of the Jzadrárns, a sub-tribe of the Mangalí Karlární Afgháns who dwell therein (*see* pages 76 and 78); and the part reached by Outram was only a few miles north of the Maidán-i-Rustam.

Our maps, however, are all, more or less, incorrect; for, under the meaningless name of *Sirufza*, Sih-Rauza'h is laid down as situated *east* of the great range, whereas it lies *west* of it, and is actually crossed in going from that place to Urgún, which place is called "*Urgunj*" and "*Urghun*," instead of by its correct name. *See* page 85.

In the map contained in the "Royal Geographical Society's Proceedings" for January, 1879, the Tonchí river is made to rise some fifteen miles or more north-west of the so-called "*Sirufza*," and that place is laid down as situated on the south bank of that river, and "Urghun" lower down on the same bank. This is totally incorrect; for Sih-Rauza'h, as previously mentioned, lies on the other side of this great range, and the Tonchí rises some fifteen miles north-west of Urgún, and passes that place some distance on the west and south.

Elphinstone, who is very much out occasionally in his description of these more distant parts, says, "Sirufza, "Oorghoon, and Wanna, have been described as descending in stages to the Gomul, which bounds them on the "south, and as sloping from the mountains of Solimaun westwards towards the upper course of the same river "which forms their western boundary." Here he has fallen into great error, but his map shows how he has done so. There, the Gumul, in the upper part of its course, is made to flow too far westwards, and Urgún is

range continues to run on, in the direction of about south-west, with several breaks in the chain, throwing out small spurs and minor parallel ridges of much lesser elevation, more particularly below or south of the Áb-Istádah.

About the parallel of the Áb-Istádah, north of Wádzey Khwá, and near the point where the road by the Gumul Dara'h branches off to the left to Kandahár and Kalát-i-Ghalzí through 'Usmán's Gorge, described in the Ninety-fourth Route farther on, the great western range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah becomes disturbed, and begins to throw out comparatively low ridges in the direction of south-west towards the western range of the Koh-i-Surkh which flanks it during the whole of its course, and with which it becomes mixed up, on the west as on the east. One of these ridges, the first or northernmost, Elphinstone calls the Torkaunee, others style it Karatagh, and, in some of our maps, we have a stream rising in it, which falls into the "Kishani" river of the same maps, which is called therein the "Karatagh R." The first of these names is merely Elphinstone's way of writing Tor Kární, which, in Pus'hto, signifies Black Stone, or Black Rock mountain, Tor Ghar,* or Koh-i-Siyah; and Kará Tágh is merely the Turkish equivalent of the same words.† Lower down towards the south these ridges also become disturbed, and they get much mixed up, as on the east or Indus side, where the two ranges bend towards the west, as already described at page 5.

I have previously mentioned above, and in several other places, that the Koh-i-Siyah or range of Mihtar Sulímán is flanked on the outside, more or less, on all four sides, from the Indus on the east, to the Tarnak on the west, and from the river of the Kurma'h Dara'h on the north, to the plain of Kachchhí on the south, but, as this may not be quite so clearly understood as I should wish it to be with regard to the western flank, I may first mention that the Pus'hto and Tájzík words for *red* are constantly occurring in the names of these parts; namely *súr* (the feminine form of which is *sara'h*) in the former language, and *surkh* in the latter. The Turkish equivalent of Koh-i-Surkh would be *Kizil* Tágh or *Ulán* Tágh, which we also have.‡

On the eastern or Indus side we have the addition of the Hindí names for both ranges, red being *rátá;* while farther south again, even on the western boundary of the Síw-istán province of Thathah or Sind, we have the same reference to the peculiar colour of the red range, in Koh-i-Lakhá and Lakhí Range. The number of Surkh Rúds and Surkh Ábs, and their Pus'hto equivalents likewise, cannot have escaped notice.

Elphinstone is probably the only European writer who has referred, indirectly, to the western range of the Koh-i-Surkh, as well as to the cross ridges of the Koh-i-Siyah above referred to. The names he heard from his Afghán informants were Pus'hto, and were the exact equivalents of the Tájzík names. He says (Vol. I., p. 166), "The "Solimauny range is described as being composed of a hard black stone. The next "range is a red stone equally hard." Again he says (p. 173), "There only remain to "be mentioned two ranges of hills, one of which commences to the south of Karra-"baugh [Kará-Bágh], at no great distance from the Paropamisan mountains, and runs "parallel to the left bank of the Turnuk [Tarnak], almost to the 67° of east longitude; the other range begins nearly where the first ends, and runs east." [He has inverted it: this is the offshoot from the Koh-i-Siyah I have just noticed as thrown out from the western range towards the Koh-i-Surkh.] "This range is called Soorghur "to the west, and Tore Kaunee [Torkaunee before] to the east," etc.

He is correct in his observations, but does not begin with his description far enough northwards. The western part of the range of Koh-i-Surkh really commences from

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laid down much too far to the east. If Urgún sloped to the west, it is very clear that the Touchí, which rises north-west of it, and passes it on the south, could not flow *eastwards* which it does; but then, Elphinstone *does not appear to have known of the existence of such a river*, although so well informed on many points, and generally very correct.

* As Tor Ghar is the Pus'hto equivalent for the Tájzík Koh-i Siyah, and is not so well known to us as to the Afgháns, I need not always repeat it, only when occasion requires.

† The country having been for centuries under the sway of Turkish sovereigns, and Mughal Hazárahs having held the districts up to the main western range of Mihtar Sulímán, down as far as the Púshang Dara'h, where Turkish names are still to be found, it is not astonishing to find Turkish as well as Tájzík and Afghán names therein.

‡ What Elphinstone in his work and map calls the district of "Hallataugh," is nothing more than the hilly tract of Ulán Tágh (Bábar Bádsháh's Ulá Tágh), the Turkish interpretation of Tájzík "Koh-i-Surkh," and Afghán "Súr Ghar," where the two ranges become mixed up. It is a curious fact, unnoticed up to this day by any other writer, I believe, that we have here the names of the two ranges in three languages, but, in our maps, they have been mixed up into a delightful jumble, because the compilers did not know those languages, and could not tell one from the other. Thus, in those three languages respectively, we have the main western range of Mihtar Sulímán called Kará Tágh, Koh-i-Siyah, and Tor Ghar or Tor Kární; and the other, Ulán Tágh, Koh-i-Surkh, and Súr Ghar. On the side of India, in place of the Turkish names, we have the Hindí ones, Kálá Paháṛ and Rátá Paháṛ.

the Sara'h Tíjza'h, mentioned at page 454, and there it is mixed up in great confusion with the Koh-i-Siyah, but, lower down, a little west of the Kulághú,* where it separates Shil-gar from Zurmat, it becomes clearly defined. It then runs in the direction of south-west, and bounds on the east the dara'h or valley of the Ghaznín river, which pierces it on its way to the Áb-Istádah, and bounds the dara'h of the Tarnak river on the east throughout the whole length of its course, down as far as Dih-i-Nau, between eighteen or nineteen miles before the junction of the Arghasán with the Tarnak, about eighteen miles south-east of Kandahár. There, having thrown off a few waves, so to say, of minor elevation and extent towards Kandahár, the range bends towards the south-east, where it likewise becomes considerably disturbed in its course in that direction, and is crossed by the range known to us as the Khwájah Amrán, the southernmost point of which, a black, serrated ridge, which juts down south-west-wards for many miles, and, immediately south of which the *lora'h* of Púshang leaves the hills and mountains, and enters the sandy plain of Shorábak, I look upon as the terminating ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, or range of Mihtar Sulímán, in that direction. Then occurs that great derangement of the two ranges bounding the Afghánistán on the east and south, which commences from where they began to bend westwards from the Indus, as already described at page 5, and continues up to this point.†

It will be thus observed that the Koh-i-Surkh, or Súr Ghar, or Ulán Tágh, runs most regularly outside the eastern and western slopes of the range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah; and, that, while on the north it is not quite so clearly defined, it is on the south, but, like the higher range, is the most disturbed and deranged in that direction.

Different portions of this western range of the Koh-i-Surkh have local names among the people, of course, almost every peak having a different one. Elphinstone calls the upper or northern part of it the "Mookoor mountains" because they are near Mukur; and this portion appears in one of our maps as the "Takri" and "Khargani mountains" in the upper or northern half, and "Surkh Koh" in the southern; in another map (of 1880), as the "Tahri Ridge," "Spinsak Hill," "Jurakanu Hill," and "Khwajahilal," in the upper part, "Khargani Ridge" in the middle part, and as "*Soorghar* Hills" in the southern; while in the latest Survey map (of 1881), the upper or northern part appears under three different names of "Azgharai," "Kargana" (the Khargani of the others), and "Chuala," the middle portion as the "*Sargarh* Hills," and parts of the southern or lower portion under several separate names, one of which is "*Torgarh* Hill," but there is no general name given to the whole.

It must not be supposed that these two ranges do not crop out occasionally beyond the points I have indicated as their general course; for they do so in many places, but they are then much disturbed, and much mixed up. They are to be seen on the northern side of the Spín Ghar or Safed Koh, where a considerable branch or offshoot of the Koh-i-Siyah reaches, and overhangs the banks of the river of Kábul at Darúntha'h, where it terminates in that direction. In that vicinity, also, we have another Surkh Áb, or Surkh Rúd, or Red River, which is tinged of that colour to so great a

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* Turkish for a Pass.

† Outram, in his operations against the Ghalzís, passed down between the ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh; and, after joining the Bombay column, which came from Mukur, at "Kishani," which he calls "Kistni," they crossed the first offshoot from the Koh-i-Siyah, by what he calls the "Goodan Pass," which, in the latest map, on the scale of four miles to the inch, is called the "Jallu Kotal," which two different names refer to the pass over the offshoot of the Koh-i-Siyah above referred to, locally called the Ghúndán ridge. It is to the south of this, that, what appears in some maps as the "Karatagh R.," signifying literally, the Koh-i-Siyah or Tor Ghar river, flows towards the south-west. This pass is described as low, but difficult for guns.

The force, subsequently, still threading its way among these offshoots, reached "Spín-wárí" [*spín* is the Pus'hto for white: the last word is doubtful, and is probably *wárah*], Outram's "*Sperioury*," where, on a mound, are the ruins of an ancient city, from which halting place it kept along the bed of what is called in the account of the route, the "Surkhab R., to "Khúdu Chaman," north of "Poti." This last mentioned place is, correctly, Potí, so called from a number of bluffs or mounds in the Barshor Dara'h, *potaey*, the singular form of the word, signifying "a mound," "a bluff," "a height," "a heap of earth," "sand," etc. The next march took it to "Kádani," over what is called the "Surkhab range," meaning the Surkh Áb, or Red River mountain range, the Sar-i-Soorakah of Outram, but, correctly, the Koh-i-Surkh referred to in the text above, the Súr Ghar of the Afgháns.

The next march took the troops to "Tokarak" (Taghrak, probably, after one of Kákar's sons so called), the "*Gikaruk*" of Outram, who describes the last three marches, after leaving his Sir-i-Soorakah, as "through a "succession of mountains which, from their fantastic figures, might be likened to the ocean, petrified during "a storm.' These were some of the other offshoots of the Koh-i-Siyah, mixed up with those of the Koh-i-Surkh.

I may here be permitted to remark, that I have never called the Sulímán range "the Surkh-Koh," as MacGregor seems to suppose, from his remarks at page 690 of his "Central Asia," Part I.

degree, that, if a piece of white cloth be dipped in its waters it turns it a red colour.* This red deposit, likewise, is brought down from that part of the Koh-i-Surkh range through which it flows, but that portion of the range, in this particular part, is mixed up with the Koh-i-Siyah, and may be said to be inside it, instead of outside.

Both ranges show themselves every here and there on the route from Jalál-ábád towards Gandamak, and farther westwards towards Hiṣárak, and south-westwards towards Sara'h Tíjza'h, mentioned at page 454.

In the opposite direction again, on the south-east or Indus side, both ranges are strangely confused, and the Koh-i-Surkh dies away towards the Indus, and the plain of Kachchhí or Kachchh Gand-ábah; while in the south-west direction, in the neighbourhood of Ḳandahár, the Koh-i-Surkh range dies away in the red sandy tract towards the Arghand Áb or Arghand River, and the Hírmand or Hílmand, where the former river unites with the latter, and other tributaries.

More towards the south, in the Pungí district of Ḳandahár, the ridges of the two ranges die away towards the banks of the Arghasán and Doṛhí rivers, near which, every here and there, a black ridge, or a black hill, may be seen standing apart, or mixed up with, and sometimes outside, the low red ridges or waves of the Koh-i-Surkh; while, farther south, and south-east, beyond those last-mentioned red cliffed rivers' banks, black masses here and there protrude in solitary grandeur among the red *potís* or mounds of red sand, until all are lost in the desert, sandy, waste stretching away towards the lower course of the Hírmand or Hílmand and Sigizstán or Sijistán.

This extreme western or outer range, I may mention, is called by the general name of Súr Ghar by the Afgháns among themselves; while some, dwelling in the western parts of the Afghán State, who have been in constant intercourse with the Tájzíks, and Turks, the Pársíwáns, as they are sometimes called, and have a knowledge of Persian, when speaking in that language, also call the range Koh-i-Surkh.

The red colour of this range was noticed by several writers in the first Afghán campaign, and, among them, is Doctor Atkinson, the Superintending Surgeon of the Army of the Indus. In his work, "Expedition to Afghanistan," page 137, remarking on the route between Kojzlak and Haidarzí, he says, "the road lies through the space "between low hills of red earth, without one particle of vegetation." Then again (page 197), after passing Muḳur and Chhár Dih, he says, "the mountains are still of "a reddish brown."

Those who have served in the Lower Dera'h-ját and in Upper Sind know the remarkable colour of the different portions of this range, in some parts of which the red colour is most vivid.

During the whole length of its course in this direction, this main western range of the Koh-i-Siyah or Koh-i-Mihtar Sulímán forms the eastern boundary of the Ghaznín State, including Púshang or Fúshanj, as constituted in the time of the Ghaznín Sulṭáns, the Shansabání Tájzík Sulṭáns of Ghúr, and under the sovereigns of the family of the Chingiz Khán, and of the house of Tímúr.

With respect to the western sides of the two ranges, I shall have something more to say when I come to describe the routes leading from Kábul towards Ghaznín, Ḳandahár, and Púshang or Fúshanj.

The peak styled "Kund" in our maps, which, hitherto, has always been laid down much too far to the north—some fifty miles too far, in fact—is really situated in lat. 30° 40′ N., and long. 67° 29′ E., and is distant from the town of Kwaṭa'h just fifty-five miles. "Kunḍ," I may mention, with short *u*, and Hindí *ḍ*, is used in Hindí to express "a pool," "a spring," "a basin," and the like, but I rather think, from my information, that, instead of being called the Kund Peak, or Peak of the Spring or Pool, it should be styled the Kand or Kandah Peak, with short *a*, which, in the Tájzík, signifies "a cleft," "a chasm," "a ravine," "a channel made by a torrent,"—the Peak of the Chasm or Cleft—since, in this locality, a Tájzík term is much more likely to be used than a Sanskrit one; for Jzoba'h, Jzob, Jzíoba'h, or Jzíob, is its Pus'hto equivalent, and the river of the Jzoba'h, or Jzíoba'h, or Cleft rises in it. The peak is generally capped with snow, and must be from 11,000 to 12,000 feet above the sea level.† It is the highest point of the western range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah in this direction. Below it again, or south-west from this peak, the range continues to run in that direction for about twenty-four miles more, but it decreases in altitude, and finally merges into the *sama'h* or open part of the Púshang Dara'h, about nine miles

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* *See* page 50.

† The actual elevation, according to the latest maps, is 11,920 feet.

south-west of the S'hor Ghundaey,* signifying, in Pus'hto, the Bees' or Ants' Nest-like Hill, immediately south of which the Surkh-Áb, presently to be noticed, cuts its way into Púshang to unite with its *lora'h* or river bed.

Many of the more prominent peaks and hills in this range, as well as in others, have various local names, which, in describing the general features, need not be all mentioned, more particularly as they are, for the most part, almost unknown beyond their immediate localities.

Immediately south again, or just three miles, and only separated from it by a narrow dara'h running parallel to it, which is cut up by the bed of a torrent, called the Lorah of the Kákaṛs, rises the lofty Ṭakah-tú ridge, the highest point of which, giving name to the whole, is nearly as lofty as the Kand Peak.† It also runs exactly parallel to the main range, and finally merges into the open country of the Dara'h of Kwaṭa'h, about four miles north of that place.‡

This Takah-tú ridge,§ which unites with a long and elevated ridge running from the eastward, I consider, according to my information, to be the southernmost point or extremity of the Koh-i-Siyah or range of Mihtar Sulímán, but the Kharlaká'í ridge, immediately south of it, may be considered the pivot in that direction.

Immediately west of it, on the opposite side of the *lora'h* of the Kákaṛs, the Koh-i-Surkh shows itself in the most prominent manner, and of a vivid red colour, mixed at times with a white clayey strata. It bounds the Dara'h of Púshang on the east; and through this low, red range, the Surkh-Áb, and the *lora'h* of the Kákaṛs, pierce their way to unite with the *lora'h* or river of Púshang in the Dara'h of that name.

The Surkh-Áb, Red-Stream, or Red-Water, as its Tájzík name indicates, the Pus'hto name being Sara'h Aoba'h, is a considerable feeder of the stream running in the Púshang *lora'h*.‖ This latter word is not, as has been hitherto supposed, the proper name of any river, but is, literally, like *lor* and *lor kand*, the Tájzík for declivities of hills, or lands, which have been channeled by a mountain torrent.¶ The Surkh-Áb takes its rise in the little dara'h of Káhan,** immediately south of the Kand peak, and south-west of the Mihtarzí *Kotal*, which leads from the Púshang Dara'h into the Dara'h of the Jzíoba'h or Jzoba'h, and marks the boundary between them. This stream, after uniting with another branch, known locally as the Toga'í, from the east, and several small feeders farther south, unites with the waters of the Púshang *lora'h* in the middle of the last-named Dara'h. This Surkh-Áb, from the quantity of red earth it holds in solution, which is brought into it by its feeders which come from different parts of the Koh-i-Surkh range, is of a colour deep enough to tinge the *lora'h* of Púshang for a considerable distance on its course towards Shorábak, and even to colour the rocks and stones in its course, wherever it touches them, with a covering of vivid red.

Into this narrow dara'h of the Surkh-Áb roads open from the Jzíoba'h or Jzoba'h, the Búṛa'h or Boṛa'h,†† Tal or Tala'h, and Tsoṭíálí (*vul.* Chotiali), Zawaṛa'h, and Smalan Dara'hs, which lead into Púshang, and farther westwards to Kandahár by the Gwájza'h,‡‡ (*vul.* Gwája'h), also called the Spína'h Tíjza'h,§§ and Shutar-Gardana'h;

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* This appears as "Shar gundai" and "Shargundai" in the maps. It is 7,765 feet above the sea level.

† The elevation of the Ṭakah-tú peak is laid down as 11,375 feet above the sea.

‡ Kwaṭa'h itself, it must be remembered, lies very high, at an elevation of 5,604 feet. I am indebted to the new map of "Part of Southern Afghanistan with the adjoining portion of Baluchistan" for these elevations.

§ This name, I think, should be, correctly, Takah-tau, a Tájzík compound word referring to its double-peaked, or double-headed formation.

‖ This stream appears in Wilson's map as the "Lora River," and the Surkh-Áb, in a dotted line, in the same manner as the routes are put in, as "Surkh Ab," but, in the latest Survey map, the latter is called the "Surkhab R.," and the main stream above or north of it is styled the "Peshin Lora," and below or south of it again, and during the rest of its course, the "Lora R."

¶ The word *lor* is also used at times to signify a flood or torrent, as well as the bed of a torrent. The words are not Pus'hto, but old Persian or Tájzík.

** "Kan" of the most recent maps.

†† There is no "*h*" in the first syllable of this word, and it only becomes Boṛey by inflection, consequently, "*Bhori*," as in the "Historical and Descriptive Report on the Districts of Thal-Chotiali and Harnai," by Surgeon-Major O. T. Duke, late Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent in Biluchistan" (to which I shall have frequent cause to refer), is quite incorrect, as is also "Bori" and "Bórí of others. In the same way, the name of Tal, or as the Afgháns write and call it, Tala'h, because the word is feminine in their language, has been incorrectly written "*Thal*," which is a Hindí word for a flat, sandy, waterless tract of country which Tal or Tala'h is not, but the latter words are Pus'hto. Elphinstone writes it "Tull."

‡‡ At page 24, note †, of this work, a final "*r*" was added to this word in the printer's proof, which, although twice struck out, was passed over. The first two Sections, the first particularly, have not been printed as correctly as I should desire them to be, not a single peculiar letter having been attended to, and many corrected errors passed over. Both Sections might be correctly reprinted.

§§ Spína'h Tíjza'h, means, in Pus'hto, a white upright piece of rock or monolith rather flattened at the sides

the Roghání; the Man Dara'h, or Mandarak, or Kojzakh,* or Fúshanj, or Púshang, or Panj-Badrah, as it is variously called; and the Boghrah Passes; and, by the Tobah plateau, to Ḳandahár, and Kalát-i-Ghalzí by the Ḳará-tú Pass.

A little to the east of the Kand peak, and beyond the Mihtarzí *Kotal*, which is 7,000 feet above the sea, the river of the Jzíoba'h or Jzoba'h Dara'h rises. It flows in the direction of north and east between long spurs or arms, or rather, cross ranges, of lesser elevation, thrown out in that direction from the main western range of Mihtar Sulímán. At its commencement the dara'h through which the river of the Jzíoba'h finds its way is very narrow, and for some twenty-five miles is not more than from three to five miles broad, but it subsequently widens, never to any considerable extent, however, near the junction of its river with the Gumul.† Farther southwards, again, other similar offshoots, also of considerable length, jut out from the main range, each with its own cross ranges or ridges and spurs of lesser degree, and with gaps or openings between, through which are roads or tracks of greater or lesser difficulty, leading from one dara'h to another. One of these long offshoots separates the Búṛa'h or Boṛa'h—that is to say, the Table Land, or Elevated Plateau, as the word, which is not a proper name as supposed, signifies in the Afghán language‡—of the Kákaṛs, from the Dara'h of the Jzíoba'h, the Smalan or Pa'í Dara'h from the Boṛa'h, and the latter from Tal or Tala'h and Tsoṭíálí, and also the Smalan from the Zawaṛa'h Dara'h,§ through each of which dara'hs roads lead from west to east.

Between those longer branch ranges separating the dara'hs named above, excepting that of the Jzíoba'h,|| smaller ridges or minor ranges of low hills occasionally inter-

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(*see* pages 123 and 454), and Tájzíks interpret it by calling it Safed Sang. Consequently, this pass is sometimes called the Spína'h Tíjza'h, as well as Safed Sang, Shutar Gardana'h, and Gwájza'h Pass.

MacGregor falls into great error respecting it, and makes *two* passes of it, In one place in his Gazetteer, Part II., he calls it "*Ghwaj*—a pass over the Khojeh Amrán range in Afghánistán, which is said to be the "most level and best of the roads over that range." In another place he has, "*Sang-i-Sufed*—a pass in "Afghánistán over the Khojeh Amrán range, south of the Kohjak. . . . . It was not even reconnoitred "by the Army of the Indus."

In the latest maps of this part, and gazetteers, the Safed Sang, Sang-i-Safed, or Spína'h Tíjza'h appears under the unintelligible names of "*Spintaza*" and "*Spíntíjha*."

* The "*Kohjak*" of MacGregor, which is incorrect, and "*Kojhak*," "*Kozhak*," and "*Khojak*," are equally so. The Kojzakh or Fúshanj *Kotal*, etc., is, certainly, that taken by the Prince, Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, from the fact of its also being called the Panj-Badrah *Kotal* by the historians of Humáyún Bádsháh's reign, and the statement of Doctor Atkinson, the Superintending Surgeon of the Army of the Indus, as to some peculiar trees growing therein. He says ("Expedition to Afghanistan," page 145):—"At the foot of "the hills on each side of us, going up the pass, were regular rows of middling-sized trees, of a similar form "to those in the Bolán Pass, with thick silvery trunks, and a round body of foliage. In several parts they "were very numerous, but still in line, and gave an idea of former care having been taken in embellishing the "ground." These trees are, if I mistake not, the species called the silky cotton, the Tájzík name of which is *badrah*. The hills around are, every here and there, also clothed with the tree producing the fruit called "*shney*," and which tree is known in Pus'hto as "*da shno wana'h*," or mastic tree.

† I notice, with some surprise, that the Surveyor-General, Lieutenant-General J. T. Walker, C.B., even in his very latest map, continues to make the "*Zhob*," as he writes the name, flow through the Wahwá Pass into the Dera'h-ját, although, in the Indian Atlas map, it is called the "Vihowa R." Broadfoot, who *saw it* half a century ago, says, that the "*Zhobe*" and "Gomal" meet between Tora Dabara and Gatkai ("*Kotghai*" of Walker's map of Central Asia). He says:—"After this the hills on each side branch off, leaving an un-"dulating plain in which the Gomal is met by the *Zhobe*. This stream, 30 yards wide and one foot deep, is "larger than the Gomal. . . . . . At 11 miles is a small date tree, standing on a spot called Postakach, "where large caravans usually halt that they may drink of the *Zhobe* water before crossing Ghwalari [*i.e.*, the "Ghwáyí Lári Pass]."

‡ Boṛa'h, sometimes pronounced Búṛá'h, but the first mode is most correct, signifies, in Pus'hto, "flat "mountain land," "table land," "a flat tract on a mountain side," "an elevated plateau."

§ I described the meaning of this word, which Walker in his map calls *Jawur*, in note ‡, page 6, but Surgeon-Major O. T. Duke, who appears to have been surrounded by Hindús, considers that the word is *Zawar*, because "*the majority of names of places in this part of the world* [Southern Afghánistán is referred to], *have a Hindu origin*." Perhaps he can say in what Hindú dialect "Zawar" is used for such a meaning as he assigns to it, and where it is to be found. He has certainly given a Hindú name to *Tal*, which he styles "*Thal*" in some places, and "*Thull*" in others, which is not *a desert waste*. "Bhori," too, should be spelt Boṛa'h or Búṛa'h.

|| One writer tells us that the name of this dara'h is "*said to be derived*," but he does not say by whom, "*from the Pushtú word* OZHD *or* OJHD," a queer combination of letters, certainly, "meaning 'LONG,' and the "title is appropriate." Most darah's are long, not this one solely.

Unfortunately for this theory, the name of the dara'h is written Jzob or Jzíob, etc., with ژ, which is equivalent in sound to soft French "*j*" and to "*s*" in the English word "pleasure," and neither stands for "zh" nor "jh" "nor "z" nor "j." That Jzob or Jhíob can be made out of *újzd* is wholly impossible, and the latter word is, moreover, written with a totally different letter, namely ږ, which is also different in sound from ژ; and as újzd is, in itself, an adjective, how can an adjective be made from an adjective? To pronounce on the derivation of words a person should know the written form of a language at least.

As the word in question is neither "*Jhob*," nor "*Zhob*," nor "*Zhobe*," noı "*Zób*," nor "*Jób*," but Jzob or

vene, which, begin to incline northwards; and, after the river running through the Bora'h Dara'h, from the west in the direction of east for about thirty-six miles, turns abruptly to the south, the country immediately east, which is inhabited by the Kihtrán Kásí Afgháns, begins to rise considerably, and these cross ranges to take a more direct northern course, and to increase in number, but to lessen in elevation. They form, as it were, a wavy, elevated, and somewhat rounded, table land—that is to say, depressed on the south and north, but very much less so in the latter direction—until the corner is turned from west to north, when the ridges or elevations begin to merge into the southern portion of the eastern range of Mihtar Sulímán, Koh-i-Siyah, Kálá Roh, or Kálá Pahár described in Section First,* which runs parallel to the Indus.

The southernmost of these long cross ranges, or arms, running from west to east, which are thrown out by the main western range towards the main eastern one of this mountain system I have been endeavouring to explain, separates the *true* Afghánistán or Afghán country from *the* Balúchistán or Balúch country, and is flanked on the outside, like those on the west and east, by the numerous ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh, Súr Ghar, Rátá Roh, or Rátá Pahár, which mountainous tract formed the *mahál* or district of which Síwí was the chief town,† and other *mahálls* or districts of the Multán Şúbah, great part of which are now held by the Marís, Bughtís, Laghárís, and some other Balúch tribes. As previously explained in Section First, the farther the main eastern range of Mihtar Sulímán runs southwards, with a slight inclination to the west from the parallel of Harand downwards, the more disturbed it and the Koh-i-Surkh become, and, in some places, they are mixed together in rude confusion. Farther west, however, from the point where the river of the Kákar Bora'h, having passed to the southwards between Tal and Tsoţíálí,‡ flows towards the south-west in the direction of Mitrí, both ranges again become, comparatively, more regular. The stream in question, after running south from Mitrí, is either expended or lost in the thirsty soil of Kachchh Gand-ábah, but, in time of floods, part of its waters, increased by its feeders in the Koh-i-Siyah, have been known to reach the Manchur lake, west of Síw-istán, or Sihwán, in Sind.

The different branch ranges of the Koh-i-Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, which I have thus been describing, may be termed the four walls of a vast irregular parallelogram rising up from the tracts around. Its eastern, and one of its longest sides, runs from north to south, with a slight inclination to the westwards towards its lower end; while the opposite one, which is the longest of all, runs on the average, from its extreme northern point, in the direction of south-west or very nearly so. The upper or northern side, extending from the Mi-yandzey Lári Ghás'haey towards Tal or Tala'h,§ on the river of Kurma'h, runs in a direction nearly south-east, and is the narrowest of all; and the lower or southern one runs from west to east with a slight bend south-

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Jzíob, and sometimes Jzíoba'h or Jzoba'h, the feminine forms of the first, I may mention that this Pus'hto word means, a cleft, chasm, gash, fissure, and the like; and, as before mentioned at page 460, *Kand*, the name of the peak near which it rises, is the same meaning in the Tájzík dialect.

* In his interesting account of the "Routes between India and Candahar," contained in the "Proceedings "of the Royal Geographical Society" for April, 1880, Major-General Sir M. Biddulph calls this part the "Sahara *Plain*," but *şahrá* itself signifies "a plain," also a desert, or uncultivated tract, in the language in which the people of the country through which he passed communicated with him or his interpreter, and which appears to have been mistaken for a proper name.

MacGregor calls this great, undulating, and elevated plain the "Sahra *valley*." Elphinstone mentions it as being contiguous to the country of the Sheránís, beyond the Sulímán mountains. The tract to which this name is applied is very extensive.

† Síwí was one of the *mahálls* of the *sarkár* of Bakhar, one of three forming the Şúbah of Multán. Síwí was never called "Sewistan," as I have shown farther on, and also the error which has led to its appearing under such a name in some maps. The Síwí district was much more extensive in former times; and while the districts west and north of it, and those north-east of it, including Tal and Tsoţíálí, belonged to Ķandahár, those immediately east of it formed other *mahálls* of the Multán Şúbah. Síwí had nothing whatever to do with Síw-istán, which latter was a totally different *sarkár*, and lay south of Bakhkar of the Multán Şúbah.

‡ *Vul.* Chotiálí. I may mention, once for all, that Hindústánís and other foreigners who cannot pronounce or realize the sound of Pus'hto "*ts*," invariably use the Persian "*ch*" for it, just in the same way as those who cannot pronounce the Pus'hto "*rn*," use Persian or Hindí "*n*" for it, and setting themselves up as authorities, presume to style others, who can pronounce the correct letters, "pedantic" for so doing. Lumsden seems to have noticed the true sound, although he did not write it quite correctly. He writes it "Sotiali."

Tsoţ, in Pus'hto, signifies "attack," "onset," "charge," "sally," "sortie," "raid," "foray," etc. I am unaware of the real derivation of the word, the first syllable in the name of this place, but *yálaey* is a particle, one of several, affixed to nouns of this kind to make adjectives of them, thus, *jang*, "war," "battle," *jang-yálaey*, "warlike," "martial:" *nang*, "honour," "reputation," *nang-yálaey*, "honourable," "reputable." In this instance, yálaey seems hardly adaptable to *tsoţ*. My Ghalzí Mullá always wrote Tala'h along with Tsoţíálí, thus— Tala'h-Tsoţíálí or Tala'h Tsoţ-yálaey.

§ This place, too, on the maps is misspelt "Thal." There is no *thal* there any more than at the place wrongly called by the same name west of Tsoţíálí.

wards, but is very much broader in proportion than the northern side. The whole irregular parallelogram is, therefore, something in the shape of a schooner's mainsail, which is about the nearest simile I can give, the eastern being the mast side, and the northern side the top, the whole, roughly speaking, extending about seventy-five miles in breadth on the north, one hundred and seventy-five miles on the south, two hundred and fifty miles long on the east, and three hundred miles long on the west.*

The immense space enclosed between these four boundaries thus explained, though less in elevation than its boundary walls, is of much greater elevation than the tracts of country outside them; and this intermediate space is what is known as the *pusht* or back of the Koh-i-Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, the general name applied to the whole by the Tájzík people, but is known as Kesah Ghar, or Kasí Ghar, Shú-ál, and Shú-ál Ghar, and by some other names to the Pus'htúns, or Afgháns, and to the Balúchís and Hindí speaking people, as Roh, Kálá Roh, and Kálá Pahár.† The upper portion of this intermediate space again is much more elevated than the lower; there is a depression in the middle; the north-western portion is higher than the north-eastern, and the south-western than the south-eastern, the general run of the country being from north-west to south-east, but the part north of the Gumul, where that river runs from west to east, is more mountainous than the southern portion, and where the Gumul flows towards the Indus this depression is greatest, as the run of the different rivers plainly indicates. This depression becomes sensibly apparent in descending the *kotal* between the halting place of Angá-Sháh-í and that of the Toda'h-Chína'h, on the route from Ghaznín to the Dera'h-ját by the Ghwáyí Lári Ghás'haey, where the *garm-sír* or hot climate commences. These places will be again referred to farther on.

North of the Gumul, likewise, where it begins to find its way through the great eastern

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* Elphinstone (Caubul, Vol. I, p. 156) says, "the most northerly point in the range of Solimaun is Suffaid "Coh," but, at page 162, he says, that, "the range of Solimaun commences at the lofty mountain which has "derived the name of Suffaid Coh, or White Mountain, from the snow with which it is always covered. . . "From Suffaid Coh, the highest ridge of the range runs south-south-east, and passes through the Jaujee country "near Huryoob [Írí-áb], twelve miles south of which it is pierced by the river Koorum [Kurma'h]. It then "proceeds in a southerly direction, and forms the mountainous country of the Jadrauns, which extends to the "southward of lat. 31° north. Thus far the course of the ridge is subject to little doubt. From the Jadraun "country, its direction, and even its continuity become more questionable; but, as it is certain that high hills, "which it takes two days' journeys to pass over, are crossed by travellers from Kauneegoorrum [Kární-Grám] "to Oorghoon [Urgún], we may safely conjecture that this is the ridge in question." . . . .

Here he is in great error, and a glance at his map will show that he has got the highest range of the eastern Sulímán too far west, and that he has confused with it the two cross ridges I have described as bounding the valley of the Ṭonchí on the north and south, which ranges he brings down almost due south to near where the river of the Jzíoba'h unites with the Gumul. This error may have caused one or two writers to make out of it a range which they style the "Pushtú Mountains," of which more presently, but which do not exist. The journeys of Vigne and Broadfoot, as well as these surveys I have been translating, clearly show, that, at the point in question, there are no great ranges running down straight from the Safed Koh.

Elphinstone continues:—"Its highest part (the Solimaun range) is undoubtedly near its commencement. . . "The part inhabited by the Wuzeerees [Wazírís] is probably as much raised above the surrounding country as "that which belongs to the Jadrauns: but its actual height is inferior, as the country at its base slopes much to "the southward. In the southern part of the Wuzeeree country, where this range is passed through by the "River Gomul, it is low in both senses, but it rises again in the Sheeraunee country, and forms the lofty moun- "tain of Cussay-Ghur [Kasi Ghar], of which the Tukht Solimaun, or Soloman's throne, is the highest peak. . . "The country of the Żmurrees is certainly as high as most parts of Cussay Ghur, but I have not the means of "judging of the height or character of the range to the southward of this point."

The north-western parts of this elevated region which I have been describing rise, on an average, from 7,000 to 8,000 feet above the sea level, and the mountain walls from 10,000 to 13,000 feet; while, in the opposite direction, on the south-east and south, between Sakhí-Sarwar and Kwaṭa'h the land lies from 3,000 to 5,000 feet above the sea, and the mountain walls from 6,000 to nearly 11,500. Thus, north-west, at the Shutar-Gardana'h Ghás'haey, the height is 10,900 feet, and the mountains around from 12,000 to 13,000. The fort of Kurma'h is 4,650 feet above the sea, the Paiwaṛ Kotal 8,600, Tal, or Tala'h, on the river of Kurma'h 2,250, and Bannú 1276. Then, again, Ghaznín is 7,730 feet above the sea level, Tází 6,330, Kalát-i-Ghalzí 5,780, and Ḳala'-i-Fatḥ-ullah 3,920.

The great western wall of the Koh-i-Mihtar Sulímán ranges from the part immediately south of Dobandí and the Shutar-Gardana'h down to the Kand Peak and Ṭakah-tú, from 13,000 to 7,500 feet. Then north-west, and immediately south, of Kwaṭa'h, gradually decreases from west to east, from 11,440 feet to 7,000 or less. Thus, the Kojzakh Pass is 7,380 feet above the sea, Spína'h Tíjza'h in the Gwájza'h Pass 6,880, the Bar Ghal Peak 11,440. The Passes between the Jzíoba'h and the Boṛa'h from 7,058 to 8,457, the mountains west of Mangroṭha'h 7,970, the Mihtarzí *Kotal* into the Jzíoba'h Dara'h 7,139; while just below, on the south, Púshang is about 5,000 feet higher than the sea level, Balozí 6,392, Bágháo 5,000, Chimján 7,500, Ráhí 4,100, and the so-called Ṣaḥrá or table land, mentioned at page 462, varies from 4,000 to 5,000 feet high. A little below this again, Tal or Tala'h is 3,400, Tsoṭíálí 3,500, Bar-khán 3,700; while still lower down towards the south in the Koh-i-Surkh, Káhan is 2,390, Nafúsk 3,000, Dera'h of the Bughṭís 1,680, and Ḍáḍhar 750 feet above the sea.

† Kálá is Hindí for Tájzík Siyah; Roh is the vitiated form of Koh, used by the Balúchís; and Paháṛ is the Hindí equivalent of Tájzík Koh. The Koh-i-Surkh, called Rátá Roh and Rátá Paháṛ by the Balúchís and Hindís respectively, is a totally distinct range from the preceding. *See* MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part II., p. 690; and page 5 of this work.

range towards the Indus, that range becomes somewhat disturbed, and bulges out, so to say, considerably to the westward, and meets the other cross ranges* from the north-west, which bound the Dara'h of the Tonchí on the south, and separate the Mas'úd Wazírí country from Wárna'h of the Doṭárnís, and the drainage of the S'haey Gumul from the Tonchí and its southern feeders. This part of the Koh-i-Mihtar Sulímán, west of Makín and Kární-Grám of the Wazírí Karlárnís and Aor-Mars, rises to a considerable altitude, one peak, known locally as the Pír Ghal peak, is set down by our surveyors as 11,580 feet high, or 280 feet higher than the Takht-i-Sulímán which gives name to the whole of this mountain system.†

The dip of the tract contained within the boundaries I have mentioned is likewise proved by the rivers. Leaving out the Tonchí, and the Shamal of Khost on the north, and the river of the Bora'h on the south, the whole of the others which take their rise in or near the east side of the great western range flow from north to south, or from south-west to north-east, or nearly so, towards the great central depression; while all those rising on its western face flow south-westwards, and find their way into the river of Ghaznín, fall into the Áb-Istádah, or unite with the Tarnak, the Kandaní, the Arghasán, the Dorhí, or other minor feeders of the Hírmand or Hílmand.

The mountainous tracts lying between the river of Kurma'h and the Tonchí, through which the Shamal and its tributaries flow, and likewise the dara'h or valley of the Kewá river, have been described at pages 76 to 80, 85 to 86, and at page 88. They are of great elevation, being much the same as the tracts on the north side of the Dara'h of Kurma'h, while that in which the Tonchí flows, and that immediately to the south of it, between the Sar-wándey *Kotal* and Makín and Kární-Grám are of similar elevation.

The main western range of the Koh-i-Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, which, as before stated, formed the natural eastern boundary of the Ghaznín territory in the time of the Sámánís, under the Sultáns of the house of Sabuk-Tigín, and the Shansabání Tájzíks of Ghúr, and afterwards, as a province, under the Khwárazm Sháhs, the sovereigns of the houses of Chingiz and of Tímúr, and likewise (farther south) of the province of Kandahár under the Ṣafawíah monarchs of Í-rán, appears in our maps, books of travel, and gazetteers, under various fanciful names which it is time should be quite set aside for a more correct one. Thus, the upper portion is styled "the Michelga Mountains," "Kúh-i-Jadran," "and "Kúh Jadran," and lower down "Sar-i-Koh," "Khonak Range," and "Khonak Mountains;" but, in this instance, the range is more correctly styled "the Sulimani Mountains" in the map contained in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society" for 1879, only, ranges of mountains never yet ran so regularly as they do therein. Broadfoot, upwards of forty years ago, took a much more correct view of this great range, and called it the Suliman range, but, in some other matters respecting these parts, I am not able to agree with him as I am in this instance.‡

The general description given by the author of these surveys, which I have been describing in these "Notes," recorded at page 329, more than half a century before Broadfoot's journey, although conveyed in a few words, is thoroughly correct regarding the range of Mihtar Sulímán, and may be again quoted here. He says :—"This great "range of mountains which intervenes between Kandahár [and Ghaznín] and the "Dera'h-ját, extends, lengthways, from [that is south of] the Dara'h of Khaibar and "[the territory dependent on] Jalál-ábád on the north, as far as Síwí and Dádhar on "the south, a distance of just three hundred kuroh, and in breadth [at about its "widest part], including its offshoots, one hundred kuroh; and within these limits "are numerous dara'hs and plateaus." He thus considered and accounted the western range as the Koh-i-Sulímán as well as the eastern; and he elsewhere mentions (pages 72, 76) where the most western point of the Spín Ghar or Safed Koh terminates, and (page 77) where the eastern range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah commences on the north. The intervening space is the *pusht* or back connecting the whole system, and it is what the Afgháns or Pus'htánah styled Pus'h, Pus'ht, Ghar,

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* But not the "Pushtú Mountains or Central Sulimani Mountains."

† I may be mistaken, but I venture to think that actual survey will show that "the Takht" is not the lowest of the two peaks, or, should it prove to be so, the difference will be found very inconsiderable. *See* page 329.

‡ The idea of styling the whole of the upper or northern part "the Jadran range" is absurd. Why not call it the Mangalí range, because the Jzandrárns or Jzadrárns are but a clan or sub-tribe of the Mangalís, and all the Mangalís (not "Mongols" as they have been called) dwell on and in the dara'hs on either side. *See* note *, page 457.

Kesah Ghar, or Kasí Ghar,* Rúdah, Pus'htún-Khwá, and Shúh-ál Ghar, or Shú-ál, but, in modern times, it has been erroneously supposed that the two last names were applied more particularly to the mountainous tracts (only a very small portion) nearest to, and around, the Takht-i-Sulímán, which gives the name to the whole, and the traditions respecting which will be related in the account of the routes which follow.

It is from the Pus'hto word *Ghar*—the Tájzík equivalent of which is Koh—that people, who did not know its meaning, forthwith located the Afghána in "the mountains of *Ghor*," referring to Ghúr, four degrees farther west. The Dakhaní historian, Firishtah, made the same blunder, although, in the introduction to his history, his own description shows that the Ghar or the Afghánistán, as I have described it, is meant. His translators, Dow and Briggs, especially the latter, in consequence, contrary to Firishtah's own statements, persisted in turning Ghúrís, or inhabitants of Ghúr, who were Shansabání Tájzíks, and a totally distinct race, into Afgháns. It is from the above, so-called, translations that all English writers, with scarcely an exception, derive their historical knowledge, either because they cannot read the original, or because a translation is easier for them; and, consequently, the Afgháns or Patáns are made dwellers in "*Ghor*," and are said to have "*come down from Ghor*," into their present seats, whereas they have been dwellers in the Ghar from the time they are first mentioned in history, but, when they increased in number, and found this mountain tract insufficient to furnish them with a subsistence, and feuds began to arise among themselves in consequence, they began to spread out towards the Kandahár province in one direction, and Bangas'h and Bannú in another, and they of course "came down," not from the territory of Ghúr, but from "the Ghar," their ancient home. They are mentioned as dwelling therein about the year 78 H. (697–98 A.D.),† but Surgeon-Major H. W. Bellew, C.S.I., in his *first* book "Afghanistan and its People," according to Briggs, apparently, brings them down from "Ghor" in 1170 A.D.; and makes them overthrow "the Ghaznivide dynasty, which was established first by the Tartar "chief Sabaktaghin." He here refers to the Turk slave of the Sámání governors, Sabuk-Tigín; and with the overthrow of the Ghazníwí Sultáns the Afgháns had nothing whatever to do.

In the map previously noticed as contained in the "Royal Geographical Society's "Proceedings" for January, 1879, among other singularly regular ranges of mountains, which, although pretty looking on paper, are often imaginary, there is one very peculiar range which is made to shoot out straight towards the south from the Sekh Rám peak of the Spín Ghar or Safed Koh, through Khost, and down to within a short distance of the junction of the Kwandar river with the Gumul, without a single break in it, except where the "Tochi" river is allowed to pass through it, and where a "Spidar Narye P." appears farther south. This supposed range is entered in that map as the "PUSHTU MOUNTAINS (*boundary of Khorasan and India according to the* "*natives*)." South of the Gumul again, and continued as far south as what is called the "Sanga" river,‡ intended, possibly, for the river of Sanghar, are the words, "*Probable continuation of the Pushtu or Central Sulimani Mountains.*" Where this information came from, I am, of course, unaware, or what is the authority for such a statement, but I never yet heard of such a range, nor have I met with any mention of such in any native author. Such a range as is there represented is purely imaginary, as time will show. Some one appears to have got some confused idea of the Gabrá or Gabra'h range, mentioned and described at pages 78 and 455, and turned it the wrong way, or to have followed Elphinstone too closely in his mistake, previously pointed out in note ||, page 462.

The elevated tract or irregular parallelogram comprised within the ranges I have attempted to describe, is the tract of country to which all historians from the time of the Baihakí and the Gardaizí (who dwelt close to it), from the year of the Hijrah 390 (A.D. 1000) downwards, have correctly applied the name of "the Afghán-istán," because it was, and still is, as the compound word signifies, the *já-e anbohí*, or "place "of concourse or assembly," or "place of crowds," or "place where multitudes "congregate," and where *bisyárí-i-chízahá*, or "great numbers (of persons, animals, or "things) assembled or collected together in one locality or place," of the Pus'htánah,

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* *See* the account of the A'zam Humáyún and the Sunbal Niázís at page 356, also page 330.

† *See* also "Elliot's Historians," Vol. VI., page 567.

‡ But which, in Walker's map of Central Asia, appears as the "Zhob."

or Afghán race. In this, and in no other sense, is this compound Tájzík word applied;* and the term is certainly just nine centuries old.†

This intermediate mountain tract, as previously noticed, is also known to the Afgháns under the name of pus'h or pus'ht, which word is no other than the Tájzík word *pusht*, signifying, the back, exterior, summit, the ridge or back of a mountain range, which they appear to have adopted from that language. The simple letter ش —"*sh*" in such foreign words they change into their own peculiar ښ —"*s'h*," which Pus'hto letter is pronounced by the whole of the western tribes, and a few of the eastern, as "*s'h*," and by many of the latter as "*kh*,"‡ but those unacquainted with Pus'hto do not realize it. It has a materially different sound from the simple "*sh*"; and, from the outset of my Pus'hto studies in 1849, I have marked it in order to distinguish it from the other letter.§ This intermediate space, which is also known as Kesah Ghar, Kasí Ghar, and Shú-ál, or Shú-ál Ghar, is really the back of the great mountain range of Mihtar Sulímán. The Afghán people likewise call themselves, and I may say, generally so, by the name of Pus'h-tánah, the plural form of Pus'h-tún,‖ which latter word means "an Afghán;" hence they derive this name from two words compounded. *Tún*, the plural form of which is *tánah*, in the Afghán language, means "abode," "resort," "nest," etc., also "a birth-place," "a native country;" and the two words mean, literally, "dwellers on the back, or "hump, or exterior of the mountains," "the people whose abode is on the back of or "convexity of the Sulímán mountains."¶ They also, in place of the Tájzík affix of *stán* or *istán* in the term Afghán-istán, affix the word *khwá* to Pus'h-tún for the general name of their country, namely Pus'htún-khwá, which latter word in the Afghán language signifies "side," "direction," "quarter," "extremity," "locality,"

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* Tájzíks and Turks styled them Afgháns, while they called, and still call, themselves Pus'htánah or Pus'htanah. If we make an *English plural* from the singular, Pushtún, it will be Pus'htúns. The people of India called them Paṭáns.

† It has been said that "Afghanistan" (as distinct from the Afghan State) is quite a modern term; but, so far as I know, this has never been stated by any one versed in any Muḥammadan language, much less Muḥammadan history.

Mr. Bellew, however, in his *latest* book, assures us that "Afghanistan was in early times known as Ariya "Vartha to the Persians, and Ariana to the Greeks, afterwards as Khurásán, and in recent time only as "Afghanistan." He also mentions the "early Muhammadan historians" to prove it, but they are without name. He is quite mistaken, however. The name, as above stated, is mentioned both by Baihaḳí and the Gardaizí more than eight hundred years ago, in the Táríkh-i-Fírúz-Sháh-í, by Bábar Bádsháh, and in numbers of other works, and is applied to the same tract of country, and to no other, down to the present time. The boundary of Khurásán, as still known to the Afgháns, will presently be mentioned. The Afghánistán and the Afghán *State* are totally different things. English writers, and they alone, I believe, have applied the name of Afghánistán *to the State or territory* under the rule of the Durrání Bádsháhs and the Bárakzí Amírs, and very incorrectly; for the greater part of *the* Afghánistán still remains independent. In no history will such name be found applied to the Afghán *State*, or to Ḳandahár, the Zamín-i-Dáwar, to Ghaznín, Hirát, Ghúr, Kábul, Bangas'h, including Bagrám, otherwise Pas'háur. Although, at the period when the Á'ín-i-Akbarí was written, Akbar Bádsháh held sway over the *sarkárs* or provinces of Ḳandahár, Kábul, including Ghaznín, and Bangas'h, the Afghánistán I have been describing was not under his rule, only such tracts without as the Afgháns for want of room had spread to, and even in them his sway was very nominal.

‡ Namely, the septs of Khas'hí or Khak'hí and Gharí or Ghwaríah Khel, but it neither conveys the sound of "*ksh*" nor "*kkh*."

§ Some of the numerous writers who, during the late Afghán campaign, contributed articles to the Journals and Magazines, have run away with the idea that this letter is merely Persian ش which some Afghán tribes are supposed to turn into Persian خ but never was there a greater fallacy. One of these writers ("Journal "of the Bengal Asiatic Society" for 1880), in informing his readers that the language spoken is "Pushto," adds, in a footnote thereto, that "خ *and* ش *are convertible sounds in this language*," whereas the letter so convertible is Pus'hto ښ, a totally different and distinct letter and sound, which the majority of Afgháns pronounce "*śh*" (the mark above the letter I gave to the Roman equivalent to distinguish it from the Persian or Tájzík "*sh*"); while the tribes about and north of Pes'háwar give it the harsher sound of "*kh*" (so marked by me to distinguish it from the Tájzík guttural "*kh*"), all which matters are plainly mentioned in my Afghán Grammar.

‖ These names, among the Khas'hí and Ghwaríah Khel of the Pes'háwar district, as at present constituted, who, however, are but a minor portion of the whole Afghán nation, would be pronounced Puk'h-tánah, and Puk'h-tún.

¶ From the fact of their dwelling on the ridges and slopes and in the valleys of the Koh-i-Mihtar Sulímán, as described above, the Afgháns are also known, both in India and other countries, as Sulímánís.

The following is another of Mr. Bellew's statements since he has made Hindús of the Afgháns. "By Muhammadans of Asia Minor and the Western countries, the Afghan is usually called *Sulemáni*, "apparently from the supposition that he dwells on the *Sulemán* range of mountains. *If so, the name is "misapplied, for there are no Afghans settled on that range.* It would appear more probable that the "name is connected with the ancient Solymi of Syria, who are mentioned by Herodotus," etc. Everything is Herodotus, of course, but, the Afgháns dwell there to this hour.

and the like; and it is a curious fact that none but Pus'htúns dwell in it, and naught but the Pus'hto language is spoken therein.*

The whole of this *pus'ht* or back of the range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, therefore, being styled the Pus'htún-khwá, and none but Pus'htúns, that is, those whose birth-place is this *pus'ht*, being dwellers therein,† these imaginary "Pushtu or "Central Sulimani mountains," as laid down in the map in question, have been, evidently, derived from some misunderstood conversation with them, or some passage in some book or writing, in which the words *pus'ht* and *pus'h* were used with reference to the whole intermediate space embraced in this irregular parallelogram, and the "Pushtu, or Central Suliman Mountains according to the natives," have been the result. It seems never to have struck the originators of this central range that the word Pushtu [Pus'hto] signifies the *language* spoken by the Pus'htánah, and that the words as they now stand in this map, mean, literally, "the mountains of the "Pus'hto (language)," or "Pus'hto (language) Mountains."

There may have been other reasons for supposing that a great mountain range ran up northwards from the banks of the Gumul, and also southwards from the same point, and for stating that it was "the boundary of Khorasan and India according to "the natives." Broadfoot, in the account of his journey from Ghaznín to the Dera'h-ját, says, respecting his thirteenth stage, that his party first crossed "the "desolate plain of Sumblabar Raghle," which means, he says, "we have reached the "black plain," the boundary as it is called of "Khórasán and India." This last statement, like his "black plain," is a terrible error, as I shall subsequently show; it is merely the point at which the *garm-sír* or hot climate commences and the *sard-sír* or cold climate ends, just in the same way as Bábar Bádsháh remarked when he passed Gandamak, on the way from Kábul to Ádínah-púr for the first time. Broadfoot had already passed the boundary between (what is *now* generally called by the Afgháns) Khurásán and Hind on his seventh march or stage from Ghaznín.‡

The words of Elphinstone, quoted in a previous note, may have been partly the reason for assuming that a central range existed, and may have helped to found this purely mythical, and exceedingly regular running range of "the Pushtu Mountains." As the *whole* mountainous space, from east to west, and from north to south, between the four boundaries which I have described, is exclusively peopled by the descendants of Ḳais, entitled 'Abd-ur-Rashíd, the Paṭán, it *might be called* the Pus'h-tún or Afghán mountains, or mountains of the Pus'h-tánah. The Pus'hto word *khwá*, in Pus'htún-khwá, was probably mistaken for, or supposed to mean, *koh*, a mountain range.

This Pus'htún-Khwá or Afghán-istán appears to have remained unnoticed, or its conquest and occupation was deemed impracticable from its natural strength, or unprofitable from its poverty, from the downfall of the Í-rání power until the time of the Ṣuffáríúns, Sámánís, and their feudatory governors of the Ghaznín State, down to the time of their Turk Mamlúk, the Amír, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín. What chronicles perished when 'Álá-ud-Dín, Al-Ḥusain, the Shansabání Tájzík Ghúrí burnt Ghaznín, who shall say? The constant and repeated invasions of the adjacent parts have

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* *See* page 70. Some Afgháns have slaves who, of course, dwell therein, and a few people of other races, but their condition is that of serfdom or dependency.

† Under this name I, of course, include those tribes who are descended from Sayyid or presumed Sayyid progenitors, who married Afghán wives, and whose descendants, from that time to this, have intermarried with their Pus'htún kinsmen. As mentioned at page 85, as far back as the time of Sulṭán Sher Sháh, Súr, some objection was raised to the inhabitants of Farmul or Parmul being considered Pus'htúns. The facts of the matter seem to be, that the Farmulís or Parmulís—the name is correct either way—are the descendants of the Shaikh, Muḥammadí, a Tájzík, who dwelt therein about the time that the Chingiz Khán moved back from the Indus, or soon after. He converted a number of the Afghán people of the parts adjacent to the Muḥammadan faith, and was subsequently killed by the people known by the name of Budní or Budlí, mentioned at pages 51 and 380. This very act, and other doings of theirs, led to their expulsion from Nangnahár by Sulṭán Bahrám, the descendant of the Sulṭáns of Pích; and they fled eastwards towards the district of Bagrám or Pas'haur (Pes'háwer) and the Indus. This was previous to the time that the Dilazák Kaṛlární Afgháns passed through Nangnahár on their way eastwards.

The Shaikh, Muḥammadí, known as "the saint of Farmul," is greatly venerated by the Afgháns of that part; and, from the period in question, his descendants have continued to dwell in the Farmul Dara'h, and they intermarried with the Afgháns to some extent. The Sih Rauẓa'h, or Three Tombs, giving name to the village near which they are situated, may be those of himself and some of his family.

In the southern part of the Afghánistán the Balúchís have been encroaching for some time past, consequently, at the present time, the Pus'htún-khwá, in this direction, does contain other than Afghán people, to some extent.

‡ I have already mentioned what was considered in ancient times the boundary between Khurásán and Hind and Sind at page 2, which see.

tended to make the subject obscure, but the time may shortly arrive when the central parts of the Afghánistán shall be properly explored and surveyed by some one—not a Russian it is to be hoped—who, as well as being thoroughly conversant with the Pus'hto language, shall know something of its past history; and these "Notes" will, it is hoped, be something of a light to guide him.

The western slopes of the great western range of Mihtar Sulímán, from the time of the Sámání Tájzíks and the Turk Sultáns of the family of "the Kará Bujkum," or "Black Wild Yák," the Amír, Sabuk-Tigín, are referred to in history under the name of the Koh-páyah, or mountain skirts, of Ghaznín. When Sultán Mas'úd, the Martyr, after his defeat by the Turk-máns near Marw, was on his way to Hind, the Gardaizí, his contemporary, says, that he despatched his son, Ízíd-Yár, at the head of a force, "to the Koh-páyah of Ghaznín, in which direction the contumacious Afgháns are "located;" and that "his father, the Sultán, said to him when he was about to "depart, 'Take care of that part of our territory, so that no disorder may arise in "'that quarter.'"

The country immediately west of the great western range of Mihtar Sulímán is what the Afgháns always style Khurásán; and we have the testimony of Vigne to corroborate it. He says in his work ("Ghuzni, Kabul, and Afghanistan," page 102):—"On the twelfth of June we made the last ascent [they had passed "'*Semla Borag*,' Broadfoot's '*Sumbalabar Raghle*,' some days before], and encamped "on the Sir-i-koh or head of the mountain [the range he means], being the highest "part of the pass between Derabund [Drá-bhan] and Ghuzní [Ghaznín]. Ledges of "fine sand-stone rose above the summits and sides of the mountains. These last "were broken and tumbled about like the waves of the sea. The air was perfumed "with aromatic plants. A few trees were scattered here and there, chiefly wild olives "and mountain-ash. Such was the scenery on the ascent. A delicious breeze was "blowing from the north, when a Patan galloped by me, exclaiming 'Khorassan! "Khorassan!' and adding, 'Sahib! Sahib! a breath of this would be worth a lak of "'rupees in Hindustan.' I quite agreed with him.

"We then saw the last of the Gomul river, a mere streamlet. I passed over the "summit of the hill, and drank, delighted, of the stream that flowed downwards to "the west. '*Khorassan! Khorassan!' was the cry, and every one in the caravan "seemed to be aware, that the prospect of that country was at hand.*" He adds:—"I "should remark that the Lohanis do not, in speaking of Khorassan, confine their "meaning to Khorassan proper, but to extend the appellation, as in Baber's time, *up "to the western foot of the Sulimani mountains.*" The Núhárnís or Lúhárnís meant, as he shows, up to the foot of the range he was then standing upon and viewing Khurásán, as is proved from the exclamations on all sides when about to reach the crest, and that of the Afghán who galloped past him to get a first view of it. The spot where the "Pushtu Mountains, the boundary of Khorasan and India, according "to the natives," are supposed to lie, as indicated in the map before noticed, had been passed several marches before reaching the *sar-i-koh* or crest or top of the mountains, but the Núhárnís did not exclaim "Khurásán!" on reaching the "Pushtu mountains," because they are non-existent.

Standing on the crest of the great western range of Mihtar Sulímán, and on the west boundary of the Afghánistán, Vigne continues:—"The first and most prominent "object was the range of Narawah [he refers to the great range separating the "province of Ghaznín from Ghúr] on the north-west, with snow on its summits. "The direction of Ghuzni and Kabul was to the west [and north-west?]. Kandahar "lay west by south, and the Tukt [Takht]-i-Suliman and Derabund [Drá-bhan] lay "to the south-east. It seemed as if a day's march were sufficient to bring us to the "plain of Ghuzni; and beyond it numerous low ranges of hills conducted the eye to the "western horizon. The thermometer, at mid-day, stood at eighty-four in the shade; "its boiling point gave an elevation of about eight thousand feet."

The Kitáb-i-Masálik wa Mamálik, and some other works, show, that Ghaznín and its territory—such a place as Kandahár was unknown at this period*—was included in, and formed part of Khurásán; and in the maps of Khurásán and Ghúr contained in the first mentioned geographical work, a considerable tract of country east of the Hírmand river, and on the south-east as far as Síwí, is laid down as the boundary between Khurásán and the country of Hind.† The author of the work named

* The territory in after times known as Kandahár, was, at the period in question, and for some time after, known as the Bál-yús territory, respecting which I shall have more to say in its proper place.

† But the Hírmand, *throughout the whole length of its course*, did not form the boundary between Í-rán and Hind in ancient times, as Surgeon-Major O. T. Duke imagines from what I have stated at page 2, which see.

likewise states, that Ghaznín, like Kábul, is an outlet or place of issue from Hindústán.

The natural northern boundary of Khurásán, from remote ages, was the Oxus, when it fell into the Caspian, and its old course marked it, down to within the last few years, whatever Russians, and others interested in shutting their eyes upon the fact, may have affirmed to the contrary.

The great western range of Mihtar Sulímán is crossed by trade routes in several directions, most of which are more or less known to us at present, but, without doubt, there are many other routes, more or less difficult, perhaps, which are known to the Afgháns alone. One of these, which has not hitherto been mentioned by any European writer, I shall presently give some account of. It was followed on two occasions by the Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, in going from Hindústán to Kábul, and who passed near the site of the ancient fortified city of Zábul.* In ancient times, long prior to the advent of the progenitor of the Afghán tribes, this place was one of the frontier fortresses on the side of Hind; and it began to decline, and was soon after abandoned as a stronghold, at the time that the descendants of Ḳais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd, surnamed Paṭán, did not number as many hundreds as they now number hundreds of thousands, the "Pakhtues," the "Gandarii," the "Aparytæ," the "Sattagyddæ," and the "Dadicæ," notwithstanding.†

The routes more or less known to us at present are merely those followed by the Powandah tribes and clans of Afgháns. A secondary route by the Sín *Kotal*, I have described at page 80; another is that described at page 85, leading from Bannú direct to Ghaznín by way of the Dawaṛ Dara'h and the Ṭonchí river, and other routes mentioned in the Second Section of this work, which routes had never before been made known or described.

The routes chiefly followed by the Powandahs are the Ghwáyí Lárey, the Zá-o or Naraey Tarkaey, the S'hwayey Lárey, that by Ma'rúf to Ḳandahár, some others farther south, which will be noticed in their proper place, including that by the Sanghaṛ Pass followed by the Prince, Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, which route to Ḳandahár, and whose march by that route, was unknown to European writers until I gave an account of them in this work.‡ In recent times this last route has been abandoned, on account of the lawlessness of some of the Balúch tribes, but now that a portion of our troops returned from Ḳandahár to the Dera'h-ját by this route, or the chief portion of it, and it has been surveyed, and its safety provided for, its perfect practicability cannot fail to be fully appreciated.

On the Passes leading Westwards from the Upper Dera'h-ját.

Having briefly described the mountain tract constituting the Afghánistán or Pus'htún-khwá, I must notice the passes leading into it from the Upper Dera'h-ját; as I have already described those of the Lower Dera'h-ját in Section First of this work.

There are numerous minor passes which lead out of the Upper Dera'h-ját westwards. Some of these, however, merely lead into the first or outer ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh, Rátá Roh, or Rátá Pahár, but most of them traverse the highest and inner ridges of that range up as far as the eastern skirts of the great range of Mihtár Sulímán, Koh-i-Siyah, or Kálá Roh. The other names by which it is styled by the different races of people inhabiting these parts have been previously mentioned.§

Numerous cross roads, or rather tracks, running from north to south between the parallel ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh and the easternmost ridges of the Koh-i-Siyah, connect many of these minor passes together; and some of them lead into the main or more important passes which go beyond, in the same way as in the Lower Dera'h-ját. In the Upper Dera'h-ját they exist, chiefly, south of Ták and the pass leading into the Afghánistán therefrom. These parallel routes or tracks were of great use to the

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* *See* the Ninety-first Route, farther on, page 504.

† How many tribes, especially in these parts, have perished or become extinct, and how many others have arisen, flourished, decayed, been displaced, or become extinct, in such wise that not a trace of them is to be found, *since* Herodotus heard his wonderful stories respecting the farther East from illiterate Greek mercenaries who had been in the Persian service!

‡ I alluded to them, however, without giving any particulars, in a letter to the "Times," on the Central Asian question, of the 28th February, 1873. The route taken by the Prince is known to very few native historians, and only one describes it.

§ At pages 458 and 464.

border robbers in their former raids on our frontier. They are called *rághah, tsara'h lár, tsarúnka'i, s'hewa'h,* and *s'hwayedana'h, s'hwayedah,* and *s'hwayenah,* in Pus'hto; and *pushtah, band,* and *kamar,* in Tajzik.* The Balúchís generally call these *ṭhoks* in their dialect. These words do not all literally mean a road, but chiefly the situation or the nature of the country through which such a road or path leads.

The whole of these passes, consequently, beginning from the most northern one here to be noticed, lead respectively into the territories held by the independent Afghán tribes of Wazírí Kaṛlárnis, Baiṭnís, and Sheránís, including the Úsh-tarární division of the latter, dwelling inside the hills. These are bounded respectively on the east, within our territory, by the Shítak Bannútsís, Daulat Khel Núhárnís of Ṭák, the Dzandah-púr Úsh-tarárnís of Kúlánchí, and the Bábaṛ section of the Sheránís dwelling in the Dámán, whose territory has been previously noticed at page 328. The Náṣirs, like other Powandahs, are but temporary dwellers within our borders.

There are over a hundred passes between the Ṭonchí Ghás'haey and the Kaurah Pass, the northernmost pass in the Lower Dera'h-ját, from which I commenced my account of the passes in the First Section of this work, but the majority, as previously stated, lead merely through and beyond the first and second ranges of the Koh-i-Surkh or Ráṭá Roh, but some of them lead through the whole of that chain, and lead up to the skirts of the Koh-i-Siyah or eastern range of Mihtar Sulímán. There are only seven passes out of all these mentioned above, as far as I know at present, which lead over the mighty range of the eastern Sulímán, and these, commencing from the north from the Ṭonchí Ghás'haey, down as far as the Kaurah Pass in the Lower Dera'h-ját, are:—that by the Kewá Tangaey and up the dara'h of the Kewá river and the Tághraṇ Tangaey, into the upper part of the Ṭonchí Dara'h, and from thence by Urgún and Sih-Rauẓah to Ghaznín over the western range of Mihtar Sulímán, already described;† by the Ṭák Pass up the dara'h of the Dzamad river, and by Zábul to Kábul; by the Ghwáyí-Lárey Ghás'haey up the dara'h of the Gumul; the Zá-o or Naraey Tarkaey Ghás'haey; the Drá-bhaṇ Ghás'haey; the Shín-gáo Ghás'haey; and the S'hwayey Lárey by the Dahana'h Ghás'haey.

Before giving an account of the routes by the last five passes here mentioned, it will be necessary to notice the others briefly, which, although they do not lead over the main eastern Sulímán range—unless by routes known only to the tribesmen themselves, more or less difficult, and only used on special occasions—still, many of them are of considerable importance because they lead into that part of the Afghánistán which is the present locale of the Wazírí section, or rather sub-tribe, of the Kaṛlárnís, or unite with other passes, and by them other passes can be turned. As these minor passes leading through the Koh-i-Surkh or Ráṭá Roh have lately been surveyed, or at least a goodly number of them, and are generally known to the district officers on the spot, they scarcely need being described in detail, except such as are of special importance, but the others, leading beyond the main eastern range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah into the Afghánistán or Pus'htún-khwá, and into the acquired territories of the Afgháns farther west, require a more particular notice; and the details respecting them had better be deferred until I describe the routes which traverse them.

The Dara'h of the Ṭonchí river, including its lower part, called Dawaṛ after that section of the Shítak Kaṛlárnís, and the defile leading out of it into Bannú, I have described at page 87, and also the Dara'h of the Kewá river, which is also known as the Gamíla'h, or Ganbíla'h, or Gambíla'h. The pass through which the Ṭonchí enters the Bannú territory is styled the "Tochi" and "Tochee" pass in our maps and gazetteers; and that through which the Kewá or Gambíla'h flows, the "Khisor," "Khusora," "Kaisor," "Khasora," "Khasra," "Kisra," and "Khisora" pass—for no two surveyors or compilers write the name alike—and the stream flowing through the Dara'h, the "Khisora," etc., "Algud" and "Algad." The correct names of the two passes are, respectively, the Rúcha'h Tangaey, or Ṭonchí Pass, and the Kewá Tangaey. The entrance to this last pass from the eastward commences about twelve miles west of the site of Akaṛa'h, the ancient capital of Bannú, and leads into the country of the

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* *Rághah,* in Pus'hto, signifies a hill side, or mountain skirt bordering on a desert tract (the word in our maps and gazetteers has been vitiated into "ragzah"); *tsaṛa'h lár* means a narrow road impracticable for horses, a track, a foot-path; *tsaṛa'h wáṭ* is also used at times in the same way, the last word, *wáṭ,* is Sanskrit; *shaṛúnkaey* is derived from the verb *s'hoṛedal,* to undulate, wave, twist, and the like; and *s'hwayedana'h, s'hwayedah,* and *s'hwayenah,* from the verb *s'hwayedal,* to slip, to slide, to slip down, etc. *Shewa'h* means, a declivity, descent, or slope. All these words, the Tájzík included, will be found in my Push'to Dictionary.

"Rágha" constantly occurs in the "Péshín Gazetteer" as the proper name of villages, which is an error; for the term only refers to the locality in which such villages are situated.

† And also to Kábul from Urgún by the routes given in Section Second.

Mas'úd section of the Wazírí Karlárnís. The road follows the bed of the Kewá or Gambíla'h river, which takes its rise in the same rough table land from which the Kus'hto, and the Toda'h Chína'h tributary of the Dzamad issue, in that part of the eastern chain of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah which is locally known as the Shewa'h Ghar ridge,* the principal peak of which is 10,998 feet above the sea level.

The Kewá or Gamílá or Gambíla'h,† as previously mentioned, flows from west to east, and is not very tortuous until near its exit into the stony plain of Bannú, soon after which, through the changes which have taken place in the lower courses of the rivers of this part since these surveys were made, it is, for the most part, lost in the thirsty soil, its waters only reaching the bed of the Kurma'h river during times of flood.‡ Such changes appear to affect all such rivers as rise in high mountainous tracts, which are liable to rush down into a sandy or alluvial plain, when a very slight obstacle will often cause a considerable change in their courses in a brief space. When these surveys were made, this Kewá river flowed eastwards for about four miles south of Akara'h, where it received the surplus waters of the Tonchí, and some smaller rivers dependent on rain from the north, and was known in Bannú by the name of Gamíla'h or Ganbíla'h, Gamílá, and Ganbílá.§

The route up the Kewá Tangaey, which is not difficult, is followed by some of the Wazírí clans in their migrations from Shú-ál Ghar;‖ and in the bed of the river they cultivate the available plots of alluvial land, here called *kats*.¶ By this Dara'h, likewise, the Kus'hto defile can be turned; and, farther up again, the Dzamad defile or Ták Pass can be reached, and can also be turned in case of necessity.

The Kus'hto Tangaey or Pass, for the reasons just mentioned, is an important one. It appears in our maps and gazetteers as the "Shikto," "Sukhdoo," "Shukhdoo," "Sakhdu," "Shaktú," and the like, each person varying the name according to his own ideas of it; while, in some instances, the river appears as the "Shikto" and "Shakhtú," and the pass which gives name to it, is called the "Sakhdu," and "Sukhdoo," and even "the Saktú Pass," such is the terrible muddle caused through our surveyors neglecting to have the names of places, and also of persons, properly written down in the vernacular. This done, if they cannot read it for themselves, the names can be reduced to their Roman equivalents by a competent person.**

This Kus'hto river takes it name from that of the *tangaey* or gorge by which it enters the plain, which is called the Kus'hto Tangaey, and is about four or five miles

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* This comparatively short range or ridge *used* to appear in our maps as "*Shewey Gurh*," but in the latest map of the so called "Wazíristan," which is a part of *the* Afgháuistán I have been describing, it is turned into "*Shuidar*." MacGregor calls it "*Shwedar*."

Being in the Afghánistán, we might naturally expect that its people would style it by an Afghán name, and so they do: they call it the Shewa'h Ghar. Shewa'h (a feminine noun, which becomes *shewey* by inflection), signifies "slope," "declivity," "inclination," also "sloping," "shelving," and the like, and *ghar* (not "*gurh*": that is Hindí for a *fort* or *castle*) is the Pus'hto for a mountain and a mountain range. The Pus'hto words, therefore, mean "the sloping, shelving, or receding mountain range," and correctly describe its features; for its ridges recede sufficiently in some places so as to give the spaces lying between the different declivities the appearance of small dara'hs or valleys. This word *shewa'h* has no connection with *s'hwaya'h*, slippery; the initial letters of the words, too, are totally different.

The Hindí equivalent for *shewa'h* is *dahár*, and this word the Balúch tribes, farther south, often apply to some of their hills.

Thus we see how these errors arise, and how proper names are made unintelligible by persons unacquainted with the language of the particular part surveyed. In this instance it is probable that some native official or subordinate, a native of India no doubt, attempted to explain to his superior the meaning of *shewa'h*, and the latter forthwith *added* the *dar*, which was his realization of the Hindí word *dahár*, to the Pus'hto *shewa'h*, and left out *ghar* altogether. Even if correctly written, *dahár* would be unintelligible to an Afghán; as it stands in Captain (now Major) Holdich's map it is as meaningless as it is incorrect. In another map it appears as "*Shui Dhur* mountain." Other Afghán names have been changed after the same fashion, to which I shall have to refer farther on.

† The "Gambíla'h" is not the "river of Dour" as MacGregor supposes; for the Tonchí flows through the Dara'h of Dawar. The name Gambíla'h or Gamíla'h is more correctly applied to the Tonchí and the Kewá after their junction near the village of Akbar Khán in the Bannú district. The author of these surveys, however, distinctly says "Kewá *or* Gambíla'h," and the Tonchí is not known *in* Dawar by the name Gambíla'h. *See* pages 88 and 321.

‡ *See* also page 337.

§ The letter "*n*" is often used in place of "*m*," as in the word gunbaz for gumbaz; and in Pus'hto the terminating feminine "*á*" is often written "*a'h*."

‖ *See* page 466.

¶ The Afgháns of the Dámán often substitute "*j*" and "*ch*" for the purely Pus'hto letter "*ts*." *See* note †, page 317. The Ghalzís generally turn it into "*j*." The word "*kats*" occurs in scores of names of places in the Afghánistán, and in the territory under Afghán sway. *See* page 97.

** In his paper, "Pishin and the Routes between India and Candahar," by Major-General Sir M. Biddulph, K.C.B., contained in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," for April, 1880, he says (page 321):—"One can only suggest that the greatest care should be taken in catching the pronunciation, "in being sure that we have the right name, and in having it entered in plan and report in a perfectly legible

long. The route follows the course of the stream the whole way, except in one or two places. The southern branch of the Kus'hto, for it really flows at first in two branches, takes its rise a little to the south of the great Shewa'h Ghar ridge of the eastern range of Mihtar Sulímán, previously referred to, but it is separated from it by an almost parallel ridge immediately east of it, in the dara'h or cleft between which a tributary of the Toda'h Chína'h branch of the Dzamad rises, about three miles north-west of the Z'ghamal Ghás'haey.* The northern branch rises a little to the east of the Razmak Tangaey, on the other side of a ridge east of that defile. The Kus'hto Dara'h is only separated from that of the Kewá† by an irregular range of wooded mountains, some 6,000 feet in height, some of which are remarkable for their flat and grassy tops, and vary from three to seven miles in breadth. The bed of the Kewá is only distant from that of the Kus'hto from five to seven miles in some places.

The road up this Kus'hto Dara'h is tolerably good, but the course of the river is exceedingly tortuous every here and there. It receives several feeders from either side, some of more importance than others. Its bed, like that of the generality of rivers issuing from these mountain ranges, is in many places confined, and flows at the foot of perpendicular cliffs; in other places it opens out considerably, according to the nature of the country and the composition of the hills on either side. These narrow places are termed *tangaey* by the inhabitants, which word signifies a gorge; and where the hills recede, and the bed opens out a little, there are generally small alluvial plots of land, washed down from the hills or thrown up by the action of the river, which are styled *kats,* signifying alluvial deposit. In many places again the bed is more or less obstructed with rough stones and boulders.

The description given of the bed of the Kus'hto is applicable, more or less, to almost all the rivers issuing from the Afghánistán or the great mountain ranges enclosing it.

In proceeding up the Kus'hto Dara'h from Bannú, at about six or seven miles from the eastern entrance, its river receives a feeder from the south or left hand, called the Kṛastah or Kṛaistah Khwaṛ, the bed of which, as the name implies, is exceedingly rough and stony. It is dry for great part of the year, and by following its course the valley of the Dzamad can be reached, but the route is difficult. About five miles farther up another feeder unites with it, also coming from the left hand. This is called the Shaṛana'h, and issues from a small dara'h containing several Wazírí villages. By following it up for about five miles, you reach a point where the road, such as it is, separates into two, both of which lead up to the crest of a mountain range; and, in the cleft between the two ranges forming the Shaṛana'h Dara'h, the stream flows from south-west to north-east. The right-hand road leads again into the Kus'hto Dara'h farther up, and avoids the long and difficult gorge presently to be noticed. The left-hand road unites with that leading up by the Kṛastah Khwaṛ, and subsequently leads into the dara'h through which the Shúza'h river flows; and, by the pass so called, the bed of the Dzamad can be reached at the point where the Shahúr stream unites with the last-named river, which place is known as the Palo-sín Kats. This route is scarcely practicable for animals.

After passing the point where the Kṛastah Khwaṛ in its stony bed unites with the Kus'hto, you reach the narrow and difficult gorge through which, in the course of ages, the river has cut its way through the rocky walls of the great Gh'barg ridge,‡ which runs down from the round-topped mountain named Babaṛ Ghar, also called Bobaṛ Ghar,§ in the direction of north-east, and separates the Shaṛana'h Dara'h and

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"manner." The General himself, however, has often failed, apparently, in catching the pronunciation, "Pishin" for example. To have the word written down in the vernacular by a native of the country is the safest method.

In the new map of 1882, scale 1 inch to 2 miles, the name of "Shaktú" or "Sukhdoo" does not appear; and if that map is compared with another compiled by Captain G. F. Young, of the Quartermaster-General's Department, who accompanied General Gordon's column into this very Dara'h in 1881, they appear as maps of totally different countries. How is this to be accounted for?

* The "Engamal Pass" of the map. In the Pus'hto language *z'ghamal* is the infinitive form of the transitive verb, "to bear," "suffer," "undergo," "put up with," etc., used as a participle—"bearing," "suffering," "enduring," and the like; and the words inflected would be, *da z'ghamalo ghás'haey,* or Pass of Suffering, or, in which one has to endure much, or in which one's endurance is tested.

† The Kewá is called in some of our maps the "*Khisora* Algud," but in the "Waziristan" map, before referred to, it has no name. MacGregor styles it the "*Khasora*" river.

‡ *Gh'barg,* in Pus'hto, signifies "double," "duplex," "bifarious," "two-fold." The flat land lying between two mountains is called *gh'barga'h,* especially where two streams unite, and a woman or animal who brings forth twins is also called *gh'barga'h,* and one of two male twins is styled *gh'bargúnaey,* and so on.

§ "Babr Gurh," "Babar Garh," "Bubbergurh," and "Rubburgurh," of as many different maps, no two being alike.

Khwaṛ from the dara'h through which the Kṛastah Khwaṛ finds its way. This Gh'barg ridge, as its Pus'hto name indicates, is bifarious, the wall-like rocks running across at right angles to the bed of the river; and through this narrow, rocky gap the river finds its way. Such a gap or cleft in Pus'hto is called *kus'ht*,* and from it the river and dara'h take their name. After clearing this obstacle, which the Wazírís consider their boundary on the east, the Shaṛana'h stream unites with the Kus'hto.

Proceeding up the Kus'hto Dara'h for about five miles from the junction of the Shaṛana'h, you reach the point where the river finds its way through another very difficult and impracticable *tangaey* or gorge; for here the bed of the river is treacherous, and does not afford firm footing. Here, likewise, when the river is in flood, it rushes down with terrible violence, and is quite impassable. Above this again the river flows over a rocky bed, between high, precipitous cliffs, for between two or three miles, when the dara'h opens out considerably, and for the rest of the way the route is not difficult. Towards the head of the dara'h, however, there is a difficult defile, but it is practicable for men on foot, and possibly for mules and horses. It leads southwards into the Dzamad Dara'h, by a *khwaṛ*, or river dependent on rain, called the Barárah Khwaṛ, to the east entrance of the Barárah Tangaey in the bed of the Dzamad. Another route, which follows the bed of another *khwaṛ*, is said to lead into the bed of the same river and to Shingí Koṭ, lower down than the Barárah Tangaey.

Beyond this again the Kus'hto river receives smaller tributaries. By following the beds of some of these, which come down from the right hand (northwards), the Kewá Dara'h can be reached; and between five and six miles still farther upwards, by crossing a pass called the Níwal Ghás'haey, close to the source of the southern branch of the Kus'hto river, and about four miles south of the Razmak Ghás'haey, leading into the Kewá D'arah, you can enter the Toda'h Chína'h Darah, about seven miles to the north-north-east of the Wazírí town of Makín.† The stream which gives it name takes its rise on the eastern slopes of the Shewa'h Ghar ridge, and unites with the Dzamad south-east of Makín, presently to be noticed. Thus the three streams, the Kewá, the Kus'hto, and the Toda'h Chína'h, all rise within about a mile of each other.

To return to the frontier of Bannú again. Between the Kus'hto Tangaey and the Ṭák or Dzamand Pass, the principal of the minor passes, going from north to south, are Kahoiyán, Tsamlah, Chal-Khánah, Wuch Sar-aobah, Tánd Sar-aobah, Sohán, Kaho'á,‡ War-molá, Nagrám, Khanda'h, and Khaṛ-aobah, which is the last in the Bannú district. Those of still lesser consequence between these different passes, and those which follow, I shall have to refer to specially when I come to the end of the whole.

Next in rotation southwards come the Laṛzan, Galharah, Zaṛanjí, Wuch Kankaṛah, Tánd Kankaṛah, Wucha'h Chína'h,§ Lúnda'h or Núnda'h Chína'h, Pír Tangaey, which leads into the Shúza'h Dara'h, farther west within the hills, and the Beyal Tangaey, after which comes the Dzamad or Ṭák Dara'h.

The next dara'h or pass of consequence below the Kus'hto is the Ṭák or Ṭánk Pass, so called, and "Tank Zam" in our maps, but should be called the Dzamad Pass, since it follows the course of the Dzamad river. It takes its rise in the clefts of that part of the main eastern range of Mihtar Sulímán, south of the Dara'h of the Ṭonchí, which I have mentioned as bulging out towards the west more than any other part of the eastern range, bounding the dara'h in which Kární Grám lies on the west, and of which the Pír Ghal, in the country of the Mas'úd Wazírí Kaṛlárnís, is the highest peak, and just under its southern skirt.

This river, which receives the waters of several other tributaries, first flows in the direction of south-east for about nine miles, but winding considerably, when it bends towards the north-east, and passes just under the Aor-Maṛ Afghán town of Kární-Grám—Stone-Town—on the east side. Continuing its course in the same direction for about eight or nine miles more, and about half a mile from the Wazírí village of the Shebá'í Khel,‖ it receives the Toda'h Chína'h—Hot Spring—from the west-north-west, at a place called Dwah To'e, that is, the point of junction of these Dwah To-e, or two streams, as the Pus'hto words signify.

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* Some people, in speaking, have a habit of putting the second consonant of a word like this first, as in the name Urmak for Rámak, mentioned at page 330, and thus *kus'ht* would, pronounced by such a person, become *s'hukt*, by transposing the letter "*k*" and "*s'h*," but *kus'ht* is correct.

† The name of this place is not "Mukím."

‡ Sometimes called Kahú'á.

§ Also known as the Chína'í.

‖ *Shabi* Khel of the maps. The Shebá'í Khel are a clan of the 'Alízí Mas'úd Wazírís.

This Toda'h Chína'h tributary rises on the eastern face of the great range, just below the Shewa'h Ghar; and, here about, the mountains are well clothed with forests of pine and other trees. The dara'h in which runs the Khwaṛ, another of its tributaries, which rises near the Razmak Ghás'haey, farther towards the north, is only separated from the dara'h of the Kewá or Gambíla'h river by a great ridge running out from the Shewa'h Ghar in the direction of north-east. The ridge, at the skirt of which is the Razmak Ghás'haey, so called from the Wazírí village situated therein, separates the dara'h of the Toda'h Chína'h and its tributaries from the Kus'hto Dara'h; and thus the Kewá river, the Kus'hto, and the Toda'h Chína'h take their rise within a short distance of each other in a small tract of undulating table land east and south of the Shewa'h Ghar peak.

Some minor feeders of the Ṭonchí river rise farther west, on the western slopes of this great main ridge, which parts have not yet been visited, but should be; and cross ridges run down northwards and westwards towards the upper part of the dara'h in which the Ṭonchí flows towards Dawaṛ. By the bed of one of these, running from south-east to north-west by Dar-wes'htah, a village on the south bank of the Ṭonchí, Marghah and Urgún can be reached,* and by a track over that portion of the main range bounding the Dara'h of the Ṭonchí on the south, and down the bed of one of its tributaries, in the direction of north, by the R'ghaṛawulaey Ghás'haey,† Boyah, a village also situated on the south bank of the same river, can be reached; so, by means of these, several other defiles can be turned.

I left the Dzamad river at its junction with the Toda'h Chína'h at the Dwah To'e, and, after this digression, return to that point again. The united streams have now become a considerable river, which flows in the direction of nearly south-east for about five miles towards the narrow gorge called the Barárah Tangaey, a mile and half lower down than which it takes a more southerly course, and runs to Shingí-Koṭ, about four miles lower down, through the gorge known as the Áhaní Tangaey, or Iron Gorge, situated about half way. At Shingí-Koṭ of the Bahlúlzí division of the Mas'úd Wazíris, it receives another feeder from the westward, formed by the junction of several minor streams flowing from the high range bounding Kární-Grám on the east and south. Seven miles below Shingí-Koṭ, and three above the village of Jandúlah belonging to the Baiṭní Afgháns, the river which flows by Shahúr-Koṭ, a considerable stream from the eastward, known as the Shahúr river, presently to be noticed, unites with the Dzamad. After this junction, the Dzamad flows past Jandúlah, then through the Hinis *Tangaey*, takes an easterly course, and enters the Dera'h-ját plain about seven miles north-west of Ṭánk or Ṭák, and, soon after emerging from the mountains, at the present time, the water is lost in the thirsty soil.‡ Like all the rivers of these parts, after heavy rains in the mountains, it suddenly rises and becomes a vast and impetuous torrent, and is impassable for days together. The beds of these streams are strewed with stones and boulders every here and there, and are sandy in other places; and, in the cold season, and ordinary occasions, above the junction with the Shahúr, the Dzamad and its main feeders vary from two to three feet deep, but lower down than Jandúlah it gradually decreases and varies from one to three feet in depth.

The most difficult points in the route up the bed of the Dzamad is where the mountains on either side close in, so to say, upon the river, through which in the course of ages it has cut its way. In such places the Dzamad, like some other rivers of these parts, flows along at the foot of these overhanging precipices; and such narrow gorges, which are sometimes over a mile in length or more, and which the people consider their most strageticál points, are called *tangaeys*, which I have already mentioned by name. Upon the whole, however, the route up the bed of the Dzamad is tolerably good, the main one more so than the subordinate ones. Above the Barárah Tangaey, up to near the Wazírí town of Makín, east of which the Toda'h Chína'h comes down from the northward from the skirts of the Shewa'h Ghar, and up the bed of the Khwaṛ rising west of the Razmak *Kotal*, previously referred to, the road is moderately good; and from it, as before mentioned, the upper part of the Kewá Dara'h can be reached.

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* *See* page 75.

† Called "*Rakhrawli* Pass" in the latest map. The correct name is R'ghaṛawulaey derived from the transitive Pus'hto verb, *r'ghaṛawul*, "to roll," "to turn over and over," "to trundle or bowl along the "ground."

‡ *See* page 325. In former times its waters used to irrigate the lands of the Dzaṇḍah-púrs farther south.

I have entered into a few more details here because these different passes, although all are not supposed to lead over the great main eastern range of Mihtar Sulímán, yet some certainly do, and probably there are others that we know not of. They at least lead into the heart of the eastern half of the Wazírí country inhabited by the Mas'úd branch of that tribe, and which branch, hitherto, has given us the most trouble. Furthermore, it was by this Dzamad route, for certain, that the Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad proceeded from Ṭák on his journey to Kábul by way of the ruins of Zábul related at page 504, crossing the great range, I believe, west of Makín.

I have already named the most important of the minor dara'hs or passes, between the Kus'hto and the Dzamad, which also lead into the Wazírí country through the tract inhabited by the Baiṭní Afgháns, which passes this small and weak tribe are answerable for the safe guarding of. They will also be found mentioned in the List farther on, and named from north to south.

It now remains to note the Shahúr route, which branches off to the left in going up the Dzamad Dara'h, and by which, as explained under, Kární-Grám and Makín can also be reached, and the difficult *tangaey* in the Dzamad Dara'h, below the junction of the Dwah To'e, turned. This Shahúr route follows the bed of the river called by that name, which unites with the Dzamad three miles above Jandúlah. This stream and its upper feeders issue from the eastern slopes of the main range rising up immediately west of Kární-Grám, and to the westward of the Pír Ghal peak. It flows in the direction of south-east through the S'hakaey Dara'h, and receives many feeders from the other dara'hs on either side lower down, each stream running through its own little dara'h, and each having its own local name. One of these rises among the cross ridges of the range of Mihtar Sulímán which run out from the range in the direction of south-east, and bound the Shahúr Dara'h on that side, and unites with the Shahúr dara'h stream a little below Shahúr-Koṭ.* Following the course of the Shahúr river upwards for about seven miles in a direction nearly west, it makes a sharp turn to the north-north-west, and after that becomes tortuous. About twelve miles up the stream from this bend is the Naraey Rághah *Tangaey*, which is difficult. After this is cleared the river still winds considerably in the general direction of north-west for about seven miles, when the route turns off northwards to Kární-Grám at the Sháh 'Álam Rághah as far as the Sohánga'í *Kotal*, four miles distant, after crossing which you descend a little in the direction of north-east to Kární-Grám.

Between this Dzamad Dara'h called the Ták or Ṭánk Pass, and the Gumul Pass, there are likewise several minor dara'hs leading from the Dera'h-ját into the Koh-i-Surkh or Rátá Pahár towards Jandúlah in the Dzamah Dara'h and to Shahúr-Koṭ, through the southern part of the Baiṭní country, the names of which dara'hs will be found in the following List. For the safety of these the Nawwáb of Ṭák is, or was, responsible.

The last of the minor passes next above the Dzamad Dara'h on the north is called the Shúzah Tangaey, up the bed of a stream which rises on the west skirts of the S'h'karana'h Ghunḍa'h, takes a course south-south-west for about eight miles, when it bends eastwards and flows through the Shúzah *Tangaey*,† just below which it is joined by the Landaey Khwaṛ, another stream rising in two branches, one, the westernmost one of the two, on the east skirts of the S'h'karana'h Ghunḍa'h, and the easternmost one on the other side of a great ridge which runs parallel to them for about four miles and separates them This last rises near the Tsaml Ghás'haey leading into the Kus'hto Dara'h, before described. The Shúzah and Landaey Khwaṛ are separated from each other by a great ridge running down parallel to them from the S'h'krana'h Ghunḍa'h to the Dzamad. At the Shúzah Tangaey the stream runs about eleven miles, winding considerably, towards the east-south-east, and almost

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* Paths of greater or less difficulty lead from the Shahúr dara'h into the dara'h of the Gumul, which the Wazíris follow when preparing to waylay the Powandahs. I may say there are scores of other roads in every part, more or less difficult, that we know not of, crossing the main range as well as the lower ranges, which the Afgháns take care to keep to themselves.

† I notice in the Indian Atlas map that these two streams run almost north and south, and unite at the Shúzah Tangaey, just as I have here described them, and totally separate from the bed of the Dzamad. Strange to say, however, in the latest map of these parts by Captain (now Major) T. Holdich, R.E., the same map in which the Hindú surveyor changed the Pus'hto name Sh'karana'h Ghunḍa'h into Hindí Bokar Kand, referred to at page 482), the Shúzah stream is brought into the Dzamad, and made to unite with it two miles and a half below the Barárah Tangaey, and, consequently, according to that map, it does not flow through the Shúzah Tangaey to which *that stream gives its name.* The Lanḍaey Khwaṛ alone is made to flow through the Shúzah Tangaey three miles and a half east of the Shingí-Koṭ stream. How is it possible for this Tangaey to be called "the Shúzah Pass" in that map, if the Shúzah stream *does not flow through it*, and does not come within several miles of it? There is certainly some great error here.

parallel to the Dzamad, from which it is separated by high irregular ridges, the two beds being about seven, and sometimes about four, miles apart, and flows through the Pír *Tangaey*, and finally, after flowing rather less than ten miles more, enters the Dera'h-ját, and is lost in the thirsty soil.

For the whole of the different passes certain military posts on our frontier, of greater or lesser strength, according to their importance, and the character of the tribes beyond, are maintained. In some instances the tribes within our border nearest to them are held responsible for their safety from raiders, and the small military posts are intended to support them in enforcing this duty. I have before alluded to the Nawwáb of Ṭák being responsible for some of the passes in his territory.* In other cases some of the Powandah Afghán tribes and branches of tribes, including the Náṣirs, Maṛhel Níázís, Nuhárnís, Úsh-tarární Sheránís, and others, are responsible for some of the passes for such part of the year as their camps are pitched beyond their eastern limits.

The next principal dara'hs and passes south of the Dzamad are the Lo-e Girnaey, and Kam Girnaey, and the Chhár Kundey, after which the Gumul pass is reached, which will be described in the account of the route to Ghaznín farther on.

Then follow southwards the Ghorábaey Dara'h, the Shaṛana'h, the Zaṛkaní, or Shaikh Haidar, the Siwán, the Dṛá-bhaṇ, the Dahana'h, and Chaudh-Wa'án Passes, which two last will be described along with the Zá-o or Naraey Tarkaey Pass, in the routes leading direct to Kandahár. Then follow the Gajistán Dara'h, which marks the boundary of the Úsh-tarárnís from the other Sheránís, the Shaṛanaey, through which is a practicable route which leads into the Gumul Pass, and is followed by the Náṣir Powandahs, the Rámak *Kotal*, the Wuch Kúhaey, Lúnd or Núnd or Tánd, Kúhaey, and the Naranjí, separating the Úsh-tarární Sheránís from the Kihtrán Kásís, and from the Khasrání Balúchís, after which follows the Kaura'h Dara'h with which I commenced my account of the Dera'h-ját Dara'hs or Passes in the First Section of this work.

I have just mentioned that I should have to make particular reference to the intermediate minor passes, and I now deem it necessary to give a list of the whole, the minor ones included, as they appear in our Survey and other maps, and in MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I. I have added the correct names in a separate column. The passes, commencing from the north, are as follow:—

* Since the Ma'súd Wazírís burnt the frontier station of Ṭák in 1879, it is possible that some other arrangements have been made for the safety of these passes.

NAMES of the PASSES in the Bannú and the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán Districts as they are written in our Maps and Gazetteers, with the correct names.

Panjab Survey Map, 1880.	Indian Atlas, etc.	Panjab Revenue Survey.	Major C. W. Wilson's New Map.	MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I.	Names transliterated from the vernacular, obtained through the District Officers.	Remarks.
Tochi Pass	Tochee Pass	Tochee Pass	Tochi Pass	Tochí	Tonchí Dara'h or Pass	NOTE.—Many of these names, although kindly furnished by the District Officers, are, I believe, much vitiated. Where I have been able to recognize the meanings I have explained them. The names left blank in this last column are merely those of passes very little known and seldom used, except by raiders.
Khaisri N.	-	-	-	Khasara	Khaserah „ „	
Khasora N. and Pass	Khusora Pass	Khusora Pass	Khasora Pass	Khasara, Khasora Pass	Khasorah „ „	
Khasor Tangi N.	Khisora Algud	Khisora Algud.				
Aspina N.						
Touda N.	-	-	-	-	Toda'h Chína'h.	
Touda N.						
Saktah* N. and Pass	Shukhdoo,* Shikto Algud.*	Sukhdoo* Pass, Shikto Algud.*	Sakhdu* Pass, Shikto Algud.*	Saktá,* Shaktú,* Sukhdoo,* Shakdu,* Shakhdú,* Sakhdú.*	Kus'hto* „ „	* Also written S'hukto, through some people misplacing letters in words, but the former word is correct. Kus'hto in the Pus'hto means *a gap in a rocky wall*, which that pass is, hence the name.
Kundah N.	-	-	-	Kúí,† south of Shakdú	Kahúíán† „ „	† Seems to be intended for the plural of Kahúá, the vitiated Sanskrit *kú-á*, a well. In the vitiated Pus'hto spoken in the parts adjoining the Panj-áb, *kúhaey* means "a well."
Madar N.						
Kercho N.						
Aspil Garra N.	-	-	-	Aisua, small pass between Saktú and Saroba.		
Sichanda N.	-	-	-	Kasrachina‡ between Sakhdú and Saroba Passes.	-	‡ Two words in one: chína'h is the Pus'hto for a spring.
Saml N. and Pass	Shumlae N.	Shamlae N.	-	Shamla, Shamlaee	Shamlah „ „	
Salkhunah N. and Pass.	Chulkhae N.	Chalkhae N.	-	Chehl Khana	Chal-Khánah Dara'h or Pass.	
Achu§ Saroba N. and Pass.	*Vicah*§ Suroba N.	*Vicah*§ Suroba N.	-	*Khúshk*§ Karoba, Saroba *Kalan*§	Wuch Sar-aobah Dara'h or Pass.	§ *Wuch*, in Pus'hto, signifies "dry," and *khushk* is the Persian for the same word. It will thus be seen that *all depends upon who interprets for our surveyors*; for, while one vitiates and renders unintelligible the Pus'h-to, another writes the Persian interpretation of it. No Afghán would recognize the place under such a name.
Tanda Saroba N. and Pass.	*Tanda* Suroba N.	*Tanda* Suroba N.	-	Karoba *Tand*, Saroba, Kharoba *Tand*	Tánd Sar-aobah Dara'h or Pass.	*Tánd*, and *Tánda'h* signify "green," "moist," "wet," etc.
Savun‖ N. and Pass	Sivan Sondareh‖ N.	Sivun Sondareh‖ N.	-	Sond,‖ Sohan,‖ Sawan,‖ Sowan,‖ Sáwan,‖ Sonda,‖ Sonam.‖	Sohán‖ Dara'h or Pass	‖ Signifies "a file" or "rasp."
Khua¶ N.	Khooa N.	Khooa¶ N.	-	Kohai¶ Pass, Koha,¶ or Kúha¶	Khúá¶ „ „	¶ See *kúhaey* above.
	Gormolee N.	Oormolee N.	-	Armúla, Úrmúla, Armalu, Úrmúlá, Úrmúli, Armula, Urmulu, Úrmúlí.	Warmolah „ „	
				Kár Tangí.		
Nungr N. and Pass	Noogrum Pass	Noogrum Pass	-	Núgram, Nigrám, Nugrám, Nigram	Nugrám „ „	Also written Nungrám.
Khanda N.	Khunda N.	Khunda N.	-	Khandi, Khandí	Khanḍah „ „	Khanḍ signifies "the stump or trunk of a tree left "standing in the ground."
Kharoba** N.	Khuroba** N.	Khuroba** N.	-	Karoba**	Kharobah „ „	** Seems to be intended for khaṛoba'h, with "ṛ", from Pus'hto *khaṛob*, signifying "watered," "saturated," "irrigated," etc.
Geristana N.				Hisár Súr Kúrm, Hisar Súr Kuram, Surkur.		
Manduri N.	-	-	-	Mandúra.		
Malikdin N.	-	-	-	Malgin, Manglin, Manglín.		
Larzn†† Pass	-	-	-	Larzan††	Lar-zan „ „	†† Apparently the Pus'hto *laṛzan*, from *laṛzedal*, "to quake," "shake," "quiver," etc., with Pus'hto "*ṛ*."
Zazera N.	Zunaza Pass	Zunaza Pass	Zana-Za (Geo. Mag. Zandya P.)	Zaneza, Zaniza, Zaníza.		

Zeringi N.	-	-	-	Zarinja, Zanejah	Zaṛanjí „ „	
Gair N.	Galra Pass	Galra Pass	Galra Pass (Geo. Mag., Gulhara P.)	Gulhára, Gulhara, Gúlhára.		
				Bág Sora.		
Hasora N.	-	-	-	Sora, Sorah, Báz Gorah, Baz Sorah.		
Uchkan* Kara N.	-	-	-	Kushk* Kankara, Kushk* Kankára, Khúshk Kankara.	Wuch Kankaṛah Dara'h or Pass.	* Here again one writes vitiated Pus'hto, and another uses incorrect Persian. "Tand," "Táno," "Tonda," and "Tank," are attempts at writing the equivalent of Pus'hto *wuch*, which is *tánd*. What Kankaṛah means I do not know.
				Tand* Kankara, Táno* Kankára, Tank* Kankara, Kankára Tand, Tánd Kankár.	Tánd Kankaṛah Dara'h or Pass.	
Uch* Chanai N.	-	-	-	Kushk Chínai,† Khushk Chína,† China Pass.	Wuch Chinaey (?) Dara'h or Pass.	† The meaning of *wuch* is "dry," but the other word is doubtful. It may be the vitiated form of *chiney* "a spring" inflected, but, if so, it is ungrammatical and it would properly be *wuchey chiney*.
				Garai Algad, Gari Algad, Gani-al-Gad, Garíal Gud.		
Chini† Pass	Chenie† Pass	Chenie† Pass	Chenie† Pass	Chínai Tand,† Tand Chínai,† Chenee Tand.†	Chanaí Pass	Meant, probably, for Chíney, the inflected form of chína'h.
			(Geo. Mag., Chinai P.)	Chinai, Chenai, Chinai Tánd, Tán Chínai, Tonda Chína.		
				Pirang-algad,‡ Pírán Algad‡	Pṛáng Algaḍ‡ Dara'h or Pass.	‡ Práng in Pus'hto signifies "a panther," "a tiger." Algaḍ means "a water-course" locally.
Raodun N.	-	-	-	Raidún, Radim, Raídún.		
Kahgul Gadda N.	-	-	-	Kágúl Gadáe.		
Robah N.						
Shuza or Pir Tanga§ Pass	Pir Tungee§ Pass Shoozha Tungi Pass	Pir Tungi§ Pass Shoozha Tungi Pass.	Per Tangi§ Pass	Shuja, Suja, Shujah, Shúza, Sújah	Shúza'h	§ The Pír Tangaey, or Saint's Gorge, leads to the Shúzah Dara'h and Pass.
				Makbila, Mokbila, Makibla.		
Zanazi N.	-	-	-	Zanaza, Zanazi, Janazi, Janázi.		
Khul Puta N.	-	-	-	Khah Putr, Khal Putr, Khalpatr, Khál Pútr.		
Matker N.	-	-	-	Matkar, Matkár, Maktár, Matka	Maṭkár	Maṭ, in Pus'hto, signifies "quickness," "celerity." "despatch," also "deep dust in a road," also "essay," "endeavour," but here the meaning is doubtful.
Guraisi N.	-	-	-	Goraisí, Khoraisi, Ghoraisi, between Spin-ka Ghasha‖ and Matkár.	-	‖ Ghás'haey is the Pus'hto for Pass; inflected it is *ghás'hí*. Here we have Hindústání "*ká*" mixed up with Pus'hto words. *Spin* signifies "white."
				Spin ka Gasha.		
Bael Tanga¶ N.	*Pael* Pass¶	-	*Pael* Pass¶	*Shpael*, *Spael*¶	-	¶ Beyal, in Pus'hto, signifies "separated," "apart," "cleft," etc.
	Char Koonda Pass	-	Char Kunda Pass	Char-Kandí	Chhár Kúnḍey	Chhár is Persian for "four," and *kúnḍa'h* (inflected or plural *kúnḍaey*) means "a ring" or "staple," also "a hook," in Pus'hto.
Tank Pass	Tank Pass	Tank Pass	Tank Pass	Tank Zam, Tank Zám, Tánk Zam, Tánk Zám.	Ṭák or Ṭánk Dara'h or Pass.	
Khergula** N.	-	-	-	Sara Khola, Sara Khula, Sarakhola**	Sara'h Khula'h Dara'h or Pass.	** Signifies "red-mouthed," from *sara'h* the feminine of *súr*, "red," and *khula'h*, "mouth," "orifice," "entrance," a noun feminine.
Garzao N.	-	-	-	Sarazao, Sarozai, Sara Zao	Gar-zá-o Dara'h or Pass.	
	Shaimaidur Pass	Shaimadur Pass	-	Samúndar, Samúdar, Shamaidur, Samendra, Samundar.		
Girni Pass	Girnee Pass	Girnee Pass	-	*Bara*†† Girni, Girni, Girnee	Lo-e Girní „ „	†† Here we have a mixture of three languages: *bara* is bad Hindústání for *bara*, in Pus'hto *lo-e*. "Khurd" is Persian, and "Chota" is bad Hindústání for *chhoṭá*, "small," "little," etc., the Pus'hto being *kam*. If the noun is feminine, which I believe it is, both names should be Lo-ea'h Girní and Kama'h Girní.
Kam†† Girni N.	-	-	-	Girni *Khurd*,†† *Chota* Girní	Kam Girní „ „	

NAMES of the PASSES in the Bannú and the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán Districts as they are written in our Maps and Gazetteers, with the correct names—*continued.*

Panjab Survey Map, 1880.	Indian Atlas, etc.	Panjab Revenue Survey.	Major C. W. Wilson's New Map.	MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I.	Names transliterated from the vernacular, obtained through the District Officers.	Remarks.
	Shuroba Pass* -	Shuroba Pass* -	- -	Taroba Khushk, Tarobí Khushk, Saroba Khushk. Taroba Tand, Shuroba, Tarobi Tánd*	Wuch Sar-aobah* Dara'h or Pass. Tánd Sar-aobah Dara'h or Pass.	* "Sar-aoba'h," here used, appears to be the vitiated words s'hara'h aoba'h, signifying water or a stream impregnated with *s'hara'h* or nitre. *Wuch*, as before mentioned, means dry, and *tánd*, wet, moist, etc.
Bagh N. - -	Bakh Pass -	Bakh Pass - -	- - -	Bách, Bagh, Bhág - -	Bágh Dara'h or Pass -	
	Nishpo Nurrai -	- - -	- - -	Nishpa, Nispa, Níspa - -	Nishpo Naráey† Dara'h or Pass.	† The *naráey* here used seems vitiated Pus'hto for *naraey*, meaning "slender," "thin," "fine," "narrow," "scant," etc.
Tangi N. - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Úrmán Pass, Úrman Pass‡ - -	The Tangaey Dara'h or Pass.	‡ Tangaey in Pus'hto signifies "a gorge." Ar-mán, in Pus'hto, signifies "sorrow," "regret," also "desire," "inclination," etc., but the word is Persian.
Gumal Pass - -	Goomul Pass - -	Goomul Pass - -	Gumal Pass - (Geo. Mag. Gomul P.)	Gomal, Gomál, Gómál - - -	Gumul.	
Ser Tangi N. - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - - - -	Sar Tangaey Dara'h or Pass.	*Sar* is the Persian for the head, top, or point of anything. *Tangaey* has been before described.
Gurabai N. and Pass	Goorai - -	Goorai - -	- - -	Gúrabi, Gurebi, Gúrábi, Gúrábí -	Ghorábí§ Dara'h or Pass	§ Ghaur, written with the same letters in the vernacular, is the 'Arabic for "depth," "profundity," "water flowing on low grounds," "a valley," etc.
Sakbandi N. - -	Sugroo N (?) -	Sugroo N. - -	- - -	- - - - -	Sáḳ-band ,, ,, -	Sáḳ is the 'Arabic for "leg," also for the trunk of a tree or stalk of a plant. Band is Persian for "fastening," "bandage," "joint," "twist," etc.
Sherani‖ N. and Pass	Shurunnee‖ N. -	Shurunnee‖ N. -	- - -	Shíram, Shíráni,‖ Shírání, Sheraní,‖ Sharani.	Sharannah‖ ,, ,, -	‖ The correct word appears to be *shaṛana'h*, a verbal noun signifying "driving," "expelling," etc., which, inflected, is *shaṛaney*.
Zobla¶ N. - -	- -	- - -	- - -	- - - - -	Jzobla'h¶ ,, ,, -	¶ Jzobal, in Pus'hto, signifies "hurt," "injured," "mutilated," etc. The feminine form is *jzobla'h*.
Nagar N.						
Almazai N.						
Nar Salhkawalah N.	- - -	- - -	- - -	Narsatzkí, Masatzkí.		
Malali N.						
Zarvani N. - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Zarwani, Zarwaní - - -	Zarwanní ,, ,,	
Giddar N. - -	- - -	Gidhura N. - -	- - -	Gidr, Gidar - - - -	Giḍaṛa'h ,, ,, -	Giḍaṛ means a jackal, used in Pus'hto as in Hindí, the Pus'hto feminine of which is Giḍara'h. Gudaṛíyá, in Hindí, means "clothed in patched "garments, as a devotee," also "rags or patched "garments hung up at shrines as votive tablets, "supposed to be efficacious for the accomplishment "of one's wishes."
Ridaon N.						
Khozakki** N. -	Khooyukee** N. -	Khoyukee** N. -	- - -	Khojakí,** Khooyukee** - -	Kojzakaey** ,, ,, -	** Kojz in Pus'hto (in Persian, *kújz*), means "twisted," "crooked," "distorted," "bent," and *kojz*, in Pus'hto only, means "a hyena." The word has the Pus'hto particle, used to lessen the importance of a word, or to convey contempt, namely "*kaey*," affixed to it.
		Ispuree Kat N. -	- - -	Sparika, Isparikat, Spari-kat, Isparíkát.		
Kurm Khurd†† N. -	- - -	- -	- - -	Kúram, two passes between Sparika and Kaori.	Kam Kuram ,, ,, -	†† Khurd is Persian. *Kam* is Pus'hto for "little," "deficient," "scanty," etc., the equivalent of the Persian.

Kurm Kalan* N. -	Koorum N. - -	Koorum N. - -	- - -	- - - - -	Lo-e Kuram Dara'h or Pass	* Kalán is also Persian for "large," "great," and *lo'e* is the Pus'hto equivalent.
Khavuri† N. and Pass	Khavureet† N. - -	Khavuret† N. -	- - -	Kaori, Khaori, Khúri† - -	Khwaṛey† ,, ,, -	† Khwaṛ and khwaṛa'h (inflected, khwaṛey) mean the dry bed of a water-course or river, dry in summer, also the sandy bed of a river or rivulet.
		Turkoba N. - -	- - -	- - - - -	Trikh Aobah‡ - -	‡ Evidently means "bitter," "nauseous," or "unpalatable water" in Pus'hto.
Zarang N. - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Rangzoi, Rang Zoi, Ráng Zoi - -	Zaṛáng ,, ,,	
Sawan N. and Pass -	Sheik Hydur§ Pass, Sirwan N.	Shek Hydur,§ Suván N.	Sheik Hydar§ Pass - (Geo. Mag. Sheikh Haidar§ P.)	Shekh Hidar§ - - - -	Zaṛkaní or Shaikh Ḥaidar or Sáwán Dara'h or Pass	§ Also called the Shaikh Ḥaidar Pass, after a saint who belonged to the Zaṛkaní branch of the Baiṭní tribe of Afgháns who once held all these parts. Khiẓr he is at times called, but Ḥaidar was his name. His tomb is at the entrance of the Pass. Sáwán is the name of the river running through the Pass. *See* page 170.
			(Do., do., Darwaz‖ P)	Darwaza Pass,‖ Darwazi Pass - -	Darwázah ,, ,,	‖ The Persian for door or gate.
Daraban Zam and Pass.	Drabund Pass, Drában Pass.	Drabund Pass -	Draband Pass - -	Draban, Draban Zam, Dráband, Dráband Zám.	Ḍṛá-bhaṇ ,, ,,	
Ghoi N. - - -	Khoora Gaioba -	Khoora Guioba -	- - -	Guioba, Guiobá - - -	Ghwaiba'h ,, ,,	
Kurm N. - -	Koorum N. - -	Koorum N. - -	- - -	Kúram Tangí, Kúrm - -	Kuṛum ,, ,,	Kaṛam in Pus'hto means maimed, mutilated. What Kuṛam means I am unaware.
Valia N. -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Walia, Wallia - - -	Waliyah ,, ,,	
Kurmwala N. Phurawala N.						
Chaudwan N. and Pass.	Choudwan Pass -	Chaudwan Pass -	Choudwan Pass - (Geo. Mag. Chaodwan P.)	Chaudhwan Pass, Chaodwán Pass -	Chauḍh-Wa'án ,, ,,	*See* page 329.
	Shungow Pass - Shangao Pass.	Shungow Pass -	Shangow Pass -	Shangao Pass - - -	Shín-gáo ,, ,,	Shín in Pus'hto means "green," "fresh," "verdant," "blueish green;" applied to an animal means a dark blueish grey. Gáo is the Persian for a bull or cow.
	Dahna¶ Pass -	Dahna¶ Pass -	Dahna¶ Pass -	Dahina¶ Pass, Dahína Pass - -	Dahna'h ,, ,,	¶ Dahna'h means "mouth," "orifice," "a gorge." The word has been mistaken for the Hindústání *dáhiná*, meaning the left hand. *See* page 513.
Pili N.						
Lerhian N. - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Sír Ka Ghásha (?)		
Tor Zoi N. - -	Tehrzoee N. - -	Tohrzoee N. - -	- - -	Torzoi, Tehrzoee, Tor-zoí - -	Tor Zoyah ,, ,,	Tor is the Pus'hto for black; what the other word is I am unaware.
Jandwala N. Khobu N. Jamalwali N. Nermalwali N. Vadda N.						
Cherbori N. - -	Churboree, Chooorbooree N.	Churboree N. - -	- - -	Chabúr, Charboree, Chabúri - -	Charborí ,, ,,	
Gaddar N.				Kak Zoe, Kakzoi, Kákzoi.		
Gajistan N. - -	Gujistan N. - -	Gujistan N. - -	Gajistan N. - -	Gujistan, Gajistán. Sharana, Shuṛunni, Sharani, Sherin.		
Ramak N. - -	Rimmuk Pass - -	Rimmuk Pass -	Rimmak Pass -	Ramak, Rimmuk, Rimuk - -	Rámak ,, ,,	
Kerkandal N.						
Kuhiwala** Pass -	Phaceewurh Kooee**N.	Phaceewurh Kooee**N.	- - -	Kúí Úch,** Úchkúi,** Úch Kooee** -	Wuch Kahúí ,, ,,	** Kúhaey means a well in Pus'hto, of the parts near the Panjáb, derived, probably, from the Sanskrit *kú-á*. *Wúch* means "dry," and *tánd* means "fresh," "green," "verdant," etc.
Kuhiwala** Pass -	Kooee** N. - -	Kooee** N. - -	- - -	**Kúí Ṭán, **Kúí Tand, **Tanda opposite Úch.	Tánd Kahúí ,, ,,	
Karinwala N.						
Narinjiwala N. -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Naranji Pass, Narinjí, Narinzah between Rai Par and Kúí Tan passes.	Naranjí ,, ,,	
Kaurawali N. - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Gúzí Pass.		

Here follows the Kaurah Pass in the District dependent on the Dera'h of Ghází Khán, previously noticed at page 7.

Almost all these vitiated Pus'hto names have meanings, without doubt, but, with the exception of a few, I fail to recognize them in their present forms.

This list shows the lamentable state of the names in one district alone; but, all over the Panj-áb and its border, in Balúchistán, and all over the Afghánistán and the Afghán state—all over India, too, I may say—the names entered in our maps are equally bad and incorrect. Such a mode of writing names I need scarcely add is totally useless for geographical and for historical purposes; and, certainly, with respect to the names contained in the preceding list, no Afghán of these parts would be able to recognize one tenth of them. It is clear beyond a doubt, from the list in question, that the mode of writing the names of places in our maps depends upon four things. First; upon who hears the name from the people of a place, the surveyor or a subordinate. Second; the manner in which the surveyor understands it and puts it into Roman letters. Third; if a subordinate translates it for his superior, how the subordinate understands it. Fourth; what the surveyor himself understands from his subordinate's explanation. For the sake of example let us take the Little Girnaey Pass. The Afghán or Afgháns of whom inquiry was made called it the *Kam* Girnaey; this was rendered by some subordinate or attendant who acted as interpreter, a Panjábí or Hindústání, possibly, who understood a little Persian, *Khúrd* Girní, and it was entered in his survey work accordingly, but another native assistant or attendant upon some other surveyor, in another instance, to make himself understood, had, probably, to render the word into Hindústání for his superior, who put it down, ungrammatically, "*Chota* Girni," for Chhoṭá Girnaey. But, under any circumstance, the name of the pass is "*Kam* Girnaey," and no other, and yet it is entered in the maps "*Chota Girni*," and "*Khurd Girni*."*

This state of affairs will and must continue until, as I have repeatedly urged in these pages, the proper names of places, and also of persons, are written down correctly in the language of the country or district being surveyed, and with the vowel points marked. Let the surveyors, who are not supposed to understand the language, take down the names as they hear and understand them, if more convenient for themselves at the time, but *the correct names should invariaby accompany their work*, so that competent persons may be able to supply a correct transliteration of them. There is, perhaps, no language that requires this more than that of the Afgháns, and in writing the names of places in whose country, persons, ignorant of their language, are more liable to err; for, among other difficulties, final *a'h*, by inflection, changes into "*ey*"; "*aey*" into "*í*"; "*í*" into "*a'i*"; and, besides all this, there are also the peculiar letters of the Pus'hto alphabet to be looked to.

This is a matter of such vital importance that I submit it should be brought to the particular notice of the Surveyor General of India without loss of time.

There is anothing thing I would also draw prominent attention to: I will give but a single example. In the Panj-áb Revenue Survey Map, the Indian Atlas Map, and in Major (now, Sir) C. W. Wilson's map, the peculiar shaped mountain in the Mas'úd, Wazírí country, sixteen miles N.N.W. of the entrance of the Ṭák Pass, is styled, from its top, "SH KRAINH GOONDI (*the Horns*)," and "SH. KRAINH GUNDI (*the Horns*);" for, even in this instance, two persons cannot write the words alike, but, in looking over the latest map of "Waziristan," so called, of June, 1882, compiled by Major F. Holdich, R.E., I was surprised to find that this name had totally disappeared. At a loss to account for it, I compared that map with the others, and discovered the secret—*the name of the mountain had been changed in that map into* "BOKARKAND!"

It will naturally be asked how such an astounding change could have been brought about. The name in the first mentioned maps, although not quite correctly spelt, an Afghán of these parts *might* understand, if asked in what direction such a mountain lay, but, certainly, no Afghán could understand the "Bokarkand" of the last named map, nor any Persian speaking person either.

The Pus'hto word for horn is *s'h'kar*, and the adjective derived from it is *s'h'karan*, and *ghunḍa'h* signifies a detached hill, thus, the "S'h'karana'h Ghunḍa'h," or "the "Horned, or Horn-shaped Hill"; and in conversation with an Afghán, he, probably, would have to use the words in the inflected form of "*da s'h'araney ghunḍey*,"† "of "the Horn-shaped Hill," or "*pah s'h'karaney ghundey bándi*," "on the Horn-shaped "Hill," and the like. These Pus'hto words the native Hindústaní surveyor,—for I

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* In á vitiated form in two *foreign* languages, which no Afghán, unless acquainted with Hindí or Persian, could possibly understand. *See* the List of Passes, page 479.

† Another form of the word is *ghunḍa'í*, which is unchangeable by inflexion; and if that is used the words would be "*da s'h'karaney gunḍa'í*," and "*pah s'h'karaney ghunḍa'í bándi*."

gather from the extracts contained in the Surveyor General's Report, that a native sub-surveyor actually did this part of the survey* work—either did not understand the words, or, understanding them, did not, or would not, consider it necessary to preserve the original Afghán name of the mountain, and so attempted to render the words into Hindí, as he understood them—it is very probable he was a Hindú by religion. The result is "Bokarkand," which appears in the map of the, so-called, "Waziristan;" and thus *the Afghán name in the map of a part of the Afghánistán is totally discarded in favour of a Hindú and a foreign one, and disappears from the map!* "Bokar" is a word of Sanskrit derivation common to the Hindí, signifying "a he goat," or "a ram," but the original Pus'hto makes no reference to goat, ram, or bull; the word *s'h'har*, "a horn," from which the term is derived, signifies the horn of any animal, and neither refers to goat nor ram, as in the substituted word. "*Kand*" here is meant for a peak or hill; and these two Hindí words, which merely signify the "Ram's Peak," or the "He Goat's Hill," and nothing else, appear in that map as one word, and "the Horns" have disappeared. Bye-and-by we shall, probably, have some one writing on "The Races of Afghanistan," and arguing that the Afgháns of this part are certainly of Hindú descent, for that even their mountains bear Hindú names.† No doubt many other Pus'hto names have been recently improved after this Hindú model.

The Powandah, Kochí, or Nomad Tribes and Sections of Tribes among the Afgháns or Pus'htánah, and other Tribes and Sections who follow mercantile pursuits.

As I have given an account of the Afghánistán, and of the ranges of the Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, and the Koh-i-Surkh which surround it, and some of the various passes leading over and beyond the eastern range of the former—the remainder of the passes will be described in the routes which follow—it is necessary, before proceeding farther with my account of the routes, to say something about the nomad tribes and trading tribes among the Afghán people, who follow the routes which I am about to describe.

Much that is erroneous has been written lately,‡ respecting a supposed *tribe* which the writers in question style "*Povindiahs*," "*Provindiahs*," "*Povindahs*," "*Pawandáhs*," "*Powinduhs*," "*Povindeuhs*," and the like, scarcely two persons writing the name in the same way.

It may not be necessary here to quote at length all the numerous conflicting statements which are to be found in the writings of different modern writers regarding these Afghán tribes, but the following errors into which the respective authors have fallen appear to me to be sufficiently serious to take special notice of.

In MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part II., the "Povindahs" are called "the great "trading *tribe* of Afghánistán;" then they are styled "the Povindah *clan* of "Afgháns;" in another place they are said to be "subdivided into *four clans*: "Loháni, Násar, Niázi, and Karoti," and that "there is no information of their "descent."

I shall presently show, that, with the exception of some doubt which previously existed as to the true descent of the Náṣirs, but which can now be cleared up, the Afghán annals contain much information respecting the descent of all the Powandah tribes.

In Part I. of the same work, the author says respecting the "Lohánis," which had previously been called "a *great tribe*," that they are "*a section* of Povindahs, "descended from Núh, son of Ishmaíl," but what Núh, and what Ishmaíl, is not stated. In another place the "Násars" are called "*one* of the wealthiest *class* of the Povindah "*clans*;" while the "Niázis" or "Niázaes" are said to be "*a tribe* settled

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* *See* the "Report for 1880–81," page 35 of the Appendix, para. 6.

† *See* note §, page 462.

‡ In a "History of Afghanistan from the Earliest Times," by Colonel G. B. Malleson, C.S.I., it is stated that "the Povindahs are *a tribe of soldier merchants* numbering about 12,000. *Twice every year* "*their caravans leave Ghazní for Hindústán and return*, carrying merchandise, and fighting their way, "if necessary, through the passes." Except in the last clause of the last sentence this is entirely erroneous.

Burnes says, "The principal carriers of this trade between India and Cabool, are the Lohanees, a pastoral "tribe of Afghans who occupy the country eastwards from Ghuzni to the Indus." This, too, is not correct, and they are not restricted to "Cabool."

Edwardes says they "are taken from several Afghan tribes." Here he is quite right, but he is quite wrong when he says that "the principal are the *Kharotees*," and names but *two* others. I shall have to refer to his statements on this subject again.

"in the Banú district;" but, in another place, the author says, that these "Niázis" or "Niázaes" are descended from "Niáz Khan, second son of Lodi, King of Ghor," a strange statement which I have noticed elsewhere.

Under the heading of "Karoti," in this same part, the author informs us that "they "are *a large tribe of* Afghánistán." Why this distinction is made of a "tribe *of* "Afghánistán," instead of an Afghán tribe, does not appear, but it is liable to be misunderstood, and also liable to mislead, because there are many tribes *of* Afghánistán, according to the author's definition of the word, who are not Afgháns; whereas no tribes but Afgháns inhabit *the* Afghánistán, or country, or dwelling-place of the Afgháns, as I have described it from their own annals, and in which sense all Muḥammadan writers use that word.

Lumsden (H. B.), in his Report of the Kandahar Mission in 1857, after describing the "Povindiahs" as divided into "*four clans*" (it was from this, probably, that MacGregor derived some of his information cited above), says, that the Lohanis are "divided into *three branches*, Dawlatkhel, Panni, and Myakhel." On this I may remark that the Parnís (*vul.* "Pannis," and "Punnees") are not a branch of the Núḥárnís or Lúḥárnís, but a totally distinct tribe, and hold lands of their own in the southernmost part of the Afghánistán, but a small portion only of what they once held, before they became partially dispersed, and when they were a far more numerous and powerful people than they are at present. (*See* note *, page 7).

In the first book on Afghánistán by Surgeon-Major H. W. Bellew, C.S.I., entitled "Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857" (London: 1862), he states (page 65), respecting the "Provindiahs," as he styles them, that there are "good "reasons for believing that these Patháns are *real Afgháns* as much as the descendants "of Kais."

In the second book, "Afghanistan and the Afghans" (London: 1879), page 219, he tells us that the "Patháns are not Afgháns;"* that the Kihtrán Afgháns are Hindú "Khatris;" that the "Taríns" are "one of the chief Ghilzáe tribes" (page 221); and adds, that, "Some of the Pathán tribes, as the Waziris,† Lohanis, Kakárs, "Ghilzáes, etc., are also known by the name of *Provindia* or *Parwindia*, a term "derived from the Persian *parwinda*— a bale of merchandise,— which signifies their "occupation as 'packmen,' 'mercantile travellers,' etc., for they are the people "who drive the caravans to and fro between Khorassan and Hindustan,‡ and "monopolize the whole carrying trade of the country. . . . From the nature "of their occupation they are collectively styled, or individually, so far as that goes, "*Povinda*, and *Lawáni* or *Lohani*. These terms appear to be derived from the Persian "words *parwinda*, 'a bale of merchandise,' and *rawání*, a traveller."§

At page 220 of the same book he says, "the Ghilji (previously written Ghilzáe) is not an Afghán nor a Pathán,"‖ and supposes him "to belong to the Turk tribe "of Khilich, which was anciently located on the upper course of the Jaxartes," etc., etc.

In fact, if any one desirous of obtaining information respecting these purely Afghán tribes, or of compiling a connected account of them, were to turn to the works mentioned above for his information, he would be logically led to the following conclusion, that the Powandahs are "Patháns," and yet they are not; for they are "Ghiljis or "Ghilzáes," and yet the "Ghiljis or Ghilzáes" are "neither Afgháns nor Patháns;" for they are "Khilich Turks," while the "Lohanis," who, individually and collectively, are "Patháns," are also "Ghiljis or Ghilzáes;" while at the same time "Patháns are "not Afgháns."

I think it right to point out these grave discrepancies, lest future writers, from a hasty or partial study of the writings of these authors, might, unwittingly, help to perpetuate these erroneous theories.

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* In a "Dictionary of the Pukkhto or Pukshto," compiled by the same author (p. 25), I find the following:— "Pukkhtún s. m. An Afghán, a Pathán; one whose language is Pukkhto."

Edwardes says: "The height of pride is to be a Páthan (or true Afghán): to be a Belooch is mediocre; and "to be a Jut decidedly low." He consequently considered a Paṭán to be a *true* Afghán, and he is quite right.

† Only when in the act of driving away a Powandah's camels, or carrying off a bale of his goods.

‡ If they only "drive the caravans," how comes it about that they are "packmen" and "mercantile "travellers?"

§ Rawání, in Persian, signifies, 1, a course; 2, running, flowing, proceeding, going; 3, despatching, causing to be received, making current (as money or goods); causing anything to have its full weight (as a mandate) or value (as goods), and the like; and the verb is *rawánídan*. I know of no such word for a traveller.

‖ Lumsden says:—"The Ghalzais are acknowledged by the other Afgháns to be the hardiest and bravest *of their race*," and in this he is quite correct. Let us take for one example Lieutenant-General Sir D. Stewart's action with them at 'Alí Khel.

The term Powandah I have already briefly explained at page 6 of Section First, and in my Dictionary of the Pus'hto language, pages 1106, 1140, and 1153, which, to make this subject clear, may be repeated here :—" پونده *powandah*, s. m. (6th) " (P. *v.* پويدن). The name given to the nomad tribes of Afgháns who move about " with their flocks and herds, and act as carriers between their own country and " India."* Reference is also made to the following words :—" کوچي *kochaey*, s. m. " (1st) (P. کوچ march, decampment) a nomad, a male of the nomadic or pastoral " tribes of the Afgháns, not the proper name of a tribe, as some who have written " about the Afgháns and their country have stated, from not knowing any better. " کوچيدل *kochedal*, v. int. To march, to decamp, to set out, to depart. سر تړلي " *sar-taṛalaey*, s. m. (1st) a man of the pastoral or nomad tribes of Afgháns (*lit.* " head-bound), so called from merely wearing a turban without a cap under it, " wound loosely round the head."

They are also termed *Íláts*, as well as other non-Afghán pastoral and nomad tribes, the Turkish word for a nomad being *ílát*. This term is in general use among Persian speaking people and the Tájzíks. The country of these nomad Afgháns bordered on the Turkish kingdom of Ghaznín, to which some of them, at least, were in a manner subject, and continued to be so down to modern times, while the parts in question were under the sway of the descendants of Tímúr and of the Ṣafawí rulers of Í-rán, hence the use of the Turkish word is not remarkable.

In describing Kábul and its territory, Bábar Bádsháh says it is one of the great emporiums for the merchandise of Hindústán and other parts, and that *kárwáns*, amounting in all to from 15,000 to 20,000 families, visit it yearly.

At Kalát[-i-Ghalzí],† when on his way against Ḳandahár in 910 H. (1505 A.D.), an account of which is given farther on, he fell in with a great *ḳáfila'h* of merchants, who were proceeding into Hindústán [one copy of Bábar Bádsháh's " Tuzúk " say they had come from Hindústán] with their merchandise. His followers, who thought everything they found in those parts were for them to plunder, wished to plunder this *ḳáfila'h*, but he did not consent, and the merchants were allowed to proceed on their way. They were more fortunate than the Núḥárnís he met with in Ṭák a little while before, as will be found mentioned farther on.

On a previous occasion, likewise, he pitched his camp in the east part of the Ghaznín territory, when on a forage against the Ghalzí Afgháns, near a large gathering of Mahmands, some of whom followed a nomadic life at that period, and still continue to do so. The Bádsháh was asked for permission to harry them, but, in this instance also, he refused his consent, because he " considered them subjects ; " and it was not advisable to plunder one's own subjects."

The Núḥární or Lúḥární Tribe of Afgháns.

To show that there is plenty of information respecting the descent of these Powandah tribes and sections of tribes, I may mention that, under that name, are

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* Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, in his book, " Hai'át-i-Afghání," correctly describes the word Powandah. He says it means " a *kochí* or nomad people who do not dwell permanently in any one place." He also makes a great distinction between a Powandah and a Saudá-gar, that is, a merchant or trader, and he is quite right.

Edwardes, in another place in his book (" A Year on the Panjab Frontier "), referring to the caravans, says :—" They are conducted by Afghan merchants who are generally called Lohânees [certainly, *if they happen* " *to belong to the Lúḥární tribe*, but not otherwise], but locally in the Dérajat Powinduhs or Povindeahs." Here again he is in error as to " locally ; " for they are known to, and called by that name by, all Pus'htúns or Afgháns whether in or out of the Dera'h-ját.

He goes on to say :—" The derivation of the latter name I do not know, but Lohânee is the common name of " a family of tribes [a very numerous tribe containing about 40,000 families] enumerated by Mr. Elphinstone " as the Dowlutkheyl (of Tâk), the Esaukheyl, the Murwuts, the Khyssores (inhabitants of an insignificant " range south of Esaukheyl), the Meankheyl (of Drábund), the Babhurs [this is how he spells Bábaṛs] of " Choudwan, and Stooraunees [he means Úsh-tarárnís] of the hills west of Dera Futteh Khan."

Here he has fallen into great errors : the Úsh-tarárnís belong to the Sheráni tribe, and the Khassúr tribe are not " Lohânees." *See* pages 326 and 341.

He continues :—" It will be seen, therefore, that Lohânee is not a name applicable to the Kharotees or the " Nâssurs [no ; no more than it is applicable to ' Stooraunees ' or to ' Khyssores ' or Babhurs, for the Bábaṛs " are a section of the Sheránís], so I prefer calling them Powinduhs, a name which they all acknowledge." *See* note *, page 345.

† It was not in the possession of the Ghalzís at the period in question, but belonged to the Ming or Hazárah of Barlúk, and was known as Kalát-i-Barlúk.

included the great tribe of Núḥární; and I shall now proceed to give a brief account of them, leaving the details for my history of the Afghán people.

The Núḥární Afgháns, when these surveys were made, were computed to number near upon 12,000 families, exclusive of the Ṭák or Daulat Khel, the Tataurs, and Mayah Khel branches, who dwelt north of the Koh-i-Sulímán, from the town of Ḍrá-bhan westwards, on the banks of the Gumul, after the manner of *iláts* or nomads.

The Núḥární tribe is one of the branches or divisions of the Lodís, descended from Bíbí Mato, the only daughter of Baiṭ or Baiṭnaey, son of Ḳais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd, who devoted himself to a life of religion, attained the odour of sanctity, and is hence known as Shaikh Baiṭ. Bíbí Mato's clandestine connection with her husband, a cadet of the family of the then petty chiefs of Ghúr, who were Shansabání Tájzíks,* named Sháh Ḥusain—not that he was a sovereign prince, as some have strangely imagined because Sháh forms part of his name†—has been previously alluded to, and will be more fully noticed when I give an account of the Ghalzí tribe.

Soon after she was lawfully married to Sháh Ḥusain, she gave birth to a son, who, not having been begotten in wedlock, was styled the Ghal-zo-e or Illicit Son. In due time she gave birth to another, who was named Ibráhím, who, having been lawfully begotten, took precedence over the other sons of his father, although he was the last born. Sarwárnaey, the third son of his father by the daughter of the *daur* or bard, Kágh, as will be subsequently related, was born before him, but his grandfather declared respecting him, "Ibráhím lo-e daey," which means, in Pus'hto, "Ibráhím "is the greatest, or superior," meaning that he was so from his birth, as the lawfully begotten son of his daughter, and after this he was usually known as Lo-e-daey. These two words, in the shortened plural form, subsequently, were applied to distinguish his descendants from those of his brothers.‡

Ibráhím, surnamed Lo-e-daey, had three sons, Níázaey, Ḍoṭárnaey, and Síárnaey. The two former were the progenitors of the tribes called after their names. Síárnaey had two sons, one, Prangaey, the eldest, was the progenitor of the Prangí tribe, which contains a number of branches, and from Malik Sháhú,§ his great grandson, Sulṭán Bahlúl, the first Paṭán or Afghán sovereign of Dihlí, was descended. The other son of Síárnaey was named Ismá'íl, who had three sons, Mahpál, the progenitor of that, at present, little known section of the Lodís; ‖ Súr, from whom Sulṭán Sher Sháh, the founder of the second and only other Paṭán or Afghán dynasty of Hind, was descended; and third, Núḥárnaey or Núḥ (Noah),¶ the progenitor of the Núḥární tribe.

It will thus be perceived, that, although the Níázís, and Ḍoṭárnís, as well as the other descendants of Síárnaey, namely, the Prangís, Mahpáls, Súrs, and Núḥárnís, are all Lodís, none except the descendants of Núḥ or Núḥárnaey can possibly be Núḥárnís.**

After the Níázís, Ḍoṭárnís, and Núḥárnís grew so numerous that they had to separate from the parent stock, and became, with the exception of the Ḍoṭárnís, numerous and powerful tribes, the descendants of Prangí, Mahpál, and Súr, were known under the general name of Lodís. They have almost disappeared from the Afghánistán, the greater number having taken service in Hindústán during the reigns

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* For a complete account of the Shansabání Tájzíks of *Ghúr* see my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 300. No other writer gives such a detailed account of them as the author of that work, who was brought up in the family of a Princess of that house.

† Just the same as the word "Sulṭán" prefixed, and affixed at times, to Turk and Mughal names, without the persons so named being sovereigns. The Khalífahs sometimes conferred the title on their slaves.

‡ The whole of the descendants of Bíbí Mato, and likewise the descendants of her husband's other wife, are styled, *after her*, by the general name of Matís, because her husband was a foreigner and a Tájzík, such being the custom of the Pus'htánahs.

§ A Malik Sháhú is said to have been contemporary with Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghaznín; and there is a tradition that Maḥmúd gave him a sister in marriage, by whom he had a son, the Sálár, Masúd, the Prince of Martyrs, who was buried at Bharáij. *See* also Elliot's "Historians," Vol. II., pages 513 and 520, for another account of the latter.

‖ Mahpál had a wife named Bíbí, and she being a strong-minded woman, probably, and he a weak-minded man, his descendants are called Bíbí-zís after her. In some instances, however, when a female of high family married to a man of greatly inferior degree, the descendants took the name of their mother to distinguish them.

¶ Like as in the case of some other Semitic words, the "*n*" in Núḥ is sometimes changed for "*l*," thus Lúḥ and Lúḥární.

This last mode of writing the name is comparatively modern. In no historical work, even written in India, before the reign of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír will it be found written otherwise than Núḥární or Núḥání.

** *See* note *, page 345.

of the Afghán Sulṭáns, and in other reigns, and settled in that country; and there, in various parts, they are still to be found.

Núḥárnaey, son of Síárnaey, had six sons, Mamá, Mayah, Tataur, Shaikh (some say Paṭakh),* and Húd (Eber), by one wife, and by another, Marwat. The descendants of Shaikh (or Paṭakh) and Húd appear also to have mostly emigrated to Hindústán, and the few that remained in their native country became so few that they took up their residence among the other descendants of Núḥárnaey.†

Mamá, eldest son of Núḥárnaey, had three sons, Yasín (some say Yúnas), Ḥaidar (according to some, Haidar, some, Khizr), and Ya'ḳúb. The latter's descendants never became numerous, and have no subdivisions. Yasín (or Yúnas), whose descendants are known as the Yasín (or Yúnas) Khel, had two sons, Daulat, the progenitor of the Daulat Khel Powandahs and their kinsmen of Ṭák, which section contains several branches, and Ḥasan, the progenitor of the Ḥasan Khel, which contains no branches.

Ḥaidar (or Haidar), son of Mamá, had four sons, Zako, Búrá, Ibráhím, and Kod, who were the progenitors of as many divisions or Khels; and Ya'ḳúb, son of Mamá, was the progenitor of the Ya'ḳúb Khel.

Mayah, the progenitor of the Mayah Khel Powandahs of Ḍrá-bhan, had two sons, Soṭ and Sín (or Yasín) whose descendants are known respectively as the Soṭ Khel and Sín (or Yasín) Khel. The former contains six, and the latter seven minor sections. The descendants of Ḥasan, Daulat's brother, are called Ḥasan Khel, and contain no subdivisions.

Tataur, son of Núḥárnaey, had two sons, Aso and Músá, the progenitors of two Khels called after their respective names. The descendants of Húd and Shaikh (or Paṭakh) were also called after the names of their fathers. An account of the Marwat division of the Núḥárnís, which perhaps outnumbers all the other Núḥárnís, has been already given. The numbers of the Daulat Khel and Mayah Khel, at the period these surveys were made, have been previously mentioned (page 325). I shall enter into greater detail about them in my history of the Afghán tribes.

The author of these surveys states, that "the Daulat Khel number about 9,000 " families (these are exclusive of the Mayah Khel, the Tataurs, the Ṭáks, and Marwat " Khel), and dwell, after the manner of *íláts* or nomads towards the northern parts of " the range of Mihtar Sulímán, from the town of Ḍrá-bhan on the east, to the boundary " of the Ghaznín province on the west, along and near unto the banks of the Gumul " river. They are entirely independent, and do not obey a single chief; the rule over " them lies with the accord of the tribe [each sub-division having its own

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* These two words in the original are so much alike, and so much depends on the position of the diacritical points, that they are liable to be mistaken; thus شیخ and پتخ; but, in the work so much abused by Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, "the Makhzan-i-Afghání," it is Paṭakh only, and he has copied it faithfully, notwithstanding.

† Like other Afghán tribes and sections of tribes of the easternmost parts of the Afghánistán, the Núḥárnís made a great figure in India, in Bihár, and Bangálah, before, at the time, and after the fall of, the dynasty of Súr, who ruled over the kingdom of Dihlí; and it was only in the reign of Jahán-gír Bádsháh, in 1021 H. (1612 A.D.), that the Afghán power in the extreme east of India finally fell. Khwájah 'Us̤mán, who for a long period reigned in those parts, was of the Mayah Khel; and Daryá Khán, who was one of the great Amírs of Sulṭán Sikandar, Lodí, sovereign of Dihlí, and who subsequently became ruler over Bihár, was a Músá Khel. Bahádur Khán, the Tataur, likewise exercised sovereign power in that part for some time.

Sulímán, the Kaṛlární, who ruled over Gauṛ and Bangálah, and captured the famous idol-temple of Jagannáṭh in Úḍísah (*vul.* Orissa), was succeeded by his youngest son, Dá'úd, who was a second Yúsuf in beauty. He was betrayed by his Wazír, who was also the commander of his forces, on the field of battle near Ghorá-Ghát, having come to an understanding with the Mughals for the purpose. This traitor was Mián Ḳutlú, a Mayah Khel, Núḥární. The upshot was that Dá'úd's forces were defeated, and he was himself wounded, and perished in the disastrous retreat which ensued. Ḳutlú, in return for his treachery, was assigned certain tracts of territory in Bír-bhúm, between Bangálah and Úḍísah; but, for a period of ten years, his friendship for the Mughals was that of the wolf; and having, subsequently, acquired the means, he suddenly and unexpectedly fell upon Ḳiyam Khán, Gang, the then governor of Gauṛ and Bangálah on the part of Akbar Bádsháh, slew him, and overthrew his forces. He exercised sovereignty in these parts for another four years, struggling against the Mughal power, when he was killed by treachery, such as he himself had formerly perpetrated. He left five sons, Khwájah Sulímán, Khwájah 'Us̤mán, Khwájah Walí, Khwájah Mulhí, and Khwájah Ibráhím.

After the death of Mián Ḳutlú, his minister, 'Ísá Khán, another Núḥární of the Mayah Khel, assumed power, and fought against the legions of Akbar Bádsháh up to the time of his death. He was succeeded by Khwájah Sulímán, who gallantly opposed the Mughal forces under the Kuṇwar, Mán Singh, and others, and was at last killed in battle. After him came his younger brother, Khwájah 'Us̤mán, who began to reign about 1001 H. (1592–93 A.D.), and whose capital was Ḍhákah (*vul.* Dacca). He reigned between nineteen and twenty years; sometimes at peace, sometimes at war with the Mughals, his territory gradually diminishing, until, at last, in the reign of Jahán-gír Bádsháh, in 1021 H. (1612 A.D.), in a battle with the Mughals, he was shot in the forehead by a bullet, when victory was within his grasp, and his troops defeated. He was in his forty-second year; and with him the Afghán power in the eastern part of the Indian peninsula fell.

"Malik]. Although their chief wealth consists of numerous herds and flocks, "most of them are engaged in commerce. They bring the horses of Í-rán and "Túrán, and *majítah* [a dye—*rubia manjith* of Roxburgh] into Hindústán, and "take back with them piece goods of the finest and most expensive kinds, as well "as other choice goods, which they dispose of in the markets of Kábul, Ḳandahár, "and other places.

"In the hot season they pitch their tents in the *sard-sír* or cool parts, in the "mountain tracts, and, in the cold season, take up their quarters around about Dṛá-"bhan, which is a *garm-sír* or warm tract of country. This tribe is not liable to "furnish troops to the Bádsháh's army, but have to pay *'ushr* or a tenth. The "chieftainship over them rests entirely with the accord of the tribe; and their towns "and villages, of which there are several, are situated in the territory of the Dámán, "and amongst these Dṛá-bhan is the chief, and that consists of two large villages "[contiguous]. Their cultivation is carried on by means of irrigation from the "Gumul river, which river rises in the mountains, the eastern boundary of the "Ghaznín province, and is expended in the irrigation of the lands west of the Dera'h "of Ismá'íl Khán.* The town of Chauḏh-Wa'án is distant [from Dṛá-bhan] seven "kuroh south, and the Ziárat of Ḥazrat Sulímán is twenty-five kuroh west, the route "leading to which is well known."

The Núhární Powandahs are mentioned by Bábar Bádsháh, and received very unjust treatment at the hands of him and his forces. After his raid upon Kohát and the 'Ísá Khel Níázís, recorded at page 360,† he moved down the Dera'h-ját, and returned to Kábul by the Sakhí Sarwar Pass, and by Tal and Tsotíálí and the Áb-Istádah. After leaving the Bannú and Marwat territory, and entering the district dependent on Ṭák, he fell in with a *ḳáfila'h* of Powandahs. He says:—"This day "that we halted here, the Chápkúnchís [foragers] went out and plundered some more "of the villages, and brought in numbers of sheep and bullocks. They also fell in "with a body of Afghán merchants on the way, who were conveying a deal of white "goods [muslins, calicos, etc.], *ḳand* [sugar], *nabát* [sugar-candy], aromatic drugs, "and horses of Ḳibchák, and brought them in.‡ Khwájah Khiẓr, Núhární, who was "a well known and respectable merchant, who was also a *ra'ís* [chief], was fallen in "with by Mandí [or Medí], the Mughal, who cut off his head, and brought it to me." Nothing more is said about it, but, of course, the *ḳáfila'h* was plundered.

Such is the unprovoked treatment the Afgháns have been in the habit of receiving at the hands of every invader, in this instance from one of the most civilized among them; and yet they are abused, and called savages for following the examples they have received from others.

We hear of the Núhární Powandahs again in the reign of Bábar's grandson, Akbar Bádsháh, under the events of the year 1008 H. (1599–1600 A.D.), when Jalálah, the Táríkí, ended his career. "They were in the habit of coming and going between "Ghaznín and India, and bringing down horses; and, in this year, they were drawn "into an ambush laid for them by the Hazárah people dwelling near by Ghaznín. "When attacked, the Núhárnís made a determined stand, and for a whole week fighting "went on between them. At last, the Núhárnís, being unable to obtain water, were so "worn out, that they were defeated and had to retreat." Where this fight took place, and whither they retired, is, unfortunately, not stated. On this reverse, they sought aid from Jalál-ud-Dín, *alias* Jalálah, son of the heretic, Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* Pír-i-Táríḳ; for the government, so called, does not appear to have been able to protect them; and, in the month of April, with him, and a body of his followers, they entered Ghaznín in the disguise of merchants, and set to to plunder the place. A few of the retainers of Sharíf Khán, the governor, and the people of the place opposed them, but had to retire. Jalálah had obtained possession of a great quantity of plunder, and

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* The old town subsequently swept away by the Indus is referred to here.

The Bozdár Balúch explorer, mentioned farther on, whose account of the Afghán tribes teems with errors, makes the "Loháni, a tribe who live in Katwás," whereas they merely graze their animals for a short time in the summer of each year in Kaṭa'h Wádza'h (*vul.* Katawáz); while *another* of his tribes is "the Loháni or "Mián Khel," whom he makes "live in Shilgar," which they do not; for their dwelling place, when at home, is the Dámán, dependent on the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán. He also makes his "Loháni or Mián Khel" number 6,000 *men*. He makes a separate tribe of "Mathis," as he styles the Muṭhhís, and these, he says, amount to "about 300 *men*, living in Katwás," whereas the "tribe" referred to are a few Muṭhhí and Maṛhel Níázís, who are Powandahs, but whose home is in the district dependent on the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, and who do not exceed more than 200 families. *See* page 496.

† *See* also page 346.

‡ There must have been some among them coming from, and some going to Hindústán, from the description of the goods.

wanted to get it away by stealth to a place of safety, and a week after entering the city, endeavoured to do so. Shádmán, one of the Hazárah chiefs, with a body of his people, fell upon him and his followers, in which the latter were overpowered, and dispersed in all directions. Jalálah, who was severely wounded, endeavoured to reach the Koh-i-Rabáṭ, but an Hazárah, named Murád Beg, and some others, came upon him, and slew him. For a long time past numerous bodies of the Bádsháh's troops had been employed against him; and for several years, Zain Khán, the Kúkah, Akbar Bádsháh's celebrated general, had been endeavouring to suppress him and his party without avail. Jalálah's death was considered a great event; as the disturbances, which, for so long a time, had reigned in Zábulistán, subsequently ceased.

It was the Núḥární Powandahs who supplied the army of the Prince, Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh before Ḳandahár with 4,000 camel loads of grain when his troops were in great want of it. They also rendered great assistance to the army of the Indus in 1839, one of their chief men, Sarwar Khán by name, brought a *ḳáfila'h* of grain from Multán to Ḳandahár for the use of the troops by the Ma'rúf route, noticed farther on; and they are said neither to have lost a camel, nor a load, during the whole journey, while our army lost scores every day and sometimes hundreds "at one fell swoop," notwithstanding baggage guards and rear guards;* and this demonstrates clearly that, in a country like their Afghánistán, there are no people so adapted to the life they follow as they themselves are.

The Níázís.

The Níázís, who are a distinct tribe, and once exceedingly powerful, as related in the previous Section, page 343, and whose descent, as well as that of the Núḥárnís, can be seen at a glance in note *, page 345, include the sub-tribes of Dzám, Bá'í, and Kháko.† As already stated, the remaining Níázís, on the downfall of their power, after the decease of the Á'zam Humáyún, became very much scattered. At the present time only a few of them, some of the Kundí clan, which contains several minor subdivisions, and the Muṭhhís and Maṛhels,‡ are Powandahs; the other Níázís settled in the Dera'h-ját and in Bannú, are cultivators of the soil, and some of them are great breeders of camels.

The Bábaṛs.

The Bábaṛs, who have been previously noticed (page 328), are a sub-tribe of the Sheránís, whose neighbours they are, along with their kinsmen, the Úsh-tarárnís and Bakht-yárs. They are descended from Dom, son of Dzár, son of Sherán or Sheránaey, son of Sharkhabún, one of the two sons of Saṛaey or Saṛa'h-barn, son of Ḳais, entitled 'Abd-ur-Rashíd, the Paṭán. The Bábaṛs are divided into two divisions, called Anjir—but, according to some genealogists, Anjír—and Sanjar, after Bábaṛ's two sons.§ The latter contains five sub-divisions, which again comprise minor branches, but the former have no sub-divisions, and are known as the Anjir or Anjír Khel. The Bábaṛs are much more civilized than are the other tribes in this part.

The Náṣir or Náṣirí Afghán Tribe.

The Náṣirs or Náṣirís,‖ as they are also called, are about the most numerous of the Powandah tribes, and possess no land whatever of their own. Their descent is somewhat doubtful. The Tokhí division of the great tribe of Ghalzí affirm that the Náṣirs *have been* (in ancient times) their *ham-sáyahs*, a word signifying, literally, "under "the same shadow," and meaning here "a denizen."¶

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* I could never find out what people composed the *ḳáfila'h* which those unfortunate camp followers joined at Ḳandahár in May, 1839, in order to return to India by way of the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, and who were so treacherously massacred at Ma'rúf, by the said *ḳáfila'h* people in league with the Bárakzís of that place and neighbourhood, for the sake of the money in their possession.

† The Ḳundí Powandahs, mentioned farther on at page 499, are descended from Kháko.

‡ The Maṛhels are not Sheránís, as MacGregor supposes, but Níázís.

§ The tree of Bábaṛ descent given by MacGregor in his "Central Asia" is altogether incorrect.

‖ The name is not Násar, but Náṣir. The name is 'Arabic, and common among Musalmáns. They are sometimes styled Náṣirís.

¶ Edwardes styles them the "*Nássur* tribe of *Lohânees*," but MacGregor, in his "Central Asia," goes so far as to say, "Although they speak Púkhtú and maintain that they are Afgháns, their appearance is

Afghâns, who from poverty or other cause, have left their own tribe or sub-tribe and joined another, are treated by the latter with more consideration than they would be if they were not Afghâns. Lands are generally assigned to them, but they cannot claim a share; and, yet, in time of war, they have to join the tribe or sub-tribe among whom they dwell, as though they actually belonged to it, but they are not consulted on the internal affairs of the tribe or sub-tribe to which they have thus become attached. This custom is universal among them.

The Náṣirs are said to be descended from Naṣú, the shortened form of Náṣir, son of Mamá-í, son of Tarakaey, son of Saḥák, son of Ibráhím, son of the Ghal-zo-e,* or Illicit Son, the progenitor of the Ghalzí tribe. A feud having arisen, from some cause or other, between the descendants of Náṣir, otherwise Naṣú, and another clan of their own division of Saḥáks, they left them, and went over to the Tokhí division of the tribe, whose *ham-sáyahs* they then became, but, subsequently, separated from them.

All this may be, and probably is, quite correct, or very nearly so, but I believe, taking all the facts known respecting them into consideration, that Náṣir, otherwise Naṣú, was not a *full* son of Mamá-í, son of Tarakaey, but an *adopted* son. Náṣir means an assistant, or a keeper, which is somewhat significant. In their habits and customs the Náṣirs are purely nomadic, while their appearance indicates the foreign descent of their immediate progenitor. They seem, like the Kharoṭí branch of the Ghalzí tribe, and the Dzádzí and Túrí tribes of Upper Bangas'h, to be descended from one of the several Turk tribes, located on the western frontiers of the Ghaznín kingdom towards the Afghánistán, by the Turk feudatories under the Sámánís, and the Turk Sulṭáns of Ghaznín, just like the Muscovites locate their military colonies of Kazzáks on their frontiers, close to those of their neighbours, to be ready, whenever opportunity offers, to appropriate, by some means or other, what they covet.

Among other tribes located in the frontier parts referred to, it must be remembered that the Ghuzz Turks, or Turk-máns, as they are also called, overran these tracts bounding the Afghánistán on the west and north, and held them and Ghaznín for many years. It is not improbable that Mamá-í, son of Tarakí, adopted the son of one of these, who became the progenitor of the Náṣirs. I shall be able to discuss this subject more fully when I come to give an account of the Ghalzí tribe. The descendants of Náṣir, originally, consisted of four divisions, the descendants of as many sons, three of whom were called after their complexions, Spín (Fair), Súr (Ruddy), and Tor (Dark). The fourth was named Mandaey, whose descendants, never numerous, are now almost unknown. The descendants of Spín are the Malízís, those of Súr, the Naṣú Khel, and those of Tor, the 'Umarzís. These again contain minor ramifications. The Náṣirs are "not claimed" by the Kákaṛs, as "Kákars," because the Kákaṛs know better; and the Náṣirs do not claim to be Kákaṛs for the same reason.

These Náṣir or Náṣirí Powandahs have, for some two centuries, been connected with the Ghalzís to my certain knowledge; and they are a section of that tribe, although, as stated above, their first progenitor, Naṣú, may have been an adopted son. The Náṣirs took part with the other Ghalzís in the conquest of Persia, and were, subsequently, incorporated with the Hotakí branch of the tribe, which is considered the chief one, as from it sprang the Ḥájí, Mír Wais, and the Sulṭáns, Maḥmúd, Ashraf, and Ḥusain. As some ill feeling exists between the Hotakí and Tokhí Ghalzís on this account, and some enmity having sprung up between the Tokhís and the Náṣirs, the former speak disparagingly of the latter.

The famous leader of the Ghalzí forces, Sedál Khán, who opposed Nádir on several occasions, during the expulsion of the Ghalzís from Persia, and in subsequent operations in the Ḳandahár territory, was a Náṣir *of this very tribe.*

"different. Some even represent them as sprung from the Biloches." The Náṣirs themselves would scout the idea of such a thing.

I have often wondered what can possibly be the reason that people so persistently endeavour to make out the Afghâns to be what they are not,—at one time they are Hindús, at another Ráj-púts, then they are the Pakhtues of Herodotus, and now "Biloches." It is a very curious fact, but why not apply the Herodotus and Hindú theory to the Balúchís, and Jaṭs, and to scores of other tribes in the Sind-Ságar-Do-ábah, the Dera'h-ját, and in Sind, and Kachchí?

* The correct mode of writing the word son in the Afghán language is, as above, with the Pus'hto letter "*dz*," but the letter "*z*," used alike in 'Arabic and Tájzik, is sometimes used instead of it, and often in the word above referred to, which is written *zo-e*. The plural form of the word is *dzáman* and *záman* respectively. The termination "*zí*," affixed to the names of some tribes and sections of tribes, is derived from a different word.

The Náṣirs being wholly nomadic and pastoral, depend entirely upon the produce of their numerous flocks and herds, and the profits of their trading, for support. They number from 9,000 to 10,000 families, and are the richest of the Powandah tribes.*

The Doṭární Powandahs.

The Doṭárnís are a branch of the Lodís, and are descended from a son, some say he was an adopted son, of Ibráhím, surnamed Lo-e-daey, son of Bíbí Mato by her Shansabání Tájzík husband, consequently, their progenitor and the progenitor of the Níázís were brothers. The remaining brother, Síárnaey, was the grandfather of Núḥ, Súr, and Mahpál, the progenitors of the Núḥárnís, Súrs, and Mahpáls, therefore, they all belong to the Lodí sept of the Afghán nation. The Doṭárnís have always been a small tribe, and at present do not number more than about two hundred families, and consist of two divisions, the Ḥasan Khel and 'Umarzí. The former are again subdivided into two clans, the Sado Khel, and Madaṛ Khel; and the latter into four, the Naṣú Khel, Aḥmad Khel, Ibráhím Khel, and Badín Khel, and these latter are again subdivided into a few smaller ramifications.†

The country or territory of the Doṭárnís is the Dara'h of Wárna'h,‡ which is of considerable elevation, and slopes downwards towards the valley of the Gumul. It lies on the south-west corner of the territory of the Wazírís, and north of the Sheráni district. It is about thirty miles (eighteen kuroh) in length from north to south, and about from ten to fourteen miles in breadth from east to west. A stream, a feeder of the Gumul, runs through it from north towards the south, and unites with the main stream near Koṭ-ka'í, one of the halting places of the Powandah caravans in the Ghwáyí-Lári route, presently to be described. The land in Wárna'h is good, particularly that lying nearest the stream which can be irrigated therefrom. This constitutes about a fourth part of it. It is very sultry in the summer season; and from the torture of vast numbers of mosquitoes there is no rest.

The Doṭárnís reside in the middle part of the dara'h, and there they have a fortified village, which is sometimes called the *kala'* or fort of Wárna'h. About a third of the tribe cultivate the lands around, and the rest follow mercantile pursuits, and deal in some of the richest and most expensive fabrics carried by the Powandahs. The Doṭárnís and Kharoṭís are considered the most enterprising; and their transactions with distant parts is on the increase, as well as their wealth.

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* In one place in his "Central Asia," Part II., MacGregor says that this "*section* of the Povindáh *clan* of "Afgháns," according to Lumsden, "number only 1,850 families; after which he adds that "the Násars are "*the strongest* of the Povindáh *clans*." "Broadfoot," he continues, "says they number 5,000 families, and "Elphinstone 12,000 families;" but, that, "as Broadfoot marched with them, he ought to know best;" and then adds that "they do not trade so much *as the other sections;* their wealth lies in their cattle." These statements are very contradictory.

A few Náṣirs dwell in the Koh-Dáman, in the neighbourhood of Kábul, in the Káh Dara'h, in Ḥájí-gak, and in the Shakar Dara'h, but they are sedentary, not nomadic.

† Respecting this well known branch of the Lodís, a few families of which are located at Kawás, Surgeon-Major O. T. Duke, in his "Report on *Thal*-Chotali," page 89, assures us that "the Dutánís or "*Dástánís* are a small tribe *hitherto almost unknown*." I may mention that they are not known as "*Dástánís*," which is an incorrect way of spelling the name. The Doṭárnís made a considerable figure in Hindústán some three centuries ago; they were well known to Broadfoot fifty years ago; the officers on the Panj-áb frontier have known them well for some thirty years and more; and they were mentioned by Elphinstone seventy years ago. In his work, however, the word he meant for Dautauny, after his mode of writing "*au*" for "*o*" the printer mistook Dautauny for "Dumtauny." *See* Vol. II., page 100.

Here is a specimen of the latest information (1883) respecting this well known tribe, contained in the "Peshín" Gazetteer, published under the authority of the Government of India:—

"In his table of the population of Kowás, Mr. Duke, A. A. G. G., includes 50 families of Dutánís. These are certainly the same as 'Dastánís' (*q. v.*) of Showers. The Dutánís, or *Dáotánís*, are mentioned in MacGregor's Gazetteer as a 'Povindah' tribe, and one of the richest of the class. He notes (on the authority of Carr) that they come from Wána, but nowhere states where that place is. A recent exploration (1880–81) by 'the Bózdár' places a patch of Dutání country on the left bank of the Gumal river, above its junction with the Jhób, and east of the Sulímán Khél Ghilzáis. This appears to be Wána. The same individual states that they number 800 to 1,000 men, and *live about Ghazni!* The new edition of the North-West Frontier Gazetteer will probably contain more exact information about this tribe."

As to their "living about Ghazni," this error was made by the explorer referred to at page 502, note §, who appears to have been a Balúch of the Bozdár tribe, and he, certainly, possessed no knowledge of the Afghán tribes, the Powandahs in particular; for, wherever he found a portion of them *temporarily encamped*, there he *located them as dwelling permanently*. As to his statement that the "Dutáni is a tribe of about 800 or 1,000 "men," is equally as incorrect as that they "live about Ghazni."

It is to be hoped that these "Notes" may appear in time to prevent these and other old errors from being repeated in the new Gazetteer referred to.

‡ It is not called "Waneh" nor "*Wano*," but, inflected, it would be Wárno.

The other parts of the Wárna'h Dara'h are held by the Aḥmadzí Wazírís; and the Zalí Khel section of that clan, who are about the most notorious plunderers among the Wazírís on the Gumul or Ghwáyí-Lári route, always dwell therein, and cultivate a little land. The others resort to it in the summer season, as do likewise a few of the Daulat Khel Powandahs, who, being Núḥárnís, are Lodís like the Ḍotárnís, and some of the Sulímán Khel Ghalzís.

Although so powerful, the Wazírís have not dispossessed the Ḍoṭárnís, whom they appear to hold in considerable respect. Perhaps they have other good reasons for leaving them unmolested.

The Laurní and Parní Powandahs.

A few of the Laurní (*vul.* Lúní and Loonee) and Parní tribes are in the habit of accompanying the Núḥárnís in their movements. The former are a sub-tribe of the Miárnah Sharkhabúns, and the latter are descended from Parnaey, son of Dánaey, son of Ghor-ghas'ht, respecting which two tribes I shall give an account farther on.*

The Bakht-yár Powandahs.

It will be noticed that almost all the branches of the different Afghán tribes who are descended from a Sayyid ancestor adopted by the progenitor of the tribe, follow mercantile pursuits. There is a great advantage in this, not only to themselves, but also to the other Powandahs whom they accompany, because they are looked up to and venerated by other Afgh́áns, even the most lawless, and by other peoples throughout the Afghán State, on account of their Sayyid descent, and consequent sacred character. Their presence adds to the security of the *ḳáfila'hs*, and conduces to the good treatment, or better treatment, at least, of those whom they accompany, whether travelling among Afgh́áns or Balúchís. This is fully shown by Conolly, who undertook his perilous journey from Hirát to India under the protection of one of these Sayyids, and about a dozen other persons, his own kinsmen chiefly. He treated Conolly, during the whole journey, with the greatest possible kindness and consideration, and brought him safely to his journey's end.

The Bakht-yárs are of Sayyid descent, their progenitor being the son of Sayyid Isḥáḳ, who married a Sheráni wife. This Isḥáḳ had a son by his Afghán wife, who was named Abú-Sa'íd, *alias* Ḥabíb, *alias* Bakht-yár, which word signifies "fortunate," "lucky." More respecting them will be found in the account of the Sheráni tribe farther on. They no more come from Persia, and are no more connected with the Bakht-yárís of southern Persia, than the Shinwárí Afgháns come from Shirwán, or the Ghalzí Afgháns descended from "Khulich Turks from the banks of the Jaxartes." The Bakht-yárs now accompany the Mayah Khel Núḥarnís in their migrations.†

The Powandahs of the Ghalzí Tribe of Afgháns.—The Sulímán Khel, Tarakís, and Kharotís.

The remainder of the Powandah portions of tribes and sub-tribes who move eastwards towards the Indus, remaining to be noticed, are the Sulímán Khel, the Kharoṭís,‡ and a few Tarakís, the whole of whom are Afgháns of the Ghalzí tribe; and these are the only Ghalzís who trade in this direction, although this, one of the largest and most numerous of the Afghán tribes, is, for the most part, pastoral and nomadic.

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* Respecting the Laurnís MacGregor, in his "Central Asia," Part I., says the "Lúnís are a tribe of "Patháns," and that "they have the Kákars on the north," etc., and it is actually said that "their language "is *Pashtú* or a corruption of it, mixed up with a few *Baloch* words in it," but whoever thought so could scarcely have understood the Pus'hto, which they speak like *all* Afgháns. The Balúchís have adopted numbers of Pus'hto words, which in Balúch vocabularies pass as Balúchkí.

In Part II. of the work above mentioned, the author, under the head of Lúní, still considers them a Pathán tribe, but adds, "They are of Kákar descent, I believe." What they are is mentioned above.

† *See* page 523.

‡ MacGregor, in Part II. of his "Central Asia," does not account these to be Ghalzís at all; for he says (p. 523), under the head of "Karotís," as he spells Kharoṭís, that they are "a section of the Povindah "Afgháns," which is not a tribal name; and, referring to their country, says, "West they have the Ghilzaes;" yet, afterwards, he appears to be in doubt whether they are Ghalzís or not. In his article on the Ghalzís, there is no mention whatever of "Karoti Povindahs;" and, in another place, he calls them a separate *tribe.* Lumsden, on the other hand, has a "Karoti" clan among the divisions of the Sulímán Khel Ghalzís.

The Sulímán Khel Ghalzís now constitute, as far as numbers are concerned, a very numerous race, more numerous, indeed, than most of the other Afghán tribes, but only a very small portion of the lesser sections of these sub-tribes or clans move towards the Indus—about one eighth of the Kharoṭís, and but a very small portion of the Sulímán Khel and Tarakís. I shall give a more detailed account of the Ghalzí tribe farther on.

The Powandahs of the Dzanḏah-púr Clan.

The Dzanḏah-púrs have been already noticed at page 327. They used to be a great trading clan, and were included among the other Powandahs, but they have now, for the most part, taken to agriculture, and are settled in the Zejzey, that is to say, in the rough tract, as its Pus'hto name indicates, since known as Ruṛhí, a word of the same meaning used in the dialect of the Panj-áb, as previously stated at page 326. They are generally supposed to be a branch of the Úsh-tarární, with Pus'hto ڼ rn, which termination, namely, "ární," occurs in the name of Kaṛlární, Mashwární, and some other tribes.* There are, however, very conflicting accounts respecting the tribe of Afgháns from which the Dzanḏah-púrs have sprung, which subject I shall return to in another place. A few of the clan still follow mercantile pursuits.

Other Trading Tribes of Afgháns.

There are other trading tribes among the Afgháns; indeed, nearly all Afgháns evince a great keenness for trading.† For example, the Bábí tribe of that people,

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* This termination is contained in the names of a number of Afghán tribes, as in the above names, and in Núḥární, Ḍotární, and others. The termination *árn* occurs in the name of Jzadrárn; and the Pus'hto letter rn is contained in Saṛa'h-barn, Laurní, Parní, Tárarn (not Tarín), and several others: indeed, it appears that wherever an "*n*" is contained in the last syllable of an Afghán proper name, especially in the names of tribes, it is this peculiar Pus'hto letter "*rn*," which is a sound formed by the combined pronunciation of a nasal "*n*," and the broad Pus'hto "*r*" ڑ, which combined sound is very different, it must be remembered, from the nasal "*n*" of the Hindí. This is one of the peculiar Pus'hto letters which English officers and others, unless they possess a practical knowledge of the Pus'hto, and of Oriental languages generally, almost invariably fail to realize the sound of. There may be some illiterate Afgháns who use simple "*n*" instead, particularly those of Bannú and the Dera'h-ját, but very seldom; and such persons are not those on whom we should implicitly depend for the rules of pronunciation of Pus'hto any more than we should depend on a Balúch or Hindú for it.

In Section First of these "Notes," page 7, note *, I remarked, with respect to the name of the tribe of Parní, (written پڼړي in the original), that "persons, *i.e.*, Europeans, who are unable to pronounce the peculiar "Pus'hto "*rn*" pronounce the name *Punnee*." This remark appears to have greatly ruffled the late Assistant to the Political Agent in "*Biluchistan*," Surgeon-Major O. T. Duke; for at page 118 of his "Report on *Thal*-"Chotiali" I find, that, after extracting largely from these "Notes," and writing the name *Panni*, he adds that "Parní is Raverty's pedantic way of writing a word, which he admits is commonly written Panni." I said "*Punnee*," but Mr. Duke omits to add the remainder of my remark, namely, "*by persons* (not natives of this part) *who are unable to pronounce it properly*." On this I cannot help remarking that great advantage would be derived if officials in the position lately held by Mr. Duke were to qualify themselves in the Persian and Pus'hto languages, in the latter particularly, a proper knowledge of which is as much required by officers holding civil appointments in this part of Afghánistán, as by those serving on the Panj-áb frontier, or even more so, to enable them to dispense with Hindú and Balúch interpreters and other subordinates, whom the Afgháns detest, and by whom they will not willingly be controlled. The mischief caused by Hindústání petty officials during our first occupation of the Afghán State was incalculable, and I *could* say a good deal on this subject in support of my statement.

With a knowledge of Pus'hto, persons in the position of Mr. Duke will be able to realize not only the sound of "*rn*," but of many other letters, as well as of words and meanings, in the language, and amongst the last, that there is no "*Thal*" in the place he refers to under that name, which is a Hindí word for *a flat, waterless, sandy, desert plain*, which "*Tal*" or *Tala'h* is not.

Captain E. P. Leach, R. E., who was on special duty with the Pes'háwar Column, Afghán Field Force, in his Report, dated 22nd August, 1879, indirectly confirms what I have said above. Respecting his communications with the Shinwárí Maliks he says:—"During this time the Sapper subadar, Hyder Khan, had been of "the greatest use to me, and his knowledge of the people and their language had on several occasions helped "me most materially. *I found, however, that my own want of knowledge of Persian was a great drawback.* "[only educated Afgháns, except in rare instances in those parts, speak anything but Pus'hto]. *The maliks* "*were especially suspicious, and although they could have conversed freely with me in that language, they* "*objected to be interrogated through an interpreter. I found the same to be the case with Yar Mahomed* "*Khan.* [The Shinwárí Chief, Yár Muḥammad Khán, is referred to.]"

This same objection exists all over the Afghán country.

† As an instance of this keenness for trading, I may mention that I once had a Tokhí Ghalzí Maulawí with me in this country for three years. During all this time he did not spend more than a few shillings a month out of his salary; and I supposed he intended to have the money remitted to Bombay for him. About six months before his time was up, however, I found out how he intended to dispose of it: he was going to lay

whose commercial pursuits keep them more to Kandahár and Kalát-i-Nichárah, or Kalát-i-Balúch, and the western parts of the Afghán State.* The Bábí tribe, which contains four divisions or clans, are descended from Bábaey, son of Ghor-ghas'ht; and Mando, the progenitor of the Mando Khel tribe, or Mando Khels, as they are chiefly styled, was his brother. Dánaey, the progenitor of the Kákaṛs, Nághars, Dáwís, and Parnís, was another brother, and the elder of the three. The other two brothers did not become the progenitors of large tribes like as Dánaey did, one of whose offshoots alone is one of the most numerous among the Afghán people.

The Nawwáb of Júnah-gaṛh in Káṭhía-wáṛ, in the Bombay Presidency, of recent massacre fame, is a Bábí Afghán by descent.

Another of the tribes extensively engaged in commerce is the Tarín, consisting of two divisions or sub-tribes known as Tor and Spín, their progenitors, two sons of Tarín, being so called from their complexions,† one being dark (*tor*), and the other fair (*spín*). The Spín Taríns are chiefly engaged in the trade between Kandahár and Upper Sind, and in the occupation of carriers. Several of them dwell at Shikár-púr with their families. These, of course, do not come under the designation of Powandahs or Kochís, although they are both "traders" and "carriers," because they have a fixed residence, and do not take their families and household goods along with them, and move about from one grazing ground to another in search of pasturage for their flocks and cattle, as the Powandahs do, and as that name and the term Kochí indicate.‡

There are two septs of Sayyids contained among the Tarín tribe, who are extensively engaged in commerce. Arthur Conolly, as just before stated, accompanied some of them in his perilous journey overland to India through the western parts of the Afghán State in 1829–30. One of these two septs is known as the Karbalá, from their progenitor, a reputed Sayyid foundling, so named by his protector, after the name of the famous Shí'a'h shrine, where is the tomb of Hasan, son of the Khalífah, 'Alí, but it does not by any means follow that either they or the Taríns are "heretics" in consequence, as some have assumed. The other is the sept of Sayyid Jamál. These two Sayyids, of whom more anon, were adopted by Hárún (Aaron), son of Mamlún, son of Tor, son of Tarín, and their descendants are known by the general name of Sayyid-zí. They settled in Púshang, where they still dwell in some villages of their own, and having, like other Sayyids, married Afghán wives, their descendants are accounted Afgháns by others of that nation.§

The Taríns, Tor and Spín, contain each four divisions, and these again are sub-divided into still smaller sections, but the division of which Hárún was the progenitor,

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out the money in a mercantile venture. One great desire of his was, to obtain a small machine for making mould-candles, because, as he said, a vast deal of mutton fat was thrown away at home which might be made into candles; whereas, in the long winter evenings, they had, very often, to sit in the dark. He succeeded in obtaining a small machine for making about twelve or eighteen candles at a time, and learnt how to manage it; and he came to me in great glee for the money to pay for it. Some of his money was laid out in a little glass and crockery; and he had a great liking for table napkins and finger glasses, but not for soap. I also obtained for him a large bottle containing one pound or more of the sulphate of quinine, which he expected would yield, in time of severe sickness, a profit of over five hundred per cent. But nine tenths at least of his money was invested in French merinos of the gayest colours, which I obtained for him at a wholesale house, to the amount of over one hundred pounds.

All these things were carefully packed in tin-lined cases, and despatched by way of the Cape of Good Hope —it was before the Suez Canal was opened—so as to reach Bombay by the time he expected to return thither by the overland route through Egypt, and be present to take charge of them. I shortly after heard from him that all had arrived safe, and that he expected to make a good profit by his merinos; but the result of the candle manufacture, which he expected to make his fortune by, and the upshot of the sales, I never heard. His letters suddenly ceased, and I think he must have died soon after his return home, or I should certainly have heard from him.

* I say "the Afghán State," because only a small portion of it lies in the Afghánistán; and the word "Afghánistán" applied to it generally is a misnomer in consequence.

† The colour of tents has nothing to do with these names. There are sections of other Afghán tribes likewise, so called because these by-names were, for the same reason, applied to their progenitors; the Náṣirs are a case in point. *See* page 490.

‡ I do not, of course, include under this head any tribes or sections of tribes who carry on local trading, such for example as the Maṛhel section of the Níázís, dwelling to the westward of the Sheránís, who bring down the produce of their district into the Dera'h-ját, or of the Ḍoṭárnis, and some others who carry salt for sale within the Afghán State. *See* also page 484.

The Bábís, Taríns, and Sayyids of Púshang used to carry on an extensive trade between Suní-Miání (*vul.* Sonmeanee) and Kalát-i-Nichárah, or Kalát-i-Balúch, as it is now called, by way of Belah, Wadd, and Bágh-bánán. Masson also states that large *káfila'hs* are (or were) constantly in the habit of travelling by that road, and it seems to be a better one than through Sind and Kachchhí.

Another route, of forty camel marches, leads along the western frontier of Sind by Jal, and then by the bed of the Muloh river to Kalát-i-Nichárah by Bágh on the Nárí and the Bolán Dara'h.

§ *See* also the descent of the Kaṛlárnis, page 384.

and to which the Sayyid septs belong, contains the most numerous ramifications. I shall give some account of the Tarín tribe in another place.

After this digression respecting the Afghán tribes which are engaged in commercial pursuits I must return to the Powandahs or Kochís, and give a brief account of their numbers and movements.*

In countries, especially very mountainous ones, unprovided with roads, and unsuited to wheeled carriages,† even if the people possessed any, and having no means of transport by river navigation, commerce must be carried on, as from the earliest times, by means of beasts of burden, and as it was in the three western counties of England even as late as some sixty or seventy years ago. In Eastern countries, especially in the southern half, or most civilized part of the Asiatic continent, as well as in northern Africa, from the earliest records of time, camels have been chiefly used for this purpose;‡ and, upon the whole, these useful, but unamiable, animals have been found to be the best adapted for the purpose, as they are easily fed, and can go great distances, and for many hours, without water. Consequently, certain Afghán tribes, and portions of tribes, especially those dwelling in their old seats bordering on the valley of the Indus, whose lands enable them to rear and keep camels, and are fit for very little else, and there being no other animals procurable capable of carrying burdens—bullocks, horses, ponies, mules, and asses there are, certainly, but not obtainable in sufficient numbers, and, if obtainable much more costly to feed—have, for centuries past, turned their attention to the breeding of camels and to commerce, and in the carriage to and fro of merchandise, and the products of the countries of Central and Western Asia and of India. Certain it is, if we consider the state of their country and its tribes for the last four hundred years or more, and the difficulties of the routes and the rigour of its climate, no other people would have been able to pass through it so easily as themselves. I do not refer to the routes to the north and to the south of their country, as previously described, but to the routes I am now about to describe leading right through it. But, even by those upper and lower routes, some of which were liable to be infested by plunderers from among their own and other people, they were, in the absence of an organized military force, better adapted to cope with them if attacked, and perhaps they were not so liable to be assailed by their own people, if no feud existed between them, as strangers would certainly be.§ In many cases, however, these journeys were not very easily accomplished, especially if they had to force their way through parts inhabited by hostile tribes, just in the same manner as they have to guard against the hostility of the Wazírís at the present time. From the time of the first Afghán Sultáns of the Dihlí kingdom,‖ vast numbers of Afgháns settled in India—indeed, several persons from among one tribe of these very Powandahs ruled as independent sovereigns in Bangálah for a considerable time¶—and they probably created, as it were, a trade between their own country and parts further west, and the different parts of India, or at least added greatly to the trade previously existing.

Some Afgháns who possess capital carry their own merchandise, and accompany their camels, and buy and sell for themselves. Others again, who do not possess capital, hire out their camels to those who have means, or to merchants who do not belong to their own tribes, who require camels, and who either accompany their own merchandise or send their agents with it. In such cases, many of the camel owners—for all do not "drive camels," as Mr. Bellew assures us—and their servants accompany these merchants, or their trustworthy agents and servants only, and take charge of

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* It may not be out of place to mention here that the Fársí-wáns of Kábul and Hirát, and some of the Kandáharís, as well as the Afgháns, evince a like keenness for trade. Some of these are among the most persevering and enterprising merchants of Central Asia; indeed many of them even extend their trading beyond Í-rán into Turkey and Russia on one side, and into Turkistán, and even as far as Tibbat and China on the other.

† When the Chingiz Khán, after the capture of the fortress of Naṣír Koh of Ṭál-ḳán, his son, Túlí, having previously captured and destroyed Marw, Níshápúr, and Hirát, set out from his camp at the Pushtah-i-Nu'mán, towards Ghaznín, he had to leave behind him there his baggage and heavy materials, and his treasures, because it was found impossible for wheeled carriages, of which the Mughal host possessed many thousands, to be taken into the defiles and passes leading southwards and eastwards into the present Afghán State.

‡ In Tibbat, sheep have been used for centuries past. In the time of the Chingiz Khán, before he poured his hosts of infidels upon the countries of the Khwárazm Sháh, Tází merchants used to penetrate into the heart of the Mughalistán; and some were in his camp before the capital of the Altún Khán of Ṭamgháj. *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 974.

§ They continually attacked the convoys of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghaznín, especially those returning laden with the spoils of India, and were punished by his troops accordingly.

‖ Sulṭán Bahlúl, the Sháhú Khel Lodí, was the first Paṭán or Afghán who ruled in India.

¶ *See* note †, page 487.

the camels so hired. Hence it is that these tribes have to move about according to the season in quest of forage for their herds of camels, their flocks of sheep, and other animals, which supply most of their wants, and likewise in search of a pleasant climate for themselves; and, consequently, they are known as Kochís, Powandahs, and *Íláts*. The latter word, as before mentioned, is Turkish; and when we consider that all the parts around and encircling their Afghánistán were subject to Turkish dynasties and Turk rulers for some eight centuries or môre, and that some of the Afghán tribes likewise have been more or less subject to them, and numbers in their service, the application of this Turkish word to the nomad Afgháns, as well as to Turks and others, *ulús* to other tribes, and *toman** to districts, by a descendant of Amír Tímúr, is not a matter for surprise, nor so astonishing as to cause people, ignorant of the past history of these parts, immediately to rush to the conclusion that the Afgháns must be a Turkish race in consequence.†

In the course of years, and the vicissitudes of time, in consequence of feuds having arisen between them and some of the tribes or clans through whose territory these Powandahs, Kochís, or *Íláts* had to pass in their migrations, some of them, when a favourable opportunity has arisen, and they have been able to obtain lands, have taken to agriculture, and, for the most part, have abandoned their previous nomadic life, as I shall presently show.

But there are other causes which oft-times induce, or even oblige, pastoral tribes to abandon a pastoral for an agricultural life, such as the encroachments of more powerful neighbours from without, and consequent reduction of their grazing localities. Increasing numbers, numerous flocks, and consequent insufficiency of land to afford them a subsistence, caused those movements, at different periods, among some of the Afghán tribes, which so interferes with the arrangements of the Herodotus theorists.‡

On account of the lawless state, of late years, of the tribes through whose territories these Powandahs are under the necessity of traversing in their migrations, through the former being totally independent, and acknowledging the authority of no ruler, such as the Wazírís, Sheránís, Marwats, and others, especially the Wazírís—the Marwats have been better behaved under British rule—the Powandahs have had to make their migrations in force, and to combine for mutual support. For this purpose the people of the different *kalaeys* and *gira'ís*, or larger and lesser camps of the different clans and minor sections of tribes, numbering from 5,000 to 10,000 people, and sometimes more, having assembled, a Khán, Tsalwes'htí, or supreme head, whom all agree implicitly to obey, is chosen, and the march is commenced. They proceed with the caution of a military body in an enemy's country, move by regular marches,

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* *Toman*, which is said to be a Turkish word, means a *kaṣbah* or market town having one hundred villages depending on it (for administrative purposes). *Toman-dár* means, literally, the holder or possessor of a *toman*. This word, strange to say, does not appear in our Dictionaries, but is contained in that excellent work, of undoubted authority, the Burhán-i-Ḳá-ti'.

MacGregor says, "Bilóchis are divided into tribes or *túmans* each under a chief or *túman-dar*. The tribes "are divided into clans or *paras* [*párah* is the Persian for a piece, portion, fragment], each clan having its "own headman or *Mokudam*," meaning, probably, *muḳaddam*, a word in common use in India, but 'Arabic.

According to Pottinger, on the other hand, "an assemblage of *ghedans* or tents of black felt or coarse "blanket, stretched over a frame of wicker work, constitutes a *tuman* or village, and the inhabitants of it a "*kheil* or society, of which, from the nature of their formation, there may be an unlimited number in one "tribe," etc., etc.

Edwardes, in his "Year on the Panjab Frontier," says, that "the Gundapur *landholders* are called *Toomuns*, "in contradistinction to their Jut and Pathán cultivators who are called *moozarahs*;" and, in another place, he says, that "one of the Gundapur *toomuns* was at *his* noonday prayers."

Here we have good specimens of the misapplication of words by persons unacquainted with their real meanings. It would be almost worth while to pay a special visit to Kúláṇchí to see a Gundapur *toman* at *its* noon-day prayers. Muzári', not "*moozarah*," is the 'Arabic for a husbandman.

The word *tuman*, which signifies "a brotherhood," "a collection," "a body," "a crowd," "a troop," and the like, and *tuman-dár*, the head or chief man of a *tuman* or brotherhood, is the word used in conversation, which may be applied to any headman of a tribe or clan, without its being particularly applicable to an Afghán, or a Balúch, or a Turk.

Our Dictionaries make but little difference between *tuman* and *tomán*, which former word is, without doubt, Persian, and means "a myriad, ten thousand; a sum of money; and also districts into which a State is divided, "each of which is supposed to be able to furnish 10,000 men capable of bearing arms." This former word is not contained in the Burhán-i-Ḳá-ti', and its meaning bears very little similarity to *tomán*, which is evidently Turkish, and is used by Bábar Bádshah for a district.

† The Turkish word *íl* signifies friend, agreeing, conforming, tame, obedient, domestic, the contrary of wild, savage, rude. It also means a body of people, and a small caravan of people or travellers, and the division of a tribe; while *úlús* or *úlus* signifies a tribe. The word is chiefly applied to nomads.

‡ And also of those who suppose that all "Pathans" went to "Kaisa," or dwelt "at Kaisa," which they suppose to be "a very curious fact." *See* page 467.

with advance and rear guards, occupy positions favourable for defence, and post pickets and sentries round their camps. They have to be constantly on the alert for their foes; for their most numerous and most implacable ones, the Wazírí Karlárnís especially, are always on the look out to harass them. Stragglers are cut off, cattle carried away, both on the line of march, where favourable spots occur, and also from their encampments in the night time. Indeed, skirmishes are of daily occurrence, and sometimes a pitched encounter takes place between them; and this sort of "non-official" warfare has been going on for more than a century past. The families of the Powandahs are a great impediment, of course, as it makes the march more difficult, increases the length of the column, and takes a greater number of men to guard it.

Vigne says in his book, "Ghuzni, Kabul," etc. (page 65), that, even while he was at Drá-bhan in the Dámán, in the camp of the Núhárnís or Lúhárnís, before the homeward march was commenced, the mountaineers were constantly worrying them, prowling round the camps at night, and cutting off the water, and such like hostile acts.

Notwithstanding these difficulties and drawbacks, there could scarcely be found a race of people better adapted to surmount the labours and hardships which they have to encounter in such a difficult and mountainous country as the Afghánistán, and adjacent tracts. Yet, with all this, their energies have overcome all difficulties; and they are ready to force their way to and fro if necessary. They also have a name for veracity, and for being honest in their transactions. Their profits are, no doubt, considerable, and their perseverance deserves its reward. These Powandahs, in consequence, are increasing in numbers yearly; and, lately, besides some of the Sulímán Khel Ghalzís, some of the Aká Khel have also turned Powandahs.

The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, when about to proceed to Kábul on one occasion, wished to accompany the Powandahs, but he happened to be too late for them; they had gone, and he was under the necessity of taking another route, an account of which will be given farther on. He furnishes a brief account of them; and, as it refers to the state of affairs just a century since, I will here narrate it. He says:—"It is "customary with the Núḥání,* Dzandah-púr, Marwat, and other Afghán tribes, who "are extensively engaged in trade, to take merchandise, such as piece goods, from "Hindústán, into the territories of Kandahár, Kábul, and other parts, and exchange "them for horses, which they take into Hindústán and sell at high prices [he refers "to one portion only of the trade]. During the autumn, therefore, of each year, "these people march from [the neighbourhood of] Kábul, Ghaznín, and other parts, "along with their families and belongings, by way of the Ghwáyí-Lárey† Dara'h; "and, on issuing from the mountains of Sulímán, pitch their tents, and take up their "quarters, in the Dera'h-ját, about Drá-bhan, and in the district of Awán Kárah [the "Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, at this period, especially the western parts, were in the posses- "sion of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, the Durrání Bádsháh]. The Powandahs pass the "remainder of the autumn and the winter there; and, during this time, those among "them who are traders proceed into different parts of Hindústán with their ventures, "and, having disposed of them, purchase what they require in the shape of goods for "barter to take back with them. They then assemble again in great numbers, and "commence their homeward journey, and proceed, as in coming, by the Ghwáyí-Lári "Dara'h, or by the Zá-o Dara'h, while some go by the Gumul Dara'h [*i.e.*, begin "their journey by the Gumul Pass], and endeavour to reach Kábul and other places "by the second month of summer.

"Each Khel is called a *kalaey*, literally, a village, but here means a community "sufficient to constitute a village.‡ In the dara'hs through which the Powandahs have "to march, dwell other Afgháns, such as the Sheránís, Marwats, Wazírís, and others, "who are great robbers; and, on this account, the different *kalaeys* unite together for "mutual protection, and march in company, otherwise they would not be able to "proceed to and fro on their journeys. Four or five hundred horsemen can manage

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* He too writes the word Núḥání, not Lúḥání. He was not connected with the Afgháns in any way; he was a foreigner, so to say. *See* note ¶, page 486.

† Like other feminine nouns of the same class, *lár*, "a road," etc., in the oblique cases, may take either *kasra'h*, namely "*i*," or *yá-i-maj-húl*—"*ey*." The former termination is the most general, but both *lári* and *lárey* are correct.

‡ Kalaey, in Pus'hto, signifies a village or hamlet, or a body of people of the same clan or family dwelling together in a certain place. Here the word means, among the Powandahs, a certain number of families or people who have been used to camp together. For the meaning of *gira'i* see page 325, note *.

" to get along, but two hundred would be unable to do so. Upon some occasions as " many as 15,000 bandúkchís [men armed with fire-arms] have assembled for the " journey."

I must now relate how the Powandahs come and go at the present time. They convey or bring merchandise, the produce of Khurásán and other parts of Í-rán, Bukhárá, Samr-ḳand, Khwárazm, and Badakhshán, also the products of Hirát, Kábul, Ghaznín, Ḳandahár, and other parts of the Afghán State, into Hind, and dispose of them often at high prices. These imports consist of carpets and furs of different sorts and descriptions, silks manufactured and raw, nankins, velvets from Bukhárá, *postins* of sheep-skin, *pashmína'h*, *baraka'h*, and other woollen manufactures, consisting of cloaks (choga'hs), *paṭús*, socks, gloves, *lungís*, druggets, and *namads; pashmína'h* wool; embroidered skull-caps; Russia leather, and saddlery; drugs, and dyes, such as manna (shír-khisht), assafœtida, safflower ('uṣfúr), salep miṣrí (*orchis mascula*), saffron, cochineal, antimony, rose flowers, violet flowers, madder, rhubarb, cummin seed, quince seed, sarsaparilla, liquorice, tobacco, etc.; fruits, chiefly dried, consisting of figs, currants, raisins, pistachio nuts, almonds, melons, pomegranates, grapes in boxes packed in cotton, other grapes, apples, pears, apricots, apricot kernels, *alú-bukhárá* (kind of plum), *chalghoza'h* nuts, and some other kinds. The animals brought with them consist of a great number of horses, ponies, cats, dogs, sheep, goats, and camels; and they likewise bring some birds, including goldfinches, turtle doves, and a few others. Besides all these they bring Russian gold coins, Venetian ducats, which are strung as ornaments by the women, *kalábattún* (gold and silver thread), jade, turquoise, and a few other precious things.

During the autumn, therefore, when the snow just begins to appear upon the summits of the great ranges of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, and other lofty mountains around them, these nomad people begin to assemble from different parts, from their grazing grounds in the neighbourhood of Ghaznín, Kalát-i-Ghalzí, Kábul, and other localities, and wend their way to Kandzúr, near the banks of the Gumul, before its junction with the river of the Jzoba'h, west of the eastern chain of Mihtar Sulímán, and three stages from the Ghwáyí-Lári Ghás'haey or Pass, which is the place of muster, before they attempt to penetrate the passes in the chain just mentioned. They all move at a fixed time, and in regular order, some tribes, and some clans or sections of the same tribe, preceding others. Having assembled, and their preparations having been made, they take their families and worldly goods along with them, march eastward, and enter the valley of the Indus by the Ghwáyí-Lári, Zá-o, or Naraey Tarkaey, and Gumul Darahs. On issuing from the different passes they pitch their black hair tents in various parts of the Dámán and other tracts in the Dera'h-ját, and in the Awán-Kárah.

The first to arrive in the Dera'h-ját are the Náṣirs, numbering from 2,000 to 2,500 families or tents, equal to from 10,000 to 12,500 souls,* with all their belongings. As previously remarked, they are one, if not the wealthiest, of the Powandah tribes; and they come in four divisions, following in regular rotation. The first to come are those with the herds of cattle, who are, in consequence, styled the Ghwáyí-wál, who have to traverse the Ghwáyí-Lári or Bullock Road; and, after clearing it, they turn off southwards, before entering the Dera'h-ját, between the ranges of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, and the Koh-i-Surkh, skirting the mountains of the Sheránís and the Dámán, towards Zaṛkaní, at which point they emerge upon the open country in British territory. Next come those with the flocks, of which the Náṣirs possess vast numbers, and these are called the Mejz-wál or Gosfand-wál. They have to turn southwards from Kandzúr,† and come down by the Zá-o or Naraey Tarkaey Dara'h and Ghás'haey.‡ After them come those with the laden camels, first those whose individual merchandise is not very considerable; and, lastly, the more wealthy of the tribe follow with their loads. These two last divisions have to come by the Ghwáyí-Lári also, but, instead of turning off towards Zaṛkaní, they keep their easterly course, and enter the Derah-ját by the Gumul or Ṭák Pass.

The reason why these different divisions use these different routes will be explained when I come to describe their return march. Having entered the British territory,

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* Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, computes them at 5,000 men with 16,000 camels. At the usual computation of one able-bodied man to a family, this would represent about 25,000 souls, which I believe to be far too great.

† This halting place is also known by the name of Shahr-i-Chapah, being, according to tradition, the place where a large city of that name once stood. The Afghán name for it is mentioned farther on.

‡ Described farther on in the Ninety-third Route.

they pitch their camps at their usual *gira'í* or stations which they have been used to occupy; some towards the hills of the Sheránís on our extreme western frontier, and some in the south-eastern part of the district of Dera'h-i-Ismá'íl Khán, near the villages of Drangrah, Trimún, and Kahírí,* near the ferries over the Indus called after the latter place. After they have arranged their camps, a proportion proceed onwards with the merchandise, and some of these go on to Calcutta and Bombay.

The Náṣirs are followed by some of the Kharoṭí Ghalzís,† numbering about 700 or 800 families or tents, equal to about 3,000 or 3,500 souls, accompanied by some 6,000 or 6,500 camels. These enter British territory by the Ghwáyí Lári Ghás'haey, and pitch their black blanket tents, some in the Ṭák district, for which they have to pay a grazing tax to the Nawwáb, and others in the north-east part of the district of Dera'h-i-Ismá'íl Khán, near the villages of That-Thal, Mandrey,‡ Pahár-púr, and Pund-yála'h, near the Indus. Some of them, about half their number, proceed into Hindústán to dispose of their goods; while others of those who remain behind hire out some of their surplus camels to those who may require them.

These Ghalzís are followed by the comparatively few Sulímán Khel Ghalzís,§ who move towards the Indus for trading purposes. These are known by the nick-name of Sar pre-kaṛí, or "head-severed," which probably means that they have been black-balled by the other Powandah Ghalzís, or prefer being independent of others. They number not more than about 200 families, or between from 800 to 1,000 souls, not a tenth of the number of the Sulímán Khel clan of the Ghalzí tribe; consequently, to state that the Sulímán Khel are "Provindiahs," is a very misleading statement.‖ These Sar pre-kaṛí Sulímán Khel Ghalzís encamp, a few families together, in different parts of the district dependent on the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán.

After these the Doṭární Lodís, whose home is in the Dara'h of Wárna'h, appear upon the scene. These, likewise, do not number more than from 200 to 250 families, or from 700 to 1,000 souls, or a little over, with some 4,000 camels, but then they are, comparatively, a very small tribe. They bring down, however, valuable merchandise, such as rich silks, carpets, *postíns*, *chogha'hs*, *chars*,¶ and other articles. These Afgháns cross the Indus, and pitch their three camps, into which number they separate, at their usual *gira'í* or stations in the Layyá district, near the villages of Mián and Kular, some miles south of the town of that name.

After the Doṭárnís the Níází Powandahs appear. First come those sections of the Níází tribe known as Maṛhel** and Muṭhhí, whose lands are exceedingly poor, except for camel forage. These are also but few in number, not exceeding about 200 families, and amounting in all from 750 to 1,000 souls; and they take up their quarters about Pahár-púr, in the northern part of the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán district, where the latter have a village called by their name.†† These are followed by other sections of the Níází tribe, of about the same number, who encamp near the Maṛhel and Muṭhhí likewise; and next come the Powandah portion of the Kundí Níázís,‡‡

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* *See* page 335.

† Edwardes every here and there falls into errors in his accounts of Afgháns, and of his "Powanduhs" in particular, as already noticed. After first making "Lohânees" of these Kharoṭí Ghalzís, he says that "the "principal" trading tribes "are the *Kharotees*, who enter Tâk at the *débouche* of the Gomal, and there pasture "their cattle, going no farther than the Dérajât."

Afterwards, in another place, he says, I find, that "the Kharotee Powinduh who have selected Tâk for their "pasture ground, belong, I learn from Mr. Elphinstone, to the great Ghiljee tribe of Afghans."

Including other Kharoṭís, who come with the Tarakí Ghalzís, mentioned farther on, their total number do not exceed 900 families who enter the Dera'h-ját.

‡ *See* page 334.

§ There is a feud of long standing between the Sulímán Khel section and Kharoṭí section of the Ghalzí tribe, and this is, doubtless, the reason why they do not come together.

‖ Vigne says :—"The Suliman Kyl were in possession, I was told, of a million of sheep. . . . . Once a "year, in the winter season, *they send a kafilah of three or four hundred camels* into the plains of Derabund "[Dṛá-bhaṇ], and Dhera Ismael Khan. They are chiefly laden with madder-roots ; and with the produce of "this, they purchase a sufficient quantity of the coarse cloths of the Punjab, as a supply for the whole of "their tribe."

¶ Chars, not "charas" nor "charras," is an intoxicating drug made from hemp flowers.

** MacGregor, misled by his authorities, apparently, has fallen into many errors regarding these Maṛhel, whom he makes out, first, to be "*a tribe*," and then, again, they are, by his account, "a *section* of the Shíráni "tribe," yet, "number 150 men." Then he says that they "have the Shíráni tribe on the north and east," but, if Sheránís, why say they have "*the* Shíránis" on their north and east? They dwell adjoining the Sheránís, certainly, but they are not of the same tribe, but a weak clan of the Níází tribe of the Lodí branch of the Afgháns, respecting whom MacGregor appears to have obtained scarcely any information. *See* page 345 for their descent.

†† About ten miles south of Pahár-púr.

‡‡ The Kundís are not "a tribe of Patháns," but only a small section of the Khákо Níázís; and "Lodi" was not "the founder of the Lohani tribe" only, but of several. *See* page 344, and note *, page 345. There

consisting of two camps or divisions. The Kundís are great breeders of camels; for their lands are very poor, producing little else than camel forage, and, consequently, they are more carriers of merchandise for others than for themselves. Their two camps number from 200 to 300 families, or from 800 or 900 to about 1,300 souls. Their *gira'í* or stations are situated in the south-west part of the district dependent on the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, near to Malána'h, Kat, and adjacent villages,* which lie near the Indus and the ferries in that direction. These Powandah Kundís, however, constitute but a small portion of this section or clan of the Níázís. As previously mentioned, the Kundís breed great numbers of camels, and sell a good many to such of the other Powandahs as require them. I have also stated before that the Níázís of the present day are considered by the other Afghâns to be the most abject tribe among their people.

The next to arrive are a portion of the Ghalzí clan of Tarakí†—the whole clan numbers about 55,000 souls—to the number of 250 or 300 families or tents, and numbering from 900 to 1,200 souls. With them come about 100 families of Kharoṭí Ghalzís, but of a different clan of the Kharoṭís from that which first arrived. The Tarakís and Kharoṭís disperse, and pitch their tents in different parts of the district of Dera'h-i-Ismá'íl Khán: some about Ṭak-wára'h, Mulází, and Koṭ Kundí, while others set up their tents in the Dámán, and within the hills of the Sheráni tribe.

The last body of Powandahs to arrive in the Dera'h-ját is that portion of the Mayah (not Míán) Khel clan of the Núháṛnís or Lúháṛnís who follow a nomadic life, or just one half of the clan, with all their women and children. The other half are cultivators of the soil; for the clan have made agriculture subservient to the nomadic habits of their ancestors. Along with them come the Bakht-yárs, who are affiliated to the Sheráni tribe of Afgháns; some families of the tribes of Lauṛní (*vul.* Lúní and Loonee) and Paṛní, and such of the Míchan Khel Níázís as follow commercial pursuits. These last are descended from Kháko, third son of Níázaey, the progenitor of the Níází tribe, whose ancestor, Muḥsin, acquired the nick-name of the Míchan or Hand-mill, from his singular behaviour when under the influence of religious enthusiasm.‡ These altogether number between 7,000 and 8,000 souls; and, having arrived, they encamp around Ḍrá-bhaṇ, which is the home of the Mayah Khel clan, and near their kinsmen, the Daulat Khel of Ṭák, and near and around Dhanḍlah and Babbar, a few miles east of Parúdhah,§ convenient for the ferry over the Indus in that direction.

The author of the surveys which I have been describing in these pages says, respecting them :—" The Mayah Khel number between 3,000 and 4,000 families, and " dwell in the territory of the Dámán-i-Koh, previously described, after the manner " of *íláts* or nomads, in perfect independence, with the sole exceptions of having to " pay 1,000 rúpís yearly by way of *'ushr*, or a tenth, into the treasury of Tímúr " Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání, Bádsháh of Kábul, and to furnish a troop of 50 horsemen " to that Bádsháh's army. Their cultivation is carried on by means of irrigation " from the river Gumul, which issues from the mountain track bounding the province " of Ghaznín on the east, the waters of which become expended in the irrigation of " the lands west of the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán. The Sar-dár or Chief of the " Mayah Khel is A'ẓam Khán, who dwells in the village known as 'Umar Khán

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is a Malik Kháko mentioned as contemporary with Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghaznín, who, with other Maliks dwelling in the Ghar or Afghánistán, presented themselves before him, and it is more than probable that it is the same Kháko, the progenitor of the Kundís and others.

* About seven miles south of the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán.

† Not "Taraks."

‡ The Míchan Khel are the descendants of the Shaikh—not "Khan"—Míchan, a descendant of Níázaey, son of Lodaey, one of the Afghán saints, whose real name was Muḥsín. In his "Life," it is stated that, "in " his youthful days, he was much addicted to the chase, and to wandering about in the valleys and on the " mountains. On one occasion, during these peregrinations, the Almighty caused a miraculous gust of wind " to blow upon him, which affected him in such wise that he became a frenzied enthusiast, and filled with " religious fervour. Having recovered a little from its effects, he bent his way homewards. Some persons " who saw him returning in this state of mental disturbance, and apparently bereft of his senses, remarked to " others, that, 'to-day this man has been turning and twisting about like a hand-mill.' In the Pus'hto " language, a hand-mill is called a *míchan*; and, from that time, the name of the *míchan* was applied to him. " He devoted himself to a religious life, and is venerated by the Afgháns as a saint; and, according to their " accounts, worked many miracles. In consequence, his family and descendants are held in great veneration " by the Lodís; and they follow in the footsteps of their progenitor, and are known as the Míchan Khel." Muḥsin, the Míchan, was, according to the generality of accounts, descended in the sixth degree from Kháko, son of Níázaey, son of Ibráhím, Lodaey.

§ *See* page 335.

"da Ghúnḍa'í.* The chieftain-ship depends on the accord and approval of the "clan."

The Dzanḍah-púrs (*vul.* Ganḍah-púrs) have been already noticed among the tribes and clans, or sections of tribes, inhabiting the Dámán; and, although they cannot be styled Powandahs at present, they formerly followed a nomadic life. When the Daulat Khel obtained a footing and settled down in Ták, and the Dzanḍah-púrs in Kúláṇchí, they both began to give up their periodical migrations westwards, and their commerce with the countries in that direction, but, even at the present day, a few persons from each clan follow commercial pursuits, and still join the Powandahs† in their migrations, and resort to Kábul, Kandahár, and other cities. When these surveys were made there were many rich merchants among them.‡

The Bábar and Úsh-tarární divisions of the Sheráni tribe likewise resort to those cities and other parts for trading purposes. The latter deal largely in horses.

These tribes, divisions of tribes, clans, and portions of clans, which I have mentioned in the preceding pages, constitute the whole of the Powandahs who come eastwards into the Dera'h-ját and India. Having reached the Dera'h-ját, and pitched their camps at the different *giṛa'í* or stations which they have been used to occupy,§ they leave all the families, with some of the males to take charge of them and the spare camels and flocks, to pass the remainder of the autumn and winter therein, while the Powandahs, themselves, proceed onwards into India to dispose of the merchandise they brought down with them, and to purchase other goods for their return journey in the spring. Some of these Powandahs proceed southwards into Sind, and reach Karáchí, and from thence go on to Bombay, and afterwards proceed into the Dakhan, to Ḥaidar-ábád, where there are numbers of Afgháns in the Nizám's service. Some even go as far south as Bangalor in the Maisúr, in which parts Miárnah and Parní Afgháns have been settled for centuries past.|| Others proceed eastwards from the banks of the Indus towards Láhor and Amrit-Sir, and go on to Dihlí, Ágrá, and Banáras, and some even reach Calcutta and Dhakah. A goodly number of Powandahs pass through the Sind-Ságar Do-ába'h to Multán, and from thence go on to Baháwal-púr, and across the Indian desert into Ráj-pútánah, while some go to Sirsah and Dihlí, and some take other routes.

Some merchants take up their quarters at Multán, and dispose of their merchandise there and at Karáchí by means of *dalâls* or brokers; and some manage to squander all their money at the former place.

Some Powandah merchants, however, who may have remained behind at Kandahár and Kábul, and are too late to join the main bodies of the different tribes and clans who were strong enough in point of numbers to defy opposition, and to march through the Afghánistán, have to come by the Bolán and Khaibar routes, respectively, to Shikár-púr and Pes'háwar; and they there dispose of some of their merchandise. I have purchased goods from them at both places. They bring, or used to bring, very fine carpets for sale, and also silks and velvets, and Bukhárá ponies. From Shikár-púr and Pes'háwar they proceed onwards into the Panj-áb and Sind, and farther east and south.

Having disposed of their merchandise, and purchased more for their homeward journey—I call it their *homeward* journey, as the majority of these people are dwellers in the Afghánistán—they prepare to return, and manage so as to reach the Awán Kárah and the Dera'h-ját in the beginning of spring, by which time they begin to muster in great numbers.

Taking their families and other belongings along with them, they set out in much the same order as they came; taking the same, or even greater, precautions on the line of march, and the same routes through the tracts held by their hereditary enemies the Wazírís and Marwats, and other hostile tribes. After passing the stage known as the Dwah Gumul, or Two Gumuls, which I shall refer to again, those who continue to follow that route have to be on their guard against the Jzandrárn or

* It lies fifteen miles north-west of Paṛúdhah. In the large scale "Panjab Revenue Survey map," Ghúnḍa'í, which means a mound, is turned into "Gandi," which is without meaning in the Afghán language.

† Although no longer Powandahs themselves. *See* note *, page 485.

‡ *See* page 326.

§ Great part of the whole district of, or dependent on, the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán is dotted over with the *giṛa'í* of these Powandahs, and which often bear the name of the clan or the portion of the clan accustomed to pitch their tents thereon.

|| They are now reduced to a state of almost abject poverty, all their possessions almost having been taken from them. More respecting them will be found farther on.

Jzadrárn section of the Mangalí Afgháns, who, like the Wazírís, are of the Karlární division of the Afgháns or Pus'htánah; and it is a curious fact that the chief enemies of the Powandahs, generally, are Karlárnís. The Jzandrárns or Jzadrárns, who are located the farthest north in their route, are great robbers, and are ever on the alert to take advantage of any negligence or want of precaution on the part of the Powandahs.

The Náṣirs, as they were the first to arrive, so are they the first to depart; and they return in the same order and by the same routes. The flocks are taken by the Zá-o or Naraey Tarkaey Dara'h and Pass, and the bullocks and other animals by the Ghwáyí-Lári, because these last could not be taken by the Zá-o route, the road being impracticable for such animals; hence the name of the former, explained below. Both divisions again unite at Kandzúr on the banks of the Gumul, the great mustering place of the Powandahs, both in coming and going, and where, according to tradition, a city once stood. I have previously noticed with respect to the name of the latter route, that the last part of it is the Pus'hto word *lár*—a road—inflected, and from the fact of the Náṣirs taking only their flocks by the Zá-o route, which is the nearest for them, and being obliged to take their herds by the other and longest, that the correct name of this route, as I have often suspected, is Da Ghwáyí Lári, or the Bullock's Road,* that is, the road by which bullocks and cows, as well as camels, can alone be taken, consequently, the division which, along with the flocks, take the Zá-o route, are known as the Mejz-wál and Gosfand-wál, and those who accompany the herds of cattle are styled the Ghwáyí-wál, which gives name to the *ghás'haey* or pass. The Pus'hto for "sheep" is *mejz*, and *ghwáyaey* uninflected is "a bullock" in the same language. *Gosfand* is the Tájzík for "sheep," and *wál* is a Hindí word, used in the Afghán districts bordering on the Panj-áb, signifying "possessor," "owner," "keeper," "master," "agent," etc. As before mentioned, *lár* in Pus'hto is a feminine noun signifying "a road," "track," "way," etc., which becomes *lári* or *lárey* by inflexion, and *ghwáyaey*, a masculine noun signifying "a bullock" or "bull,"† which, inflected in the genitive case, becomes *ghwáyí—da ghwáyí lári*—but persons unacquainted with the Pus'hto language have dropped the *da*, the particle governing the genitive case, in the name, and thus made the words ungrammatical. The word *lár* again occurs in the name of the route farther south, and presently to be described, namely, da S'hwayey Lári Ghás'haey or the Slippery Road Pass. Here the second word is an adjective, *s'hwaya'h*, the feminine form of *s'hwaey*, agreeing with the feminine noun *lár*, and signifying "slippery," "not affording good footing," or "where one is liable to slip," and which words inflected in construction with *ghás'haey*, a pass, become *da shwayey lári ghás'haey*.‡

To return to the Náṣirs. Having reached Kandzúr and again united, they resume their march, and take up their *í-lák* or summer quarters, and pitch their black tents, in the pasture lands of the Tokhí Ghalzís, about Mukur, and Marghah (one of the old seats of the Ghwaríah Khel Khalíl tribe, now in the Pes'háwar district, before they migrated northwards), situated about midway between Ghaznín and Kalát-i-Ghalzí, and in Náwar and Shil-gar; and the Náṣirs have to pay a small grazing tax to the sub-tribe of Tokhí, and the Ḥákims of the different districts, for the favour.§

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* *See* note ‖ ‖, page 340.

† The tribes around Pes'háwar constituting the septs of Khas'hí and Ghwarí or Ghwaríah Khel, who change *jz* into *g* and *s'h* into *k'h*, call a bullock *ghwayaey*, with short, instead of long "*a*" in the first syllable; and they would call this the Ghwayí Lári. They are, however, but a small portion, comparatively, of the rest of the Afghán nation, whose language is the purest.

‡ *See* page 498.

§ According to the Surveyor General's Report for 1880–81, Appendix, some Native appears to have been sent to explore in the Gumul and Jzíoba'h Dara'hs. There is an advantage in this *when the person sent knows something of the people and their antecedents*, but the Native of whose discoveries Lieutenant the Hon. M. G. Talbot, R.E., gives an account, appears to have been rather ignorant respecting the Afgháns. This is shown in a number of places, as I shall point out, because his statements in many cases are misleading. Let us take one (p. 38) regarding these Náṣir Powandahs. He has them under two headings, namely:—"*Násir.*—There is a small tribe of this name, of about 60 men, who *live* between the Tirik and the Sulimán "Khel. . . . They have a strong fort [?], and have a feud with the Sulimán Khel." The other is, "*Násir.*—This tribe *lives* in Shilghar and Mukur, number about 10,000 men;" and the drawer up of the account adds, apparently, an observation of his own, to correct it, that "these Násirs are a larger section of "the same tribe mentioned above." The native explorer supposed they *lived* in these places, whereas these were only some of their summer quarters; and they were people of one and the same Powandah tribe. Those referred to under the first heading were, in all probability, a few left behind in charge of the families, flocks, and spare camels.

Since the above paragraph was written—about two years since—I find that the native explorer in question was a Balúch of the Bozdár tribe.

Here the families, flocks, and spare animals are again left, with a proportion of the men of the tribe to take care of them, while the others wend their way onwards with the merchandise, to Ḳandahár, Hirát, and other places. Some of them go as far as Bukhárá; and they are there received by some of their tribesmen who usually remain behind for purposes of trade, to dispose, probably, of whatever goods may have remained unsold of the last venture, and to purchase and take charge of other goods in readiness for the return journey. Some of the men left behind with the families, when at leisure, take some of the spare animals to Bahádur Khel in the Kohát district, and purchase salt, with which they proceed into Zurmat and to Ghaznín, as this does not necessitate a long absence from the families; others select sheep and lambs from their flocks, and take them away to dispose of.

About the middle of summer, when grass becomes scarce, they separate into still smaller parties, sometimes of one or two *kijzda'í* only, and move about, making short stages and short halts, for the purpose of grazing their herds of bullocks, cows, and camels, and their flocks of sheep and goats. As autumn approaches they begin to congregate together again, preparatory to the general movement towards the warmer region of the Dámán.

All their wants and requirements are supplied by their flocks and herds. The wool and hair furnish them with the materials for their *kijzda'í* or black hair tents, which are smaller and lighter than those of other tribes, their *gilíms* or felt carpets, their sacks and bags, and other articles. From their milk they make butter, cheese, and *ḳurut*, which constitutes their food, save when making a feast or entertaining a guest, when a sheep or lamb is killed. A few copper cooking and other utensils, some clothes, and bedding, constitute the remainder of their household goods, consequently they can move about with facility and celerity.

The next to depart on the homeward journey to their *í-láḳ* or summer quarters, are the Kharoṭí Ghalzís, who move by the Gumul Pass, and the Ghwáyí Lari, and the upper course of the Gumul, and pitch their *kijzda'í* or black tents about Ḳará-Bágh, another of the old seats of the Khas'hís. These Kharoṭí Powandahs do not constitute one sixth of the Kharoṭí Ghalzís, whose territory lies farther east, and will be subsequently referred to. The Powandah portion of them carry on a considerable trade with Hirát and other places in that direction, as well as with the parts between Kábul and Bukhárá.

The few Sulímán Khel Ghalzí Powandahs, who, as before stated, are known by the nick-name of Sar pre-kaṛí, and with whom the Kharoṭís are at feud, follow next. They return to their own country, and pitch their camps in Zurmat and part of Wárna'h.

After these the Ḍoṭární or Ḍoṭání Lodís return to their homes in the Dara'h of Wárna'h, and subsequently proceed onwards with their merchandise; and some of the Daulat Khel Núḥárnís, who are Lodís like themselves, also frequent this dara'h in the winter with their flocks, as already mentioned.

After the departure of the Doṭárnís the Níází Powandahs prepare to move. Their *í-láḳ* or summer stations are at and around Panáh, in the country of the Ghalzís, to whom they have to pay a small tax for the privilege of grazing their flocks and cattle.

Then the few Tarakí Ghalzís, accompanied by the few Kharoṭí families who came down with them, turn their faces homewards, to the pastures of the small district of Mukur previously referred to.

The last to return, as they were to arrive, are the Mayah Khel, and the associated clans and portions of tribes who accompanied them, the Bakht-yár section of the Sheránís, the Míchan Khel and other Níázís, and the Laurnís, and Parnís, who set out at the end of the season. It was the last caravan of these Mayah Khel Núḥárnís which Vigne accompanied in 1836.* Two other *ḳáfila'hs* precede this last one, which is by far the

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* He says, "The kafilah, or caravan, in which I travelled, is the last and the largest of those that proceed "every year from Derabund (Dṛá-bhaṇ) to Kabul. The first and second start nearly on the same day. A "person wishing to travel with the first, should calculate upon arriving at Derabund before the tenth of "April; if with the second, before the twentieth or twenty-fifth of the same month; the third and largest "is more uncertain, but its day of departure is usually the tenth or twelfth of May. The first kafilah carries "with it the coarse goods of Moghiana (a town situated on the Chenab river), and the salt of the Panjab. "The whole of these goods are disposed of at Ghuzni, Kabul, and Kandahar. The camels of the second "kafilah are burdened with indigo, purchased at Multan and Bahawalpore, and the chintz of Hindustan. "Some part of this investment finds its way to Bokhara. The third, which is the largest, consists of the "Lohanis Sirdagur [Lúḥání Saudágars, *i.e.*, merchants], who cannot exactly time their arrival, as they travel "from Hydrabad, Calcutta, Benares, Delhi, Jypore, and the other large cities of India. The bulk of their "lading consists of kimkab or golden cloth of Benares, English chintzes and calicoes, gun locks, and similar "articles. A great proportion of these goods is transported beyond the Hindú Kosh. The last and longest "of the Lohani kafilahs moved back this year from Ghuzni towards Derabund, on the fifteenth of October."

largest, by about a month, and its departure is not quite so certain; as the merchants composing it have to come from the Dakhan, from Bengal and the North-West Provinces of India, and from Ráj-pútánah, and is the richest of the whole. The Daulat Khel Núḥárnís, who, at the time these surveys were made, used to form a portion of it, having, shortly after, obtained grants of land in the Dera'h-ját, began to take to agriculture; and at this time they have ceased altogether to be Powandahs.

These Powandahs pitch their camps about Panáh and Ḳará-Bagh in the territory of the Ghalzís, who are descended from the same progenitor as themselves,* where their families, flocks, and surplus animals are left behind in charge of some of the males, while the rest take their merchandise to their usual markets at Kábul, and from thence to Samr-ḳand and Bukhárá.

The description of goods and articles taken by these Powandahs, generally, on their return journey consist of broad cloths, merinos, muslins, calicoes, chintzes, and other piece goods the production of India and Europe, coarse fabrics made specially for them at Jhang and Chaníúṭ in the Panj-áb, tea, coffee, sugars, candy, treacle, wax candles, *ḥenná*, and other drugs, a few medicines, salt, spices of different kinds, oranges, and a few other fruits of India, copper, pewter, brass, and iron materials, a little crockery and glass ware, hardware, guns, gun locks, pistols, needles, cotton, thread, lucifer matches, shoes, and slippers, indigo, and other goods.

This last *ḳáfila'h* is particularly rich in piece goods, guns, etc., a great proportion of which is conveyed beyond the Oxus; and about three fourths of all this merchandise taken by the Powandahs is taken by the Ghwáyí-Lári route.

I now resume my account of the routes leading westwards into the Afghánistán and farther west.

Ninety-first Route. From the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to Kábul by the most direct route.

The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, previously mentioned at pages 36 and 468, and in other places in this work, who was despatched by the Government of India, during the time of Governor Hastings, and the Marquis Cornwallis,† on two or three occasions, to Kábul, to the Court of Tímúr Sháh, the Durrání Bádsháh, furnishes a very important route from the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to Kábul, which has not hitherto been made public, and is but little known except to the Afgháns themselves.

The Sayyid says, that, on his second journey from Hindústán to Kábul in 1201 H. (1786 A.D.), about ten years before the author of these surveys completed his researches, he went by way of Baháwal-púr, Multán, and across the Chúl-i-Jalálí, or the *Thal*, described at page 338, to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán. From this place he intended to have accompanied the Powandah Afghán tribes and clans on their return journey, but he reached the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán too late in the season. The time for their return had passed, and they had already departed. The Sayyid, consequently, had to take another route, which I shall now proceed to describe in his own words.

"On the 4th of the month Ẕí-Hijjah, 1201 H. (26th October, 1786 A.D.), I set out from Jodh-púr, and reached Baháwal-púr by way of Dhiráwal‡ on the 11th. Baháwal-púr is a large and populous place belonging to the Dá'úd-pútrahs; and the ruler of the country is called Baháwal Khán. The Sutlaj river, which flows near the town, people of this part call the Gháraḥ. I halted at Baháwal-púr for eight days, and had an interview with the Khán. I was much pleased that I had seen him; for he is a person of kindness and benevolence, and, altogether, I was greatly taken with him.

"On the 25th of Ẕí-Hijjah (16th November), I set out for Multán, and on the fourth day entered that city. It is a moderate-sized place, but the fortress, which is built of burnt brick, is very strong. The ruler of Multán and its territory, who pays allegiance to Tímúr Sháh, Durrání, Bádsháh of Kábul, is the Nawwáb, Muẓaffar Khán,§ entitled Saff-dar-Jang, son of Shujá' Khán, Sadozí. He is a kind, benevolent, liberal, and valiant person. He entertained me, and wished me to make a longer

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* *See* page 345.

† "Who," he says, "was made supreme over Mandráj and Mambá'í (Madras and Bombay)," that is, that he was made Governor-General. The Sayyid's last journey was made by command of the new Governor-General.

‡ The stronghold of the Dá'úd-pútrahs, to the south of Baháwal-púr, and about south-east of Uchchh.

§ He was the father of Sarafráz Khán, who governed Multán when the Honourable Mount-Stuart Elphinstone visited it on his way to Pes'háwar.

stay than I did; but, as the season was far advanced, I had to hasten my movements. Therefore, after staying with the Nawwáb for five days, I set out, and resumed my journey towards the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán.

"There are two main routes from Multán to that place; one by way of the town of Layyá, and the other by way of Tulanbah and the Chúl-i-Jalálí.* A large body of Sikhs had entered the Layyá territory at this time, and were committing great devastation, consequently, that route was closed. Not knowing what else to do, I took the route through the Chúl-i-Jalálí, which desert tract, in the Panj-ábí language, is called the *Thal*.† My first stage from Multán was to Khanchál, five *kos* distant in the direction of north and west; then ten *kos* more, in the same direction, to the *dih* or village of Sháh Nawáz, situated on the banks of the Bíáh [Rawí ?]. The third stage took me to Sháh-púr,‡ distant another ten *kos* in the same direction; and, after another stage of ten *kos*, I reached Tulanbah. From thence I proceeded fifteen *kos* to Sád-wán,§ situated between the two rivers, the Chin-áo [or Chin-áb] and the Jhilam. My sixth stage [crossing the Jhilam] was to Mahárán,‖ distant fifteen *kos*, through a sandy desert tract of country. That day I suffered greatly from the cold and rain, and from fear of falling in with the Sikh troops. The seventh stage was eighteen *kos* in the direction of west, to Jhazírah;¶ and I was obliged to halt at a place where no water was obtainable. Another stage of eight *kos*, in the direction of south-west, brought me to Mankerah.

"The sandy tract of country known as the Chúl-i-Jalálí or *Thal* extends in this direction [on the east] from Sád-wán to Mankerah; and, on the north and east, adjoins the districts of Bahrah and Khush-áb. There are few places in it where water is procurable, and these places are generally twenty *kos* apart. The water, however, is pure and sweet, which cannot be said of the water obtainable in the Chúls of Bhatnír and Bikánír, which is bitter, and almost enough to kill one. The western extremity of the Chúl-i-Jalálí extends near to the banks of the Abáe-Sín; and, on the south, to the districts of Bhakhar and Layyá. Having set out from Mankerah, a strong fort of burnt brick in the possession of Muḥammadú Khán, the Jaskání Balúch, before mentioned (at page 340), the cultivation and habitation of which lie west of the fort, I proceeded twenty *kos* to the north-west to Bhakhar,** leaving the arid, unwatered tract behind me; and, in another stage of twelve *kos*, I arrived at the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán. I had to cross three branches of the Abáe-Sín in this stage; one, four *kos* west of Bhakhar; another, seven *kos* from Bhakhar; and a third, close under the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, which place is so called, and also 'Dera'h-i-Balúchán,' or 'the Dera'h of the Balúchís,' after the Sar-dár and Ḥákim, the Nawwáb, Ismá'íl Khán, the Hút, who founded it.††

"From this large place four routes branch off towards Kábul: one, by way of the Shahr-i-Ḳatál, or 'Ḳatál's Town,' and Zábul to Kábul, in the direction of west and north [north-west]; the second, by Balúts and Kálá-Bágh to Pes'háwar; the third, by the Dera'h of Ghází Khán, Shikár-púr, and Ḳandahár; and the fourth, by the Gumul route and the Ghwáyí Lári *Kotal*.

"The people of the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán are very surly and morose, and they are also totally devoid of all shame or modesty; for the men and women all bathe together in a state of nudity. Dates of good quality are produced here.

"When I reached the town, I found, to my disappointment, that the season for proceeding to Kábul along with the Powandah tribes of Afgháns, consisting of Núḥánís, Gandah-púrs [Dzandah-púrs], Marwats, and others, whom I have noticed more particularly in another place,‡‡ had passed, and that they had already departed some time. However, through the favour, and with the assistance, of the Durrání Governor of the province of the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, I was enabled to proceed on

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* *See* also the description of the Chúl-i-Jalálí, at page 338.

† *See* note ††, page 461.

‡ I fail to trace these three last mentioned places. The Bíáh must be an error for the Ráwí from the direction he gives.

§ "*Sudhane*" of the maps, ten miles W.S.W. of Jhang-i-Sí-ál, and five and a half miles N. of the junction of the Jhilam and the Chin-áb.

‖ This is "*Maree*" of the maps, situated on the west bank of the Jhilam nearly opposite Ḳádir-púr, and twenty-five miles in a straight line to the northwards of Sád-wán. The Sayyid had to take this roundabout route in order to avoid the Sikhs.

¶ This place, likewise, I fail to trace: its name may have changed, or it may have become desolate since the Sayyid's time.

** *See* page 340.

†† *See* pages 4 and 5.

‡‡ *See* page 497.

my way to Kábul by way of the Bághán [the Bághs or Gardens, two places so named ?], and by way of Zábul; and I will now give an account of the different stages."

Most unfortunately, the Sayyid does not here enter into details respecting this route and the places passed on his way. He gives, as will have been already observed, the distances in *kos*, meaning the standard *kos* of Dihlí, which is nearly equivalent to the kuroh mentioned in the other routes.* He continues his account as follows :—

"I chose this route because it was the nearest way to Kábul; because the hills and mountains are less difficult to cross; and because the *kotals* or passes are neither so lofty, nor so arduous to traverse. I first proceeded two stages of about twelve *kos* each to Gandah-púr, otherwise Ṭak-wárah, and to the Shahr-i-Katál, or Katál's Town, otherwise Ṭák or Ṭánk, distant ten *kos* farther west. This place was founded by Katál Khán, Chief of the Daulat Khel branch of the Núḥánís,† hence the name of the place. My next stage, the fourth, was eight *kos* to Shin-gæl, and the next, a similar distance, to Shakara'í, or Sh'kara'í. The sixth stage of ten *kos* more brought me to the Ushtar Gardana'h, or Shutar Gardana'h. From thence I went on another ten *kos*, and reached Shín-Koṭ;‡ and another of a like distance brought me to Shin-dard.

"Up to this point the route ran in the direction of north-west, but from thence the route took the direction of north, sometimes inclining to the north-west [about N.N.W. perhaps]. I proceeded accordingly from Shin-Dard for a distance of eight *kos* in the direction named, to Dih-i-Tájzík, or The Tájzíks' Village; and from thence ten *kos* to Zábul,§ which place will presently be referred to more particularly. My next stage, the eleventh, was distant twelve *kos* to Dih-i-Ghalzí, or the Village of the Ghalzís, and from thence I went on a long stage of sixteen *kos* in the direction of north and reached Shagrámí. The next stage of fourteen *kos* from thence in the direction of west [? north-west ?] brought me to Kala'-i-Kází, or the Kází's Fort, a well known place; and the last or fourteenth stage, a short one of a little over two *kos*, to Kábul.

"This route has been closed for a long time past, but, on one occasion, the writer also proceeded by it from Kábul to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán."

Here, most unfortunately, the manuscript of the Sayyid's travels, and adventures on his subsequent journeys, closes with the page, the work being imperfect; and, consequently, no further record exists respecting this most important route. From the Sayyid's remark it would seem that the Afgháns were inclined to keep it secret. It would also appear that he wrote this account of his travels some time after they had been undertaken; and, as the date of the completion of a manuscript is written at the end, the work being defective, we cannot discover when it was written. The routes followed by him and his father on previous occasions have been referred to elsewhere in these pages.

Respecting the ruined city of Zábul he says :—"Zábul, in ancient times, was a city "[fortified city] giving name to the territory. It belonged to Zál-i-Zar—Zál of the "Golden Hair—son of Sám, son of Narímán, but now it is a heap of ruins; that is "to say, the remains of buildings, and several wells, still remain to mark the site. "There are no less than ten of these wells remaining; and the people of these parts "draw water from them for their consumption, more particularly from one, the water "of which is said to possess wonderful healing properties, and they say it contains a "talisman. Walls are built round these wells high enough to prevent people from "falling into them."

In another place, preceding this account of his journey, he says "Zábul is forty *kos* "south-west from But-Khák."‖

That the remains of this ruined city do exist, as this trustworthy Sayyid states from actual observation, and in the part indicated, there can be no question. It was situated on or near the great western range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, which formed the eastern boundary of the Ghaznín territory, as it was constituted during

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* *See* page 154.

† *See* page 325. Katál Khán was the father of Sarwar Khán who planned and built the fort of Ṭák or Ṭánk. He died some forty-five years ago at an advanced age, and the present Nawwáb, Sháh Nawáz Khán, is his grandson.

‡ There is a Shingí-Koṭ about three miles above the Palosín Kats up the valley of the Dzamad river, but that is not the place here referred to, being only between twelve or fourteen miles from Ṭánk; while the place here mentioned lay west of the great ridge of Mihtar Sulímán bounding Makín on the west. Shín, in Pus'hto, signifies "green," "fresh," "verdant." *See* page 475.

§ Also written Záwul, "*b*" and "*w*" being interchangeable.

‖ *See* page 61.

the reigns of the Ghazníwí, and the Shansabání Tájzík Ghúrí, Sulṭáns, and was their boundary in that direction, on the side of Hind. It was likewise known as Zuḥák's city, which fact I shall refer to presently; and the Shansabánís traced their descent from Zuḥák.*

Vigne's statement tends to confirm the existence of these remains, and also of their being connected with the name of Zuḥák. He says in his work ("Ghuzni, Kabul, and Afghanistan," page 109):—"On the continuation of the even-topped ridge of the "Sar-i-Koh [the crest of the great range of Mihtar Sulímán, bounding the Ghaznín "State on the east, previously noticed], are to be seen, as I was informed, the ruins "of a large city, called Zohaka, after the king who reigned there before the time of "the Mussulmen. Three gates of burnt brick are still standing, and I was told there "was a deep pool there, the water of which, so tradition affirmed, finds its way to the "Indus by a subterraneous channel."

Masson, likewise, refers to "Zâbal," as he styles it, although he does not appear to have known its probable situation. He says:—"In the neighbouring province of "Zúrmat are sites which may have preceded that of Ghazní as capitals of this part of "the country, viz., Gardéz and Patan. . . . As we proceeded we had on our left, "at some distance, a low detached hill, called Chehel Tan, from its zíárat. Here "is a cave, accessible only by a narrow aperture. It is believed, that if a person enter "it he will be unable to squeeze himself out, unless pure and free from sin. . . . "There is also a tradition that near to it was the ancient city of Zâbal."

He was going from Ghaznín to Kábul, consequently, in supposing it to have lain on the left is incorrect; its site is on the right, and not very far from Gardaiz.

As the Sayyid says he was enabled to follow this direct route by favour, and with the aid, of the Durrání governor of the province dependent upon the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, who probably had influence with the Wazírís, I believe he went right across their territory. He probably proceeded up the valley of the Dzamad river to near the present Makín, and then, he either kept on through the dara'h immediately north of that town, or proceeded up the other small dara'h which opens to the north-west, about two miles north of Makín, through which a stream flows (called the Shiran Algud in our maps) which enters the Toda'h Chína'h or Hot Stream, which unites with the Dzamad a little below Makín. He then seems to have crossed the great ridge of the Mihtar Sulímán range about two miles or so south of the Shewa'h Ghar (or about four miles north of it, if he went up the dara'h first mentioned), the passage over the crest of which he calls the Shutar Gardana'h or Camel's Neck. After this he appears to have skirted the southern slopes of the mountains forming the southern boundary of the Toṇchí Dara'h for some twenty-five miles, then to have crossed them into that dara'h. From thence, proceeding through the lands of the Kharoṭí Ghalzís, and crossing the Toṇchí river, he went on towards the head of that dara'h through the little district of Farmúl, leaving Urgún, or Wurgún, its chief town, on the left hand. On the crest of the mountains at the head of that dara'h, according to the Sayyid's description and route, the site of Zábul lies; and, according to the description given by Bábar Bádsháh, from the opposite direction, it is hereabouts likewise that the Maidán-i-Rustam is situated.†

I am sorry I cannot throw more light upon the Sayyid's route; and I have been unsuccessful in tracing any of the places mentioned by him near Ṭák, unless "Shinkhi" in Walker's Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 5,‡ about three miles N.W. of Makín, be the Sayyid's Shakara'í or Sh'kara'í, his second stage from the town of Ták. It agrees as to the direction taken, and the distance also nearly coincides with his description.

It is unfortunate that the author of these surveys did not chance to explore this route, or we should certainly have had more details respecting Zábul and other places on the road. His most southern route from the west, that from Ghaznín to Bannú by Urgún, or Wargún (page 85), followed pretty closely the course of the Toṇchí river

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* *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 305.

† Vigne's description also, and the position in which he places "Zohaka" in his map, agrees with both these descriptions, and also the position of Masson's "Patan," the "Patan-i-Sháh-í," apparently, mentioned in the Ninety-fourth Route, further on.

‡ I have been guided here by the map in question, but, strange to say, the latest map of the so-called "Waziristan" *totally disagrees with it.* In Walker's map Makín lies on the *south* bank of a stream formed by the junction of what he calls the "*Durra* Algud," and the "*Dushkhai* Algud;" and "Shinkhi" lies on the north bank of the latter, at about three miles N.W. of Makín. In the large scale map by Captain Holdich, R.E., which I have had occasion previously to notice, *all is changed.* Makín there is transferred to the *north* side of the stream formed by what he calls the "*Darra* Algad" and "*Dashkai* Alğad," and "Shinkhi" has totally disappeared. Which of these two maps then are we to consider to be the correct one?

until he reached the western boundary of Dawaṛ; and, in the routes leading from the east, from the Dera'h-ját to Ghaznín, subsequently to be described, the most northern road given is that by the Gumul; while the route of the Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, evidently lay between these two, if it did not somewhere cross the northernmost of the two.

Zábul, Kábul, and Sigizstán are constantly mentioned in the annals of the ancient kings of Í-rán, from which chronicles the Court poets, Daḳíḳí and 'Unṣúrí, acquired the materials for the celebrated epic, the Sháh-Náma'h, and which latter poet, by command of Sulṭán Maḥmúd,* son of the Amír, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, had already completed as far as the story of Rustam and Suhráb, when Firdausí of Tús arrived at the Court, and the poem was brought to a conclusion by him.

Zábul or Záwul, "*b*" and "*w*" being interchangeable, and its territory is constantly mentioned in the traditions contained in the work referred to—I mean the original, not the poem—as early as the time of Karsh-ásp, the son of Atrúṭ or Turúṭ, grandson of Shed-ásp, son of Jamshed; and the family held the fiefs of Zábul and Sigizstán. Zábul is therein called "the city of Zuḥák," or "one of Zuḥák's cities." For example, it is affirmed that he came out of Zábul and founded a city on the banks of the Hírmand, and called it Zarang.† This was the ancient capital of Sigizstán. Then it is stated, that about this period, the ruler of Kábul having died, his son, whose name is not given, withheld the tribute, and marched an army to Zábul, against the father of Karsh-ásp, during his son's absence at Zarang. On this, Karsh-ásp is said to have set out for Zábul from Zarang.

The direction he is said to have taken should be noticed. He went by way of Shú Bihár, or Shú Wihár, or Shá Bihár, or Shá Wihár, two stages from what, from comparatively modern days, is known as Kalát-i-Ghalzí, and, previously, as Kalát-i-Barlúk, towards Ghaznín, which place (Shú Bihár) I have previously referred to in note †, page 63. On the way, Karsh-ásp is said to have been met by a Bráhman, who besought him not to molest or injure that "idol temple," and foretold that he would, hereafter, be the king of the world, *i.e.*, of Í-rán-Zamín. He was the first of the Jahán-Pahlawáns, Sipah-Buds, or Champions of Zábul.

The Kábul Sháh, on the approach of Karsh-ásp, fled from his capital in the direction of Multán;‡ and Karsh-ásp captured Kábul, massacred its inhabitants, and then returned to Zarang.

It is likewise mentioned that Atrúṭ or Turúṭ had another son, who was named Kúrang, who died early, and left a son, Narímán by name, who afterwards became a great warrior.

After Manú-chihr, son of Í-raj, who is said to have been contemporary with the Patriarch Músá (Moses), succeeded his grandfather, Farídún, Narímán died, and his son, Sám,§ who was likewise a great warrior, was made the Jahán-Pahlawán, or Champion of Í-rán; and the government of Zábulistán, as far as the frontiers of Hind, namely, the territory dependent on Zábul and Kábul, was conferred upon him. This territory was subsequently known as the Ghaznín kingdom, extending on the east as far as the great western range of Mihtar Sulímán, or Koh-i-Siyah, already described.

Sám, after that, marched out of Zábulistán at the head of the troops of his fief, to aid Manú-chihr against the Afrásiyáb, the Turk,‖ who is said to have detached a force of 30,000 cavalry into Zábulistán, under the command of Samásás, against Sám, while he himself invaded the Í-rání territory farther west with the rest of his host.

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* The mother of Sulṭán Maḥmúd was a Zábulí, hence he is also styled a Zábulí. He is also called the Zábul Sháh, in the same manner that the ancient ruler of Kábul was styled the Kábul Sháh.

Abú-Bikr-i-Lawík, out of whose hands the Amír, Alb-Tigín, on the part of the Sámání sovereign, wrested Ghaznín and Záwulistán, was, in all probability, a native of Záwul. He was the native ruler of those parts before the Turkish slaves of the Sámánís invaded them. *See* my "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 71, and note 5.

† I may mention that Sigizstán and Zarang are the native names of the territory, but that 'Arabs, in their language, substitute "*j*" for the Tájzík "*g*," and "*s*" for "*z*," and call them Sijistán and Zaranj respectively. Many other Tájzík names have been thus changed from their originals, as Púshang into Fúshanj. The old fortress in the Sugáwand Pass, too, is called Ḳala'-i-Jamshed. *See* page 72.

‡ By the Gumul route, or, possibly, by the very route I have been describing. The territory dependent on Multán, in ancient times, may have extended farther north-west than it did when the Á'ín-i-Akbarí was written.

§ *See* note †, page 511.

‖ Afrásiyáb appears to have been the name adopted by, or applied to, several sovereigns of the dynasty, as Ḳaisar, Faghfúr, Kháḳán, and the like, because it occurs during many centuries, and should be used with "the" before it—the Afrásiyáb. An account of the princes of this dynasty descended from the Afrásiyáb, which terminated in 609 H., will be found in my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 900, note 3. The late State-Counsellor, Von Dôrn, has described their coins in the "Mélanges Asiatiques" of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburgh, of March and December, 1880.

When the force sent against Sám reached the Hírmand, on its way into Zábulistán, Mihráb Sháh, who held charge of the city and fortress of Zábul, the capital of Sám, by way of amusing the Turk leader, sent him a message, saying, "I am neither "Zábulí nor Í-rání, but am of the race of Zuḥák, the Tází, and am loyally inclined "towards the Afrásiyáb. Give me time to prepare befitting offerings, and to arrange "for the surrender of the place." Having thus lulled the Túrání leader to inaction, Mihráb Sháh despatched swift messengers to Zál-i-Zar, or Zál of the Golden Hair,* son of Sám, who was then returning from the side of Hind (*see* the traditions respecting Bannú and Akaṛa'h at page 317); and he pushed forward with his troops, and fell upon the Túránís and overthrew them. Mihráb Sháh subsequently gave Zál-i-Zar his daughter in marriage, as previously stated at page 318, and she was the mother of Rustam. This same Mihráb Sháh is said to have led the right wing of the army of Kai-Ḳubád in another expedition against the Afrásiyáb, the Turk.

Kai-Ḳubád, the first of the Kai-ánián dynasty, built Balkh, and made Rustam the Jahán-Pahlawán of Í-rán. Kai-Ká'ús, his son, who is considered to have been contemporary with Sulímán (Solomon), gave Rustam his sister, Mihr-Nawáz—some say she was his daughter—to wife, and conferred upon him the sovereignty of Sigizstán, Zábul, and Kábul, to the frontiers of Hind. Another wife, the daughter of the ruler of Samnakán, was the mother of Suhráb; and, after the unfortunate event of his being killed by his own father, in self-defence, without their knowing each other, she is said to have become the attendant at his tomb at Zábul. Having, after a time, become reconciled to Rustam, she bore him another son whose name was Farámurz.

Abú Sa'íd, son of 'Abd-ul-Ḥaiy, son of Zuḥák, son of Maḥmúd, the Gardaizí, so called from his being a native of the Tájzík town of that name, not far from the site of the city of Zábul visited by the Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, says, in his Zain-ul-Akhbár, written in the reign of Sulṭán 'Izz-ud-Daulah, 'Abd-ur-Rashíd,† son of Maḥmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín, that Kai-Ká'ús conferred upon Rustam, Sigizstán, Kábul, Zábul, Hind, and Sind, that is, such parts of the two latter, probably, as lay on or west of the Indus;‡ and that those territories remained in his family until the time of Farámurz, his son.

Rustam having been killed through the treachery of his own brother, Shaghád by name, in combination with the then Kábul Sháh, Farámurz set out from Zábul, with all his available forces, captured Kábul, slew its ruler, massacred its people, and made it desolate. His father's corpse was conveyed to Zábul to be buried, where Suhráb, his son, had also been interred.

After these events happened, Bahman, son of Isfandiyár—which latter hero had also, untowardly, been killed by Rustam in single combat, in self-defence—having succeeded his grandfather, Gusht-ásp, on the throne of Í-rán-Zamín, advanced at the head of a great army into Zábulistán against Rustam's family. On the first two occasions Bahman sustained defeat at the hands of their troops; but, on the third occasion, he was successful, notwithstanding that Zál and Farámurz, and the three daughters of Rustam, came forth from Zábul to encounter him. The upshot was that the aged Zál and his family were invested within the walls of that stronghold, which was captured after a long siege. Zawárah, son of Zál, and his grandson, Farámurz, who had fled towards Kábul, were killed, and their followers overthrown; and the daughters of Rustam fled from thence for shelter to the dominions of the king of Ḳinnauj. Here, Hind is meant, and the king, the supreme or chief ruler of Hind, in the same way that Fúr, the opponent of the Macedonian Alexander, the Porus of Europeans, is styled "King of Ḳinnauj," in the Í-rání annals.§ The fugitives were overtaken, captured, brought back in fetters, and imprisoned along with their grandfather, Zál. The names of these three daughters were Kush-ásp, Tukh-árah, and Ázur-Bánú, which latter word, Bánú, signifying princess or lady, is, doubtless, the same whom the author of the surveys contained in this work, quoting the local

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* Also called Zál, the ruddy-faced. For other traditions respecting Zál, current in the mountains on the other side of the valley of the river of Ghaznín, *see* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 318.

† Who was raised to the throne of Ghaznín in 441 H. (1049–50 A.D.).

‡ The traditions respecting Bannú corroborate this; indeed, Rustam and his family are said to have possessed the whole, or very nearly the whole, of the present Panj-áb.

§ Al-Mas'údí, in his Murúj-uz-Zahab, states that "the king of Ḳinnauj is one of the kings of Sind, and "called Bawarah, which is a title common to all the Ḳinnauj kings." In another place he says:—"The "territory of the Bawarah, king of Ḳinnauj, extends for nearly one hundred and twenty square *farsangs* of "Sind."

Muḥammad-al-Idrísí says, in his "Nuzhat-ul-Mushtak," that the limits of Ḳinnauj extend as far as Kábul and Laháwur.

tradition, refers to; and from her the name of the territory now known as Bannú is evidently derived, as mentioned at page 318. Ázur is the name of the angel who presided over fire, and forms the prefix to many old Í-rání proper names.

Bahman here mentioned, surnamed Árd-Sher-i-Diráz-Dast—the Artaxerxes Longimanus of Europeans—the son of Isfandiyár, is the Í-rání sovereign who sent the local governor of Bábal, Ruhám, the son of Gúdarz, whom the 'Arabs call Bukht-un-Nassar (Nebuchadnezzar of the Bible), against Jerusalem, who destroyed it, and carried away the Baní Isrá'íl into captivity. Bahman afterwards espoused Hashnúd (Esther) of the family of Malik Tálút (Saul, king of Isrá'íl), and again set the Baní Isrá'íl free.

After the death of Alexander, the Macedonian, the Ashkáníán Maliks, the first and chief of whom was Ashak, descended from Dárá-i-Akbar (Dárá, the Greater, called Darius the *Elder* by European writers), but some say of Dárá-i-Asghar (Dárá, the Lesser, called Darius the *Younger*), reigned over the Í-rání empire; and all the territory as far as and including Sigizstán, Kábul, and Zábul, was under the sway of those rulers or their feudatories, who are styled Mulúk-ut-Tawáyif—the Maliks of divers or various nationalities—and among whom must have been those Greco-Bakhtríán rulers, and other Maliks, whose coins are so plentiful. Ashak is, probably, the Hushka of some of those coins, who is dubbed an "Indo-Scythian" by some European writers. It is also probable that, if the signification of their titles and names could be *interpreted*—for they all bear some meaning—they might possibly be found to agree with the names given them by the old Í-rání annalists.

Harmuz, son of Narsí, the fourth (some consider him the third) monarch of the Sásáníán dynasty, married a daughter of the Malik of Kábul—the then Kábul Sháh—and Zábul and its territory, as well as Kábul, is enumerated among the cities and provinces contained in the empire of Núshírwán the Just.

Zábul is probably the *shahr*, city, or town, to which the Zantbíl (Ratan-pál or Rin-pál), the Kábul Sháh, retired when he left Kábul on the approach of the 'Arab invaders under 'Ubaid-ullah, son of Abú-Bakr, mentioned at page 62, when the former and his followers retired into the defiles and passes seventeen farsakhs or leagues, drawing the invaders after them, and the people of the country having blocked up and occupied the defiles, the 'Arabs had to pay heavily to be allowed to retire.

I have already given a brief account of the advance of the Musalmáns towards Kábul and Zábul at pages 61 to 63, and need not repeat it here, but, I may add, that when the Khalífah, Harún-ar-Rashíd, in 178 H. (794–95 A.D.), divided his dominions between his two sons, among other provinces or territories conferred upon Mámún were Khurásán, Sigizstán, Kábul, Zábul, and Hind (the part west of or nearest the Indus). When Ya'kúb-i-Lais, the Suffár or Brazier, rose in rebellion against Darhim, son of Nasr, the ruler of Sigizstán in 237 H. (851–52 A.D.), his two sons, Nasr and Sálih,* fled from Sístán or Zarang, and took shelter with the Kábul Sháh, Zantbíl (Rin-pál or Ratan-pál), and he aided them, it is said, with a force of 30,000 men. Having then seized upon Bust, Ya'kúb advanced upon Tigín-ábád, and fought a battle with the Zantbíl (Rin-pál or Ratan-pál), ruler of Zábulistán, and slew him. According to the Gardaizí, Ya'kúb then advanced into Zábulistán, and, in 255 H. (869 A.D.), took Zábul. He then probably dismantled it; for, soon afterwards, he founded the *shahristán*, or fortified city, of Ghaznín,† which, previous to this time, is not, I believe, mentioned in history. The territory previous to that time was known as Zábulistán or Záwulistán after Zábul or Záwul, its chief fortified town or city.

Ya'kúb, son of Lais, obtained possession of Kábul in the following year, but, even after that, the Hindú power did not entirely fall. 'Umaro, brother of Ya'kúb, and his successor, was overthrown and thrown into prison in 287 H. (900 A.D.); and long after that, in 363 H. (973–74 A.D.), Pírey, one of the slaves of the late Alb-Tigín, and then Wálí of Ghaznín, subject to the Sámáníán sovereign, with the aid of Sabuk-Tigín, another of Alb-Tigín's slaves, who commanded the troops, fought a battle with an army of infidels who had come out of Hind against Ghaznín. Pírey was a great villain; and Abú 'Alí, the Lawík, the son or kinsman of the ancient Wálís of that State, was invited by the people to deliver them from his hands. He acceded to their request, and came, bringing along with him the son of the Kábul Sháh, but they were overthrown by Sabuk-Tigín near Charkh on the Lohgar river.

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* *See* the "Tabakát-i-Násirí," pages 19 to 22. Sálih appears to have been the actual ruler or feudatory, and he probably acted for Darhim, his father. Others say that it was after Darhim's death that Ya'kúb rose against his sons, but the account given in the "Tabakát-i-Násirí" seems too circumstantial not to be accurate.

† *See* page 507.

The Jámi'-ut-Tawáríkh states, that, after the invasion of Sind and Multán by Muhammad, the son of Ḳásim, no Musalmáns passed beyond Kábul (that is, to the eastward of Kábul) territory on holy warfare until the time of the Turk sovereigns of Ghaznín; and the author also refers to Gharjistán and Ghaznín, Kábul and Zábul.

After the Ghuzz tribe of Turks had destroyed the empire of the Saljúḳs, and detained Sulṭán Sanjar in captivity, they became very powerful; and, in the reign of Sulṭán Khusrau Sháh,* the last of the Ghazníwí sovereigns of the house of Sabuk-Tigín, who ruled in the Ghaznín territory or Zábulistán, the Ghuzz overran that territory, and in, or about, 557 H. (1162 A. D.)—for there is some discrepancy among the chroniclers about the exact dates at this period of the downfall of the Maḥmúdí dynasty—got possession of Kábul, Zábul, and Ghaznín, which they continued to hold for a period of twelve years.

As soon as Sulṭán Ghiyáṡ-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, son of Sám,† the Shansabání Tájzík ruler of Ghúr, became firmly established in his kingdom, he began to assail the Ghuzz Turks. The author of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí,"‡ who alone enters into these details from his personal knowledge of Ghúrián affairs, says:—"He (the Sulṭán) now began to "despatch bodies of horse towards Ghaznín, and the district of Zábul, and parts ad-"jacent thereunto. At that period, Kábul, Zábul, and Ghaznín were in the hands "of the tribes of the Ghuzz, who had wrested them out of the possession of Khusrau "Sháh. His reign had now terminated, and his son, Khusrau Malik, had succeeded "him, and had made Láhor his capital."

After a very narrow escape of being overthrown by the Ghuzz before Ghaznín, Sulṭán Ghiyáṡ-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, overthrew them in 569 H. (1173–74 A.D.), and gained possession of the Ghaznín territory, and Kábul and Zábul, naturally, with their dependencies, followed. He then made over those territories to his younger brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, the subsequent conqueror of Hindústán.§ In the year 570 H. (1174–75 A.D.) he gained possession of Gardaiz and its Dara'h, from which, the ruins of Zábul, visited by the Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, lies only some twenty miles to the south-eastwards. In the following year, the Sanḳurán tribe of the Ghuzz, who were orthodox Musalmáns, and after whom the Dara'h of Shalúzán or Shanúzán‖ was then named Sanḳurán, became rebellious; and, in the year following that again, in 572 H. (1176–77 A.D.), he marched a force against them, and put a great number to the sword. With these facts should be coupled the tradition that the Dzádzí and Túrí tribes of Upper Bangas'h are of Turkish descent—for the Afghán genealogists state that Dzádzaey and Túraey, their progenitors, were only *adopted sons* of Kodaey, the son of Karlárnaey—that Shalúzán is still inhabited by Túrís,¶ and that some of the progenitors of the Afghán tribes or Pus'htánah are said occasionally to have adopted the sons of people of the parts adjacent to whom they became attached, some of whom were Turks, respecting which adopted sons I shall have more to say as I proceed.**

After the defeat of the Ghuzz by the Ghúrián Sulṭáns, and the downfall of the power of these Turks, the stronghold of Zábul or Zuhákah appears to have been abandoned to decay and ruin; and the then increasing numbers and strength of the Afghán tribes may have, in some measure, conduced to it. Zábul and its dependencies are, however, occasionally referred to up to the reign of Sulṭán Sháh Rukh Mírzá, who, in 819 H. (1416 A.D.), "annexed Kábul, Zábul, and some parts of the territory

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* Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud Dín Sanjar was his great uncle.

† I may notice, for the benefit of those who turn Tájzík Ghúrís into Afgháns by making "Pathan dynasties" of them, that the Tájzík name of Sám will be constantly found among the names of these Shansabánís, because they, too, were Tájzíks, but they will never find Sám used as an Afghán name.

‡ *See* "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 376, 377.

§ Before the elder brother succeeded to the throne of Ghúr, he bore the title of Shams-ud-Dín, and after he succeeded, adopted the title of Sulṭán Ghiyáṡ-ud-Dín. The younger brother, who, before this, was styled Malik Shiháb-ud-Dín, after his brother's successes in Khurásán, received the title of Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín. Because the Hindústání writer of the history, from which Firishtah, the Dakhaní historian, copied his information, was not aware of these facts, the latter also sometimes calls him Shiháb-ud-Dín, and at others, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the Ghúrí; and those compilers who derive all their history from the translations of Firishtah, call the conqueror of Hindústán by the impossible and meaningless names of "Shahab ood Deen, Mahmood Ghoory," and some, "Mahomed Ghori" only. *See* "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 370, and 446, note 5.

‖ *See* page 81, and "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 449.

¶ *See* note ‡, page 390.

** *See* note †, page 468.

"of Multán, and some other places in Hind." These last refer to the western Do-ábahs of the Panj-áb, and the level tracts between the Indus and the mountain ranges on the west, subsequently known as the Dera'h-ját, which were included in the Ṣúbahs of Láhor and Multán as constituted under the sovereigns of the house of Bábar.

The fountain of the talisman, mentioned by the Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, seems to be the same which is mentioned in connection with the youthful prowess of the afterwards Sulṭán Maḥmúd, son of Sabuk-Tigín, on the occasion when Jai-pál, Rájah of Láhor, in the Hindú territories west of the Indus, made a supreme effort to stem the tide of Musalmán invasion, the account of which battle has been related at page 320.

I have recorded here these few statements from the Í-rání annals, and brought these few historical notices together, which show, with what I have already related respecting Bannú, how very much the names of Rustam and his family are mixed up with the history and traditions of these parts, ages before there was a single Afghán dwelling in them.

I have already given an account of Bábar Bádsháh's visit to the Maidán-i-Rustam, or Rustam's Plain, lying immediately south-eastwards of the Tájzík district of Gardaiz, and my subsequent identification of it, as related at page 455. Curiously enough, the position assigned to the site of Zábul, according to the whole of the notices respecting it, agrees exactly with that very part; and there, when opportunity offers for exploring this tract—not by Russians, it is hoped, but by Britons—there the site as described by the Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, will be found, or not far from it.

Ninety-second Route. From the Dera'h of Ghází Khán to Kandahár by the S'hwayey Lárey Ghás'haey or Pass, a distance of nearly two hundred kuroh.

"By this route you first proceed to Mangnoṭha'h or Mangroṭha'h, distant from the Dera'h of Ghází Khán by this road thirty-two kuroh north, inclining north-west. This is a considerable town, and is the residence of Massú Khán, the Nutkání Balúch, already noticed in a former route.* From thence the next stage brings you to Wahwá, another town previously mentioned in these routes, and to the west of which lies the pass of that name, which follows the course of the Wahwá, Kálá Pání, or Ghaṛ-áng river, as it is variously called.† The town of Wahwá is under the sway of the same Khán; and on the way thither there is paucity of water and inhabitants, with excess of sandy desert. The mountains show themselves some distance away on the left hand.

"The river of Wahwá having issued from those mountains, passes south of the town, after which it separates into two branches, one of which, called the Ghaṛak, in time of flood, passes eastwards beyond the fort of Ghaṛ-áng, and Chohnián, and unites with the Sind. The other branch passes about six or seven kuroh beyond Wahwá (east) and becomes expended in the irrigation of the lands in that direction. The chiefs and rulers of that part have, from time to time, cut canals and smaller water courses from that branch of the river in question, and conducted the water into the gardens, masjids, and quarters of the town, as well as into the cultivated lands. This river is called Kálá-pání, among other names, because it is unfailing.

"From the town of Wahwá two roads diverge; the right-hand one (north) leads to Chauḍh-Wa'án of the Bábaṛs, and Dṛá-bhaṇ of the Núḥárnís or Lúḥárnís; and the left-hand road (north-north-west) is as follows. Setting out from Wahwá, you go twelve kuroh west-north-west, inclining north, to Rámak, the name of the halting-place, and also of a dara'h or pass between the great range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah and the Koh-i-Surkh. The route lies along the course of the Rámak or Kálá-Pání stream [great part of the way], and through the lands of the Úsh-tarární section of the Sherání Afgháns, and separates them from each other. At this place, too [Rámak], the Afghán territory commences; here the country of the Pus'htánah or Afgháns begins; and herein the clan of Z'marís dwell. Leaving Rámak, you then go ten kuroh in the general direction of west; for the road winds considerably, and reach the *manzil* or stage called the Tangaey [that is, the defile or gorge], which is situated at the foot of the great range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-

* *See* page 330. † *See* page 7, and page 335, and note § §.

Siyah, which mountain range is often clothed in snow during the whole winter and spring.*

"By the way leading to this Tangaey the small clan of Z'marí Míárnahs, the Soṭ (*vul.* Isoṭ) Parnís, some of the Músá Khel Parnís, and the Mandú Khel tribe dwell.

"At this Tangaey, likewise, the route running from Chaudh-Wa'án of the Bábaṛs unites with the Rámak road just described."

The correct name of what is styled in our maps and gazetteers the "Chaudwan Pass" and "Dahina Pass" is da S'hwayey Lárey Ghás'haey, or The Slippery Road Pass. The name Chaudh Wa'án Pass is alone applicable to the eastern entrance opposite that town, and Dahana'h—not Dahina—to the *tangaey* or defile called the *dahana'h* or mouth, by which the great main range is crossed, as previously noticed, and as described farther on. This S'hwayey Lári route is formed by, or rather lies in, the bed of the river Kaldaní, also known as the Kálá Pání,† the "*Wulchree N.*" of the maps, which river rises among the fissures in the great main range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah,, pierces it about twelve miles south of the southern end of the Takht-i-Sulímán or Kasí Ghar, winds its way among the outer ridges thereof, and unites with the stream flowing through, and forming, the Shín-gáo pass or defile ten miles farther north, which stream receives a feeder called the T'ra'í rivulet, from *t'ra'í* signifying the skirt of a mountain,‡ which takes its rise in the cliffs immediately under or at the skirt of the eastern face of the Takht. These having joined the Kaldaní, the united stream winds its way eastwards through the Koh-i-Surkh or Rátá Paháṛ until it enters the Dámán about eight miles north-west of the cluster of villages known as Chaudh-Wa'án of the Bábaṛs. It then separates into several branches,§ all of which, with the exception of that which takes a south-east course, and passes close under the town on the south, run in the direction of north-east. After running a few miles, however, the whole of the water is drawn off for irrigation purposes or is lost in the thirsty soil.

This S'hwayey Lári Ghás'haey, with that of the Zá-o or Naraey Tarkaey, and the Ghwáyí Lári Ghás'haey, are the principal, the best known, and most generally used passes in the northern Dera'h-ját.

The Shín-gáo Pass leads into the country of the Sheránís through the bed of the stream just mentioned as uniting with the Kaldaní; and the road, which is difficult and stony, and only practicable for mules or bullocks, follows the bed of that river, and passes very near the southern extremity of the Takht-i-Sulímán. After clearing the great main range, a road leads northwards into the Sheráni country and to the Kasí Ghar or the Takht itself, on the western side, which is by no means so abrupt on that side as in all other directions. Continuing westwards by the Shín-gáo route, the Pasta'h, inhabited also by branches of the Sheránís and the Maṛhel Níázís, is reached, from which tract routes branch off and unite with the main ones leading farther west.

Before proceeding further in the account of this route it will be well to give a short account of the Afgháns mentioned by the author of these surveys; as, hitherto, very little has been made known respecting them; while, at the same time, several very erroneous statements have been made about them by persons who have much to learn about the Afgháns, their genealogies, and their history.

THE Z'MARÍ, LAURNÍ, AND JA'FAR SECTIONS OF THE MÍÁRNAH OR MÍÁRNÍ TRIBE OF AFGHÁNS.

The Míárnah or Míární‖ tribe of the Pus'htánah belong to the Saṛa'h-barn division of that race, being descended from Míárnaey, son of Sharaf-ud-Dín, *alias* Sharkhabún, son of Ibráhím, *alias* Saṛa'h-barn, son of Ḳais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd, the Paṭán.

* When the snow begins to appear on this and other mountains around, the Náṣir Powandahs prepare to move towards the east into the plains of the Dera'h-ját. *See* page 489.

† This is the original bed of the Kaldaní as it used to flow when these surveys were made, and before these changes took place. *See* page 329.

‡ *See* page 111.

§ As it is perennial, as the term means.

‖ The Míárnahs or Míárnís are probably Masson's "tribe of *Mihrains*," quoted by MacGregor, "who "inhabit the slopes of Tukht-i-Sulaimán, next to the Shíránís," because there is no tribe called by the name he gives; neither is there any tribe called "*Myaní*."

This tribe of Míárnahs must not be mistaken for the Míání Sheránís. *See* the account of the Sheráni tribe farther on.

Míárnaey was the brother of Sherán or Sheránaey, Tarín, Aor-Mar, and Barets,* and had thirteen sons, one of whom, the son of a Sayyid, was an adopted one.

The earliest seats of the Míárnahs or Míárnís, like those of all the other Afghāns, were among the hills and valleys springing from the Kasí-Ghar, or Ghar, Shú-ál, Pus'ht, etc., but, during the time of the Afghán Sultáns of the Dihlí kingdom, many of them took service under those rulers; and, subsequently, numbers of Míárnahs entered the service of the independent sovereigns of the Dakhan, and other Sultáns, the lands belonging to their tribe being quite insufficient to support them all; and, consequently, the tribe became much dispersed, five sections alone being now dwellers in and around their old homes.

The names of the sons of Míárnaey who were the progenitors of as many sub-tribes or sections, some of which never became numerous, are, Ghornaey—by the Sulímání, 'Abd-ur-Razzák, the genealogist, previously referred to at page 333, note ‡, he is styled Ghoraey—Laurnaey, since vitiated into Lúrnaey; Mulhaey or Mulaey; Lus [Luts?], Saláts;† Tsot; Shkorn; Lawárnaey—called Nawárnaey by the Sulímání‡—Rahwárnay or Rahárnaey or Rawárnaey;§ Togh; Ja'far; Momit; and an adopted son, the son of a Sayyid, who afterwards married into the family, and is named Gharshín by the Afgháns.

Laurnaey (*vul.* Loonee) was the progenitor of the Laurní|| branch of the Míárnahs, who dwell near our western frontier, at the point indicated in the route above. They were once powerful, and made a considerable figure in India in days gone by, but, in recent times, have, like other branches of the tribe, become weak, numbering only about 1,300 or 1,400 families, and have been unable to defend themselves from the encroachments of the Marís, Bughtís, and other Balúch interlopers. They contain some smaller subdivisions, which are little known, and are seldom mentioned under these separate names, the designation of Laurní Míárnahs being sufficient for all purposes. Those persons who do not understand Pus'hto, and cannot realize the pronunciation of the Pus'hto letter "*rn*," style them "Lúnis" and "Loonees"; and those who know not who they are, call them "Loonee and Lúni Patháns."¶

Ja'far, brother of Laurnaey, was the progenitor of that now very weak branch, numbering not more than about 500 families. They are subdivided into a few minor sections; and along with them dwell the remnant of the descendants of another brother of Ja'far, named Rahwárnaey or Rawárnaey.** They are chiefly pastoral, and have but one village, named Drúg, lying about thirty miles west-north-west from Mangrotha'h, in a small dara'h on the eastern slopes of the main range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, and just north of which place a stream pierces the main range, and unites with the Sangar river, farther east, in the range of Koh-i-Surkh or Rátá Roh, nine miles to the westward of Mangrotha'h. English people in the Dera'h-ját style them "Jafar Pathans," but that they are an offshoot of the ancient tribe of Míárnah is unknown to this day. The Drúg Pass, mentioned at page 8 of these "Notes," is so called after this village of the Ja'far Míárnahs. They have the Parnís of the Sot (*vul.* Isot), and Músá Khel branches on the west, but, on the east and south, the Bozdár Balúchís dwell. From the incursions and encroachments of these people the Ja'fars have suffered, as well as others of the Míárnah tribe. Traders used, in former times, to pass through their territory, but the depredations of the Balúch tribes led them to take another route.

Among the sons of Míárnah or Míárnaey, the only ones whose descendants have thrown out branches known by separate names are those of the two sons of Shkorn, one of whom was named Z'maraey, who was the progenitor of the Z'marís, and

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* Written Barech by those who do not understand the Pus'hto letter "*ts.*"

† Turned into Salách by those native copyists who were unacquainted with the Pus'hto "*ts.*"

‡ The letters "*l*" and "*n*" being sometimes interchangeable, as in Núhární and Lúhární.

§ *See* page 354, note †.

|| *See* note *, page 492.

¶ Mr. Duke, in the account he gives of some of the Afghán tribes in his "Report," previously noticed, says, at p. 157, "the Lunis are a *Durani* tribe," but, at p. 164, says, "they of course came from the west," and that "they are *Saraband* Afghans [he means, Sara'h-barn perhaps], and are stated to be descended "from one of the sons of Rais, a *Tarin*, who lived in Peshin. Some 600 in number, their original band "wandered through the Gumal Pass to Vehowa; but Vehowa not affording them a sufficiency of forage, "they re-ascended the mountains and came to Drug," etc., etc. In the preceding page he had previously "stated, that "the *Lunis* are *Sheran's* offspring, while from *Rais* are sprung the Tor and Spin Tarins." This is quite erroneous; Tarin had no son called Rais, nor are the Laurnís Tarins. I shall have something more to say on this subject when I come to the Taríns.

** *See* page 354, note †. This section has been scattered a good deal for some centuries past.

Kihtrán,* whose descendants are the Kihtráns, or, more correctly, Kihtrárns, of Wahwá and dependent villages. With these Kihtrárns or Kihtráns, those who have served on the Panj-áb frontier are familiar by name, but some writers have made terrible blunders respecting their descent, and have made Balúchís of them.

The Z'marís† dwell contiguous to, and south of, the Sheránís, and their territory consists of an elevated plateau chiefly, situated on the eastern slopes of the main range, as described in the account of the route. They dwell in a few small

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* These Kihtrárns are not of the same sub-tribe as the Kihtrárns a little farther west, although the names are written and spelt in the same way. The more numerous people, so called, are an offshoot of the Kásí tribe, descended from Khair-ud-Dín, *alias* Kharshabún, son of Saṛa'h-barn, while the Míárnahs are descended from Sharaf-ud-Dín, *alias* Sharkhabún, another son of Saṛa'h-barn, as will be described in the account of the Kásí tribe farther on.

Respecting these Míárnah Kihtrárns, MacGregor, in Part I. of his book, although quoting "Mahamad Hyát," says that "some of the Miánas," as he calls the Míárnahs, "are to be found amongst the Khetrans," as he writes the word, "of Vihowa. Hazrat Súlimán, whose tomb is at Taosa, is said to have been of this "tribe." He also says that "some of the Miánas are to be found in the Bangash village of Togh in Míranzaí." As the Kihtrárns and Z'marís are descended from Shkorn, one of Míárnah's sons, and the Togh or Toghí from another of his sons, it is not astonishing that Míárnahs are found among them, seeing that they are themselves Míárnahs.

But, in another place, the same writer says, that these "Khetrans" are a branch of the larger hill tribe of Khetrans, and in another place that these last are "*the wealthiest of the Baloch tribes.*" How is it possible, however, for the "Khetrans of Vihowa," who, he says, are "Miánas," to be a branch of the larger tribe, who are "the wealthiest of the Baloch," and thus be a "Miána" and a "Baloch" at the same time?

Muḥammad Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, in his "Hai'át-i-Afghání," after correctly stating that Kihtrán was the son of Shkorn, son of Míárnah, says, that some of Shkorn's descendants dwell among the Kihtráns of the *'aláka'h* of Ghaṛang, which is certainly true, since they are themselves Míárnahs.

In his book, likewise, he (Hai'át Khán) blunders in the name of the other son of Shkorn, which he writes Zerí, instead of Z'marí, which he appears to have taken from some imperfect copy of the Makhzan-i-Afghání. Another very serious error made by Hai'át Khán is, that he says a person told him that "Hazrat, Sulimán, *Chisti*, whose shrine is at Taunsah (*vul.* Taosa), was of this tribe (Míárnah)." The saint of Taunsah was probably a Ghar-shín, but, if a Chistí, he was not an Afghán at all.

Under the head of "Taosa," MacGregor, led astray by his authorities perhaps, says, forgetting, evidently, what he wrote before under the head of "Miánas," that "Hazrat *Khoja Shekh* Mahamad Sulimán *Khán*, the "saint over whose remains this *tomb* has been erected, was the son of Zakaria Khan, a *Jáfar* of the Drúg "hills, and a resident of the village of Gargojí."

Under the head of "Jáfars" and "Jáfar Patháns," which MacGregor says is "a small tribe of Patháns," he adds that "they have *no other village except* Drúg, *besides* Gargojí, which formerly used to be inhabited "by *Karshin Syads* [Ghar-shíns he refers to], but is now the residence of Povindahs. . . . The *founder* "of the Taosa *shrine* was of Jáfar parentage."

In another place he calls the Ghar-shíns "Khar-sín, a tribe of Syads who reside among the Ushtaranaás. They consist of 50 families. . . . Formerly they lived in the Bozdár [but Bozdárs are Balúchís, not 'Povindahs,' as mentioned above] country at Gargojí, a few miles from Drúg. . . . They are a pastoral "clan, and own fair lands in the Jáfar country. . . . They are a branch of the Kharsíns of Uch and "Ahmadpúr in the Baháwalpúr territories, and with them came over from Bokhára some 100 years ago. Of "the Kharsín tribe some 200 families [we were told before that they only consist of 50 families] live among "the Kákars of Peshín. . . . The word 'Kharsín,' which is only a Pathán corruption of Gharshin, is "derived from the supposed fact of their having, while residing about Bora and Peshín, at the request of the "herdmen of the tribes, solicited the divine aid to turn their bleak and rugged hills into grass-covered "mountains," etc., etc.

This is all very confusing. The last story here related, which was probably taken from the translation of Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar's book, has been *reversed;* and into such errors, compilers, without a special knowledge of their subject, are sure to fall. It happens, as related above, that Ghar-shín is Pus'hto, but "*Khar*" is "ass" in that language, as well as in the Persian. The tradition has been correctly related by Hai'át Khán, respecting the adopted son of Míárnah, so called. The scene of the supposed miracle neither refers to "Bora" nor to "Peshín." I may also mention that there are no Ghar-shíns of Uchchh nor Aḥmad-púr, but *Sayyids;* and they came "over from Bokhara" *more than twelve hundred years ago.* All this has arisen from the misunderstood account of the first Ghar-shín, the progenitor of the clan, who, according to tradition, belonged to the same Sayyid family as the Sayyids of Uchchh; and, as above related, one of the same Ghar-shín's descendants, one of the saints of the Afgháns, was contemporary with Sultán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, who reigned *nearly six hundred years ago.* He was, before he succeeded to the throne, the first of the feudatories of Dihlí, according to the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, who entertained Afgháns in his pay. *See* my "Translation," page 852, where they are described in a few words, but very graphically, and this work, pages 391, 392.

† In Part II. of his "Central Asia," MacGregor confounds these "Z'murees," as he styles them, "of "Elphinstone," with the "Zhmúríánís," as he calls the Jzamríárnis, "who inhabit the upper portion of the "Kúndar valley," but the two are totally distinct. In another place he calls them "the Jhumiran tribe," and in another "Zamooreeanees."

In another place he has a short article on the "Zmaras," which he calls "*a tribe of* the Derá Ishmáil "border," and that, according to Carr, "they are probably an offshoot of the Kákar tribe," but that "others "say they are a branch of the Mian Khel Lohánís." The "others" referred to meant Míárnahs, but were probably not understood. We are then further informed that their language is "Pashtú," and that they are all "Sunis," as though Afgháns did not all speak Pus'hto, their mother tongue, and were not—save some followers of the heretical doctrine of the Pír-i-Tárík or Saint of Darkness, mistaken for Shí'ahs—all orthodox Sunnís.

I mentioned these Z'marís, and gave a brief account of them, as far back as 1855; and in an article on the Kákars, in Part II. of the compilation above mentioned, wherein my mention of the Z'marís is referred to,

villages, and carry on a little trade with our frontier towns lying near them. They bring down small quantities of fruit, a few bullocks, goats, and wood, and take back with them a few necessaries such as grain, sugar, salt, and coarse fabrics for clothing.

A few of the descendants of Togh or Toghaey (who had six sons, and one of whom was named Zawaṛah) dwell in Bangas'h, and give name to a village still known by their name.*

As the Ghar-shíns, the descendants of Míárnaey's or Míárnah's adopted son, are accounted among the branches of the Míárnah tribe, it will be well, perhaps, to notice them also very briefly here. Míárnaey or Míárnah adopted a boy, the son of a Sayyid, and brought him up as his own son. In course of time he married a wife or wives of the Míární tribe, and his descendants, who never became numerous, were accounted a branch of the Míárnahs. Their progenitor gave himself up to a life of religious austerity, and his descendants, for the most part, followed in his footsteps. He was known by the name of Ghar-shín among the Afghán people, because he, according to tradition, at the urgent request of some of his disciples, by his prayers, turned a dry, barren, mountain tract into a green and fertile one. A mountain or mountain range, in Pus'hto, is called *ghar*, and green and fruitful *shín*; hence his by-name of Ghar-shín. His real name has not transpired. Be this as it may, he and his descendants are, and always have been, greatly venerated as saints and very holy men among the Afghán people, although some are reduced to great poverty, and are much dispersed. One of his descendants, who is greatly venerated for his sanctity, and accounted one of the great saints of the Saṛa'h-barns, was the Malik, Yár Purán, who was contemporary with Sulṭán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Balban, who ruled over the Dihlí kingdom from 664 H, (1265–66 A.D.) to 685 H. (1286 A.D.).

A number of Ghar-shíns, in former times, took up their residence in Hindústán along with other branches of the Míárnahs, and there their descendants may still be found. There was a Ṣadr Khán, Ghar-shín, appointed Fowj-dár of Malwá by Sulṭán Sher Sháh, Súr. Some Ghar-shíns dwell near Kandahár; some among the Kákaṛs in the Boṛa'h, and in Púshang; some among the Músá Khel Paṛnís; a few are to be found among their Laurní kinsmen; and those who used to dwell along with their Ja'far kinsmen near Drúg, have, on account of the encroachments of the Bozdár Balúchís, who made a raid upon them some years ago, and plundered their village, taken shelter with the Úsh-tarární Sheránís, who are also of Sayyid descent, and who are enemies of the Bozdár Balúchís,† and able to protect them, which the Laurnís and Ja'fars were too weak themselves to do. Some of the Ghar-shíns‡ are to be found in the village named after them, situated four miles west-south-west of Burhán, on the road from Aṭak to Ráwal Pindí; some at Úchchh; and some in other parts of the territory of Baháwal-púr.

The Míárnah or Míární tribe made a considerable figure in India in former times, and appear to have entered it in considerable numbers soon after the accession of the first Afghán sovereign, Sulṭán Bahlúl, Lodí, when so many Pus'htúns responded to his call for assistance from his countrymen in consolidating his kingdom, and left their native mountains, where they could only eke out a scanty subsistence, to seek their fortunes in Hind, and many of these were Laurnís.§

After the downfall of the house of Lodí, and conquest of the Dihlí empire by Bábar Bádsháh, among the great feudatories who were sent by him against the Rána Ṣanká, was the 'Umdat-ul-A'yán (Great among Grandees), Niẓám Khán, the Míárnah. There was a Ḥasan Khán, Míárnah, also, who held the *mansab* of commander of 400 horse in

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there is a note of interrogation between brackets, thus—(?),—as though it was a matter of doubt to the writer whether such a clan existed.

* *See* pages 408 and 439.

† The native explorer, styled "the Bozdár," in the Surveyor General's Report, who is referred to at page 502, note §, belonged to this very Bozdár Balúch tribe.

‡ Mr. Duke, in his "Report," page 96, calls them "Garshins," and confounds them with the Sayyids of Púshang, which is an error. They are not known as "Sáiads of Kábal."

§ There were Afgháns in the Dakhan at an early period, as early as 773 H. (1371–72 A.D.), at least; and there was a Lodí Amír in the service of the ruler of Bíjá-púr as early as 898 H. (1492–93 A.D.). The first 'Ádil Sháh, Yúsuf, the founder of the dynasty which ruled over the Bíjá-púr kingdom, was the son of the 'Uṣmánlí Sulṭán, Murád, who died in 854 H. (1450 A.D.); and when orders were issued that only one Prince of his family should be allowed to live, was exchanged for a young slave, who was put to death instead, and Yúsuf was taken out of the country by a merchant, and thus escaped the destruction intended for him. He entertained a number of Turkish females in his *ḥaram*; his chief Amírs were Turks; and his forces were composed of Turks, 'Arabs, Kurds, Uzbaks, Afgháns, and other foreigners, besides Ráj-púts, and other warlike natives of India. Some, however, say that Yúsuf was a Circassian; others, that he was a Georgian, and that he was sold as a slave to Sulṭán Muḥammad, Bahmaní, by the merchant alluded to above.

Akbar Bádsháh's reign, but he did not generally patronize Afgháns for any high appointments.*

When Sher Khán, Súr, overcame Humáyún Bádsháh and assumed the sovereignty of Dihlí, among other independent rulers was Sikandar Khán, Miárnah, who held the territories of Satwáns and Hadiyah; and he refused to submit to Sher Sháh, who moved against him, and other independent chiefs, in 949 H. (1542–43 A.D.), when he presented himself, but he was imprisoned. In after times he became one of the great Amírs of Islám Sháh, Sher Sháh's son and successor.† On his being imprisoned, his brother, Naṣír Khán, endeavoured to seize Shujá'at Khán, Súr, Sher Sháh's governor of Málwah, as a hostage for his brother's safety, but he was defeated in the attempt. In 950 H. (1543–44 A.D.), 'Álim Khán, Miárnah, broke out at Míraṭhh in the Do-ábah, but he was surprised by the forces of the governor of Sahrind, defeated, and killed. It was probably about this period that the Miárnahs began to seek their fortunes in southern India.‡

The Miárnahs, in the time of Jahán-gír Bádsháh, appear to have mostly settled in the kingdom of Bíjá-púr. The Nawwábs of Sháh-núr (*vul.* Savanoor) of Banká-púr were Miárnah Afgháns, and were among the great Amírs and feudatories of the 'Ádil Sháhí Sulṭáns of the Bíjá-púr State. They were the descendants of Ján-Niṣár, a Shál Miárnah, who held the personal rank of commander of 2,500, and was commander of 2,000 horse, in the reign of Ismá'íl 'Ádíl Sháh, who ruled from 916 H. (1510 A.D.), to 941 H. (1534–35 A.D.). He, Ján-Niṣár Khán, was dark in complexion and gigantic in size, and hence was known by the by-name of the Kálá Pahár, or the Dark or Towering Mountain, by the people of the Dakhan.§

The historian from whom I obtain this information‖ says, that Ján-Niṣár Khán claimed descent [like all Afgháns, however] from the sister of Khálid, son of Walíd [*see* Section Fourth, page 381, and note*], and was killed in battle during a war between Ibráhím, the 'Ádil Sháhí Sulṭán, and Sulṭán Ḥusain, the Niẓám-ul-Mulk, of Aḥmad-nagar, and founder of that city. He left behind him two capable sons, of whom 'Azíz Mián, the eldest, received the title of Fatḥ Lashkar Khán,¶ and the rank and position of his father; and the youngest son, 'Abd-un-Nabí, entitled Raṇ-mast Khán, held at that time the personal rank of commander of 1,000 horse, and commanded a contingent of 700 horse.

Fatḥ Lashkar Khán greatly distinguished himself in his sovereign's service, and rose to the rank of commander of 3,500 during the reign of Sulṭán Muḥammad [called by some Maḥmúd], 'Ádil Sháh, who reigned from 1036 H. (1626–27 A.D.) to 1071 H. (1660–61 A.D.), and who subsequently acknowledged the suzerainty of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh.** He was killed in battle in sight of Gul-bargah, during a war between the before-mentioned 'Ádil Sháhí ruler and Ibráhím Ḳuṭb Sháh, Sulṭán of Ḥaidar-ábád or Gul-kandah.

Jabbár Khán, Miárnah, son of Fatḥ Lashkar Khán, succeeded to his father's fief; and when the sovereignty of the kingdom of Bíjá-púr devolved on 'Alí 'Ádil Sháh, son of Sulṭán Muḥammad, he, towards the close of his reign, when rewarding his great Amírs with *jágírs* or fiefs, conferred upon Jabbár Khán, after the death of the previous feudatory, the *ṣúbah* of Banká-púr,†† together with twenty-two *maḥálls*,

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* He, nevertheless, had a large number of Afgháns in his armies, his Amírs keeping up contingents composed of this warlike race.

† He was afterwards assassinated at the instigation of the Mírzá's when they broke out into rebellion in Akbar Bádsháh's reign.

‡ There were also Afgháns of the Karlární tribe of Dilazák in these parts. A Pur-dil Khán, Dilazák, called by the nickname of Chihil-Taní, because he had always forty trusty followers at his back, was governor of the Ṣúbah of Sará in the Dakhan: and there were other Dilazáks besides, down to modern times.

§ Kálá Pahár, too, is the Hindí name of the range of Mihtar Sulimán, or Koh-i-Siyah, from which the family had come.

‖ The "Tazkirát-ul-Bilád wa ul-Ḥukkám," of Mír Ḥusain 'Alí, not Firishtah, who gives no such information. This work is a very rare one.

¶ The Bíjá-púr Sar-dárs or Amírs, Lashkar Khán and Ikhláṣ Khán, are repeatedly referred to in Jahán-gír Bádsháh's reign.

** Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh succeeded to the throne in 1037 H. (1627 A.D.); and he set out for the conquest of the Dakhan, for the first time, in the fourth month of 1039 H. (end of 1629 A.D.). Three army corps were formed; and among the chief *manṣabdárs* with the troops of the second corps were Ihdád, the Mahmand, Jahán Khán, Kákar, and Pír Khán, Miárnah; and in the third corps, Sáliḥ Khán, Tarín, etc. He invaded the Dakhan the second time in 1044 H. (1634 A.D.); and Bíjá-púr nominally acknowledged the suzereignty of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh for the first time at the close of 1045 H. (1636 A.D.).

†† Banká-púr district, at present, forms the southern extremity of the province of Bíjá-púr. The chief towns are Banká-púr and Sháh-núr, which latter place was founded by Bahlúl, Miárnah, presently to be mentioned. It lies about forty miles S.E. from Dhár-wár; Banká-púr is in sight of Sháh-núr, and about six miles S.W. of it.

yielding upwards of fifty-four *lákhs* of rúpís, in fief, together with the personal rank of commander of 5,000 horse, and a contingent of 4,000.

Jabbár Khán despatched thither, as his deputy, his son, Bahlúl Khán,* who was shabby, and not very cleanly, in his dress, and, like his great-grandfather, he was dark in complexion, and a man of great size and stature; hence he also was called by the Dakhanís, Bahlúl, the Kálá Pahár. His father having died of a spear wound, received while leading the van in a battle in which Rám Ráj, one of the Rájahs of Southern India, was killed, Bahlúl, in 1042 H. (1632–33 A.D.), succeeded to his father's fief and position; and it was he who founded Sháh-núr, Banká-púr being retained as a fortress only.

When, towards the close of the reign of the second 'Alí 'Ádil Sháh, who reigned from 1071 H. to 1083 H. (1660–61 A.D. to 1672–73 A.D.), his affairs, on account of his vain-glory and self-conceit, fell into great disorder, most of his Amírs became disgusted and disaffected, and several of them went over to the Sháh-zádah, Muḥammad Aurang-zeb, then in the Dakhan as viceroy of the southern provinces of the Dihlí empire recently acquired. Among them was Bahlúl Khán, the Kálá Pahár;† and, on presenting an offering of three *lákhs* of rúpís, and valuable presents to the Sháh-zádah, his fief was confirmed to him as before. It was at this time, through Bahlúl Khán's intervention, that Khiẓr Khán, the Boṛízí Parní‡ obtained the fief of the Sarkár of Kannúl, or Karnúl (*vul.* Kurnool), respecting whom more will be mentioned in the account of the Parní tribe. Bahlúl Khán enjoyed his fief altogether (including the time he was his father's deputy), for a period of forty-nine years, and died§ in the reign of Sikandar 'Ádil Sháh, with whom the 'Ádil Sháhí dynasty of Bíjá-púr terminated.

He was succeeded by his son, Dalíl Khán,‖ who kept on good terms with Sikandar 'Ádil Sháh, who was himself subject to the Bádsháh of Dihlí; but, when Muḥammad Aurang-zeb again entered the Dakhan in 1092 H. (1681 A.D.), for its subjugation,

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* Bahlúl, Raṇ-dúlah, and Farhád Kháns, the Bíjá-púrís, and Sáhú, the Bhonslah, greatly harassed the Dihlí forces during their investment of Daulat-ábád in the last month of 1042 H. (1633 A.D.); and Bahlúl Khán, evidently the Miárnah Afghán above mentioned, repeatedly beat up their quarters. The Raṇ-dúlah Khán here mentioned probably refers to 'Abd-un-Nabí, known among the Dakhanís as Raṇ-mast Mián, second or youngest son of Ján-Niṣár Khán, Miárnah, the Kálá Pahár, and from which Raṇ-mast Mián the Nawwábs of Kaṛappah, mentioned farther on, are descended.

When the Nawwáb, Khán-i-Jahán, the Lodí—who was the especial favourite of Jahán-gír Bádsháh, who styled him *farzand* or son, and was hated accordingly by the rebellious Sháh-zádah, Khurram, afterwards Sháh-i-Jahán, and some of whose designs he effectually thwarted—fled from the Court soon after the latter's accession, in 1038 H. (1628 A.D.), having good cause to fear his destruction was planned, and as, subsequently, was proved and carried out, Bahlúl, the Miárnah, and Sikandar, the Ḍoṭární (incorrectly called a "Lohání" by Kháfí Khán), who are said by the Mughal historians to have been the "yeast of the Khán-i-Jahán's out-break," as they call his flight for life, also left the Court soon after, and joined the Khán-i-Jahán, at Daulat-ábád in the territory of the Niẓám-ul-Mulk of Aḥmad-nagar.

† The Bahlúl, Miárnah here mentioned must be the same person as is referred to above, although the Dakhaní historian from whom the above notice is extracted does not mention Bahlúl, the second Kálá Pahár, ever having been at the Court at this time. The Sháh-zádah, Muḥammad Aurang-zeb, was sent into the Dakhan upon several occasions; and the period at which Bahlúl went over to Aurang-zeb was in 1067 H. (1657 A.D.), the last time; for it was from the Dakhan that the latter advanced, soon after, for the purpose of dethroning his father, Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, whose lessons in rebellion against his own father were not lost upon such an apt scholar as Muḥammad Aurang-zeb.

The Mughal historians relate, that, in 1087 H. (1676 A.D.), Islám Khán, the Náẓim of Málwah, who had been sent to serve under the Khán-i-Jahán, Bahádur [not the Lodí, who had been hunted to death long before this], in concert with another Amír, named Dilír Khán, was defeated by Bahlúl of Bíjá-púr near the town of Malker, beyond the river Bhinwrah, and that Islám Khán, and his son, 'Alí Beg, were killed.

‡ Boṛí-zí: not "Baro-zai."

§ No date is given, but he must have died about the year 1091 H. (1680 A.D.) The Ma'áṣir-ul-Umará says in 1087 (1676–77 A.D.).

‖ Dalíl Khán appears to have been his title at this time, and his name, which is not mentioned separately by the Dakhaní historian, Ḥusain; for the Ma'áṣir-i-'Álamgírí, under the events of the year 1094 H. (1683 A.D.), the twenty-sixth of 'Álam-gír Bádsháh, and the third month, mentions, that "Ḥusain, the Miárnah, who was a "person of high descent in the state of Bíjá-púr, deserted, and came over to the side of the Bádsháh. He was "received with great honour, so much so, indeed, that he was conducted to the door of the Ghusal Khánah "(lit., the bath-room, but here refers to 'Álam-gír Bádsháh's place of holding Cabinet Councils, as mentioned "at page 416, which see) by Atash Khán; and Ashraf Khán, the Mír Bakhshí, came from the Chabútarah to "welcome him, exclaiming, '*Khush amadед!*' 'You are welcome!' He was raised to the personal rank of "commander of 5,000 horse, with a contingent of 5,000, also, was assigned a standard and kettle-drum, and "received the title of Fatḥ Jang Khán, and a gift of 40,000 rúpís. His brothers and kinsmen received "dresses of honour, and *manṣabs* according to their rank and deserts." It was in this same year that Hai'át Khán, the Abdálí, from the province of Ḳandahár presented himself at Court, and received a dress of honour, etc. The author of the same work subsequently styles Dalíl Khán, "Dilír-i-Fatḥ Jang, Miárnah, whose son, "Ma'ṣúr Khán, was killed, and himself wounded, before the city and fortress of Bíjá-púr, then being invested, "in the ninth month of 1096 H. (1685 A.D.)."

as 'Álam-gír Bádsháh, Dalíl Khán joined him with a body of 2,000 Afghán cavalry and 3,000 foot, many of them of his own tribe, and all in his own pay.

Bíjá-púr was taken possession of, and that State finally annexed, in Zí-Ka'dah, the eleventh month, of 1097 H. (end of 1686, A.D.),* long previous to which, Dalíl, Míárnah, attained the title of Dilír Khán—the Intrepid Khán—for a delicate and particular service he performed, in bringing back to the Bádsháh's presence one of his sons, who left his camp intent on openly rebelling against his father—the particulars of which I have not space for here—and was raised to the personal rank of commander of 5,000 horse, with a contingent of 4,000, a *togh*, and the insignia of the *Máhí wo Marátib*. "Thus," says the historian, "he exceeded in rank all the Amírs of the "Dakhan; indeed," he adds, "no Tímúríah Amír had attained such rank before."† Dilír Khán was, perhaps, the most distinguished of the family. He performed other good services, and died a natural death, after ruling his fief for a period of thirty-two years, and was succeeded by his son, 'Abd-ul-Ghafúr.‡ Space precludes my entering into further details here, but in my "History of the Afgháns," the completion of which has been delayed for these "Notes," I shall give a detailed account of this family. Suffice it here to say, that his descendants held the fief, which, from the continued distracted state of the country of the Dakhan, became gradually reduced, up to the year 1207 H. (1792–93 A.D.).

THE KHÁNS OF KAṚAPPAH.

Another branch of this family of the Míárnah tribe of the Afgháns held the extensive fief of Kaṛappah, which word is spelt precisely like the name of the alternate route from Pes'háwar to Jalal-ábád, mentioned at page 176, but English writers have turned it, like thousands of other words, into the vitiated form of Cudhapah and Kudappah. These Míárnahs, too, like the Nawwábs of Sháh-núr, were Amírs in the service of the sovereigns of the 'Ádil Sháhí dynasty, and were the descendants of 'Abd-un-Nabí, entitled Raṇ-mast Mián, second or youngest son of Ján-Nisár Khán, the first Kálá Paháṛ of Sháh-núr, previously noticed. 'Abd-un-Nabí, who was one of the Dakhan Amírs,§ left four sons, 'Azíz,‖ who had already gained a *mansab*, and Á'ẓam, Raḥím, and Karím, who, in the reign of the second 'Alí 'Ádil Sháh,¶ not having acquired the position they aspired to, left Bíjá-púr, and presented themselves before the Sháh-zádah, Muḥammad Aurang-zeb, who had been despatched by his father, Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, in 1067 H. (1656–57 A. D.), to arrange the affairs of the Dakhan. Through the interest and influence of the Khán-i-Jahán, Kúkah [Sháistah Khán, who obtained that title] they obtained *mansabs* and fiefs, but, not considering themselves adequately rewarded, they became disgusted. Á'ẓam Khán, however, by his worldly

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* 'Álam-gír Bádsháh had to leave his camp before Sholá-púr, the investment of which he had been carrying on for a long time, move to Bíjá-púr, and leave the investment of the former place to his subordinates; for he found that his son, Muḥammad Á'ẓam Sháh, for his own purposes, had been secretly aiding the defenders of Bíjá-púr, which place was also closely invested, in their resistance. Shortly afterwards, on the 4th of Zí-Ḳa'dah, the eleventh month, 1097 H. (September, 1685 A.D.) the fortress surrendered, and Sikandar, the last of the 'Ádil Sháhí rulers, came out.

† This is not quite correct, unless the attainment of the insignia of the *Máhí wa Murátib* be referred to. Briggs, in his "revised translation" of "Haji Musteefa's *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*," page 277, tells us, that the "military order of the fish" was introduced into India by the Mogols." He means the Mughal sovereigns of the house of Tímúr, but he is much mistaken. This very order, then styled the "*Máhí wa Subáhí*," was conferred upon an ecclesiastic, the author of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" (see page 1295 of my Translation), in February, 1260 A.D., nearly three hundred years before the time of the first of the "Mogols" of Briggs.

The Ma'áṣir-ul-Umará styles him 'Abd-ur-Ra'úf by name, and Dilír Khán by title, and says that he was raised to the dignity of commander of 7,000 horse, and a contingent of the same amount, in the forty-eighth year of 'Álam-gír Bádsháh's reign, 1115–16 H. (1703–1704 A.D.).

This explains the statement above, that he attained higher rank than any Tímúríah Amír before him.

‡ The Ma'áṣir-i-'Álam-gírí states, that a son of Bahlúl Khán, Míárnah, 'Abd-ul-Muḥammad, by name, came to the Court in the twelfth year of 'Álam-gír Bádsháh, that is, in 1089 H. (1678 A.D.), and was raised to the title of Ikhláṣ Khán, with the personal rank of commander of 5,000 horse and a contingent of 4,000.

Ikhláṣ Khán, the Míárnah, and 'Azíz Khán, the Rohilah, and others, as well as the famous Dá'úd Khán, the Boṛízí Parní, and his brothers, distinguished themselves at the siege of Wákan-kírá, which held out for a considerable time, particularly in the attack upon the key of the position called the Lál Ṭekrí, or Red Mound or Hill, "their Afghán followers, because they were themselves mountaineers, climbing the hill like goats."

§ That is, in the service of one of the rulers of the Dakhan.

‖ He is mentioned in 1076 H. (1665–66 A.D,), as having been detached, with other leaders, to harass the Mughal invaders under the Sháh-zádah, Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam, and the Rájah, Jai Singh.

¶ 'Alí 'Ádil Sháh reigned from 1071 to 1083 H. (1660–61 to 1672–73 A.D.).

prudence, attained high rank; and he made his brother, Karím Khán, his Amír-i-Sámán or Lord Steward.* After that, the other brother, Rahím Khán, with the assistance of the notorious Mír Jumlah, a Sayyid of Iṣfahán, once a diamond merchant, and, at that period, Minister of 'Abd-ullah, the Kuṭb Sháh, the Sulṭán of Haidar-ábád,† obtained advancement in the service of that ruler, and soon acquired the rank of commander of 3,000 horse. He greatly distinguished himself by his zeal and prudence on several occasions, until he attained the very foremost position in that ruler's service, but, soon after, death overtook him.

He left a son, Nek-nám Khán by name, who was raised to the rank of his father; and he likewise distinguished himself, and performed important services in conjunction with Mír Jumlah, at the period that the latter was deputed to arrange the affairs in the country Bálá-i-Gháṭ [*i. e*, above the Gháṭs], and subsequently in the Karnáṭík Pá'ín-i-Gháṭ‡ [*i. e.*, below the Gháṭs]. Nek-nám was left in charge of a large tract of country, and received a standard and kettle-drum. He subsequently wrested out of the hands of the Páligárán§ of Ání-Gundí, Ginjí Koṭ, Kahman, Buduwel, Jamal-Marg, and other places, by force of arms. After that, assembling a force of Afgháns and Dakhanís, he fell upon the Páligárán and routed them, and took Sid-húṭ from them by storm. For these services he was rewarded with the grant of a territory yielding a revenue of fifty *lákhs* of rúpís, dependencies of Channúr, Ginjí Koṭ, *et cetera*, with the entire control over it, and the insignia of the *Máhí wa Murátib*. He founded in Sid-húṭ the city of Nek-nám-ábád,‖ and died in the year 1097 H. (1685 A.D.), subsequent to the overthrow both of the Kuṭb Sháhí and 'Ádil Sháhí dynasties, and at the time that the renowned Dá'úd Khán, the Borízí Parní, was on his way to take up the appointment of Ṣúbah-dár of the Karnáṭíks, and reached Nek-nám-ábád. As Nek-nám Khán left no son behind him, Dá'úd Khán arranged matters, temporarily, by installing in charge of the fief, La'l Khán, son of 'Abd-un-Nabí, the late Khán's sister's son, who had also become renowned in the service of the Kuṭb Sháhí sovereign, and held several lesser fiefs.

In the great battle near Akbar-ábád¶ in 1119 H. (1707 A.D.), in which Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh (*see* Section Fourth, page 416), the eldest son and heir of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír Bádsháh, was victorious over his brother and rival, Muḥammad Á'ẓam Sháh, who had usurped the sovereign power, Á'ẓam Khán, Miárnah, and his brother, Karím Khán, were killed, fighting valiantly in front of the elephant of Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh. After the battle, the Bádsháh commanded that, if any descendant of Á'ẓam Khán remained, he should be presented to him. As he, too, was childless, 'Alí Mardán Khán, the Bádsháh's Sipáh-Sálár,** presented 'Abd-un-Nabí Khán, Miárnah, the son of Karím Khán, Á'ẓam brother, who fell at the same time. He was accordingly presented with a dress of honour and a sword, and the investiture of a fief consisting of twenty-two *maḥálls* out of the territory previously held by his grandfather, the renowned Nek-nám Khán, was conferred upon him; while, for the support of the widow of the late Á'ẓam Khán, twelve *maḥálls* in the Sarkár of Wellor (*vul.* Vellore) were assigned, which were included previously in the Sarkár of Chingal-penṭh (*vul.* Chingleput), and known to us as the "Bara mahal"

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* Therefore, he was in his brother's service, and not subordinate to any other person.

† 'Abd-ullah, the Kuṭb-ul-Mulk, died in 1085 H. (1674-75 A.D.), and his brother's son and his own son-in-law, Abú-l-Ḥasan, succeeded him.

The French traveller, Thevenot, himself a diamond merchant, knew the Mír Jumlah, personally, at the time he was in the service of the ruler of Ḥaidar-ábád.

‡ The Mír Jumlah, a Sayyid of Iṣfahán, occupied the Karnáṭík for his sovereign, the Kuṭb-ul-Mulk, in 1066 H. (1655 A.D.), and, shortly after, deserted his service, and went over to the Sháh-zádah, Muḥammad Aurang-zeb, whose confidant, soon after, he became. He subsequently received the title of Mu'aẓẓam Khán, and afterwards rose still higher. He was the father of Muḥammad Amín Khán, who was Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul, and whose army of 40,000 men was annihilated by the Afgháns at the Landey Khána'h *Kotal* in the Khaibar defile, narrated at page 41 of these "Notes."

§ Petty native chiefs or zamín-dárs permitted to hold their lands on paying tribute to the government, not the proper name of any tribe or people. They were constantly in a state of rebellion.

‖ W. Hamilton, in his "Account of Hindostan," Vol. II., page 345, under the head of "Sidhut," says:—"It became the residence of the Nabobs of Cuddapah on their being threatened by the Mysore power, as "besides the strength of the fort (which is, however, commanded by some of the neighbouring hills), the "country generally is of difficult access. The town surrounding the fort was then extensive, and it continued "a populous and thriving place until the removal of the Collector's office to Cuddapah, which took place not "long ago."

¶ Near Já-jíw Saráe, which is between eight and ten *kos* from Akbar-ábád, on the 18th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal—the third month—of 1119 H. (June, 1707 A.D.).

** Known as Ḥusaní Beg of Ḥaidar-ábád, who held the rank of commander of 6,000 in 'Álam-gír Bádsháh's reign. He was *a* Sipáh-Sálár, but not *the* Sipáh-Sálár of the army on that occasion.

(*bárah maháll*, in Hindí vernacular, signifies *twelve mahálls* or districts), which were conquered from Rám Rayal by the 'Ádil Sháhís in 995 H. (1587 A.D.). 'Abd-un-Nabí Khán died in 1107 H. (1696 A.D.), leaving four sons.

After this, five of his descendants, the last of whom was 'Abd-ul-Majíd Khán, ruled over his fief, which, finally, was seized upon by Típú, Sulṭán of the Mysúr, in 1207 H.* (1792 A.D.); and, subsequently, in 1215 H. (1800 A.D.), in the partition of Ṭípú's territory, it fell to the share of the Áṣaf-ud-Daulah. In that same year the territory in question was made over to the British for the support and pay of twelve regiments, and is known as the Assigned Districts.

In my History of the Afgháns I shall also give a full account of these Míárnah Nawwábs.

After this digression, I resume my account of the Afghán tribes dwelling on and near the line of route under description, from page 516.

The Músá Khel and Soṭs (*vul.* Isoṭs), mentioned in the account of this route, are Parnís, not Kákaṛs, as has been incorrectly asserted, and will be again noticed in the account of the Parní tribe, farther on. The Úsh-tarárnís have been already noticed in the account of the Sheránís at page 524; and the Mandú Khel Ghor-ghas'hts still remain to be described.

The Mandú Khel Tribe of Afgháns.

The Mandú Khel branch of the Pus'htúns or Afgháns are of the Ghor-ghas'ht division of that nation, and are one of the oldest branches, being descended from Mandú or Mando, son of Ismá'íl, *alias* Ghor-ghas'ht,† son of Ḳais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd. Mandú was the brother of Bábaey and Dánaey, the former of whom was the progenitor of the Bábí tribe, previously noticed at page 493;‡ and Dánaey, as already stated, was the father of Parnaey, Dáwaey, and Kákaṛ. The Mandú Khel never appear to have become very numerous, and, consequently, do not seem to have thrown out many

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* W. Hamilton, not knowing, apparently, that these were Afgháns, says (page 346):—" Haleem Khán, the " last Nabob of the *Maive* line [Míárṇí line ?] resided here [at Sid-húṭ], when Hyder [Ṭípú, his son ?] took " the fort, and carried the family of the Nabob into captivity. The town has the reputation of being healthily " situated, and is rather a favourite residence with the natives."

† MacGregor says, under the heading of "Ghorghusht," that it is the name of a son of Kais Abdúl Rashíd, from whom are descended the following tribes of *Patháns*:—Kákars, Panís, Mandú Khel, Bábís, &c., &c. Scarcely anything is known of any of these tribes, though Mahamad Hyát has a meagre account of the branches of "Ghorghusht." Muḥammad Hai'át, however, in the original 'Urdú text, gives a long account of the Kákaṛs, and others here mentioned. As so very little is known about them, the present brief account will show who they are.

Lest any one might conclude that the territory of Ghúr has anything to do with this name, I had better explain it. Ghor-ghas'ht is merely his by-name, like as Saṛa'h-barn is that of his brother, Ibráhím. The real name of the former is Ismá'íl; and the reason of his obtaining this by-name is thus explained in the Khulásat-ul-Anṣáb. "He was, from childhood, of a cheerful, frolicsome disposition, and fonder of play " than work. When he became older, his parents used to chide him, and say, 'Art thou ever going to " 'do any work, or art thou going to spend all thy days in this *ghor-ghas'ht?*' These words, in the " language of the Afgháns, mean, leaping and jumping, playing about and romping, as is the custom of " children; and these words became applied to Ismá'íl as a by-name." For the derivation of these words see under *ghor-zedal* or *ghar-zedal*, and *ghas'htal*, in my Pus'hto Dictionary. Those Afgháns who give the Pus'hto "*s'h*" the harsher sound of "*k'h*," as in Pes'háwar and north of the river of Kábul, would call him Ghor-ghak'ht.

Mr. Bellew, in his *latest* book (p. 19), tells us, that the sons of *Kais* were called *Saraban*, *Batan*, and *Ghúrghusht*, concluding, apparently, that these nick-names are the real ones. Then he says:—"These names " are of themselves *very remarkable*, and at once *afford a clue* to the composition of the nation from an ethnic " point of view." True, from an *ethnic* point of view, as far as one meaning of that word goes, only they are not *idolaters*. What the supposed Hindú name of Ḳais was we are not informed.

Ibráhím, nick-named Saṛa'h-barn, had two sons, Sharaf-ud-Dín and Khair-ud-Dín, who are known among the Afgháns by the nick or by-names of Sharkhabún and Kharshabún, which Mr. Bellew changes into *Sharjyún* and *Khrishyún*, and describes as Hindús. Saṛa'h-barn, himself, under the name of *Saraban*, is left alone, but his descendants are made "*Suryabans—the solar or royal race—now represented in India by* " *the Rájpút*;" and his sons' nick-names—Sharkhabún and Kharshabún—are pronounced to be merely "*the common Rájput and Brahman proper names, Krishan and Surjan.*" Sherán or Sheránaey, one of Sharkhabún's sons, which Mr. Bellew *now* writes "*Sheorani*," is made into the Hindú name of "*Shivaram.*" *See* note ‡, page 524, for the meaning of Saṛa'h-barn.

In another place he calls "Kais" *Kish*, and his previous "Ghúrghusht" *Ghirghisht*, and says the Afgháns changed the Rájpút proper names of "Sharjyún" and "Khrishyún" into "*Sharafuddin*" and "*Khyruddín.*" If the Afgháns were Hindús, a mere change of names would not make Afgháns of them.

Further on, however, he says, that the name "Ghirghisht" appears to be "*only an altered form of Cirghiz* " *or Ghirghiz—'wanderer on the steppe'—and indicates the country whence the people originally came,* " *namely northern Turkistan*"!

‡ They will be again noticed farther on.

smaller branches; and they are, as will have been noticed from the mention of them in the account of this route, still styled and known only as the Mandú Khel. They have moved less than any other Afghán tribe from the immediate neighbourhood of their ancient seats, and have come less into contact with foreigners than any other of the Afghán tribes. At present they consist of about seven hundred families, some dwelling in *kijzda'ís*, some in huts, and some in small villages, and are located in the upper or north-eastern part of the Dara'h of the Jzíoba'h, near the junction of its river with the Gumul, and on either bank of the former river. They pay considerable attention to agriculture, and grow rice, and a good deal of other grains; and some of them follow a pastoral life. They are, upon the whole, a very quiet, inoffensive people, as careful not to molest others as they are desirous of not being molested. They have the Músá Khel Parnís and Kákars on their south and west, the Jzamríární Kásís and others on their south-west, the river of Gumul and the Wazírí tribe on the north, and the Har-páyil Sheránís on the east.

All sorts of errors have been made respecting the Mandú Khel. In Part I. of his "Central Asia" (p. 596), MacGregor says, quoting Broadfoot, apparently, that the "Mandú Khel" are "a *large tribe of* Afghánistán who inhabit the valley of the Zhób, "extending from the ground [*sic*] to near the Kákar country. They live greatly in "tents, but have also a few houses, probably built from fear of the Vazírís, who occa-"sionally come from [*sic*] Mandú Khel. . . . They are allied to the Kákars, and "have much the same habits and customs," etc.

They are certainly not a "large" tribe, but they are kinsmen of the Kákars, as they are also of the Parnís, Dáwís, Nághars, and others, who are all Ghor-ghas'hts.

In Part II. of his book, however (Vol. 2, page 351), another account is given, on the authority of "Carr," contradictory of the previous one, in which we are told that they are "a tribe who reside to the west of the Dera Ishmáil district," and that "they are a section of the Kákars," which they certainly are not.

After this digression I return once more to the description of the route.

"When a *kárwán* of merchants and traders reaches this halting place under the great range, people of the Mandú Khel tribe, and the Sots (*vul.* Ísots), assemble from the mountain tracts around, for the purpose of being hired to convey the heavy loads of the *kárwán* people upon their backs and shoulders over the mountain range. For every horse or mule load, and each bullock load, their hire is one *gaz* of *karbás* [coarse cotton cloth], and for each camel load two *gaz* of the same material. Traders generally remove the loads from their mules, and the saddles from their horses, as well as the loads from the other beasts of burden, and let them take their own course, and pick their own way, in crossing the great range of Mihtar Sulímán. It is exceedingly lofty, in such wise, that, from Diláwar [fifty miles to the S.S.W. of Baháwul-púr], Multán, Chaudh-Wa'án, and even from the great *tall** or mound, the site of the ancient city of Sángalá, the city of Púr or Fúr, in the Sándal Bár in the Richnáb Do-ábah of the Panj-áb, it can be seen; and its summits are clothed in snow for great part of the year. Its southern peak lies about seven kuroh, and the northern one, between ten and twelve kuroh, on the right hand [north] as you proceed towards the *Tangaey*. The Afgháns call it Ghar, Kasí Ghar, and Kesah Ghar, which, they say, is because it is the father† of, and the greatest among, mountains. They likewise call it Shú-ál, and Shú-ál Ghar‡, as previously mentioned. Persian speaking people, or Tájzíks, call it Koh-i-Sulímán, and Koh-i-Siyah; and these names are applied as the general designation of the whole of this great range. The tradition among the people of this part is, that the Patriarch Sulímán (Solomon) used to sit at, or upon [hence the name Takht], a certain place thereon, on a ledge of rock, and that, close to the place in question, there is a small *masjid* [that is, a place of worship or prostration, derived from the 'Arabic *sijdah*, bowing the forehead

* The word "*tall*," here mentioned, is 'Arabic, as in the words "Tall-al-Kabír," of Egyptian notoriety, which signifies "the great mound."

† *See* page 467. The Bozdár Balúch explorer, referred to at page 502, has formed the idea that the name is *Kaisar* Ghar, and goes so far as to assert that "*Kaiseghar*," as he spells it, is the "corruption of Kaisar "Ghar," and it is actually entered in the new map as such. *See* also "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical "Society," for July, 1886, page 428. An error once made is clung to with wonderful tenacity.

It is very probable that Kasí Ghar is a corruption of Ḳaisí Ghar, or the mountain of the descendants of Ḳais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd, the founder of the Afghán race. One Afghán author, who always writes the word with "*ḳ*" instead of simple "*k*," gives it that derivation. All Afgháns call Kási Ghar their *home*, however much their other accounts may vary.

‡ *See* page 466.

to the ground in prostration before God, but not necessarily Muhammadan], which is said to be of that Patriarch's founding, and which is resorted to by the Afgháns as a place of pilgrimage.* Further, that there is a great copper pot or caldron to be seen there, large enough to cook a hundred *manns* of food, and iron trivets of sufficient size and strength to support this great caldron. Near the place where this vessel lies, a Muhammadan *darwesh* has built himself a dwelling, and there he performs his devotions.† On the summit of this place a red flag is raised, after the manner of *darweshes*. The sides of this vast mountain range is clothed, every here and there, especially on the lower sides, and in the great clefts, but chiefly in the more sheltered places towards the summit, by dense forests of firs and wild olives; and about its sides and on its offshoots, and near this Ziárat-Gáh, or Place of Pilgrimage, the Afghán tribe of Sheráni, which contains many branches or divisions, dwell.‡ An account of these will be given farther on.

" Maulá-Dád Khán, the Bábar, one of my companions, who is likewise a Sheráni, the Bábars being, as previously stated [page 328], an offshoot or branch of the Sheránís, likewise stated, that, from the aged people of these parts, he had heard it stated—and 'Álam Khán, the Bábar, another of my companions, corroborated what he said—that the tradition handed down to them from their forefathers was to the effect, that, when the Patriarch, Núh [Noah]—on whom be peace!—after the violence of the great flood had subsided, sent forth the dove from the ark to discover dry land, it came and perched itself on the summit of this great mountain; for the first spot which appeared above the waters of the flood, when they began to subside, was its summit. They also say, and firmly believe, that the marks of the dove's feet are still visible on the spot where it rested; and there, in ancient times, people erected [over the spot] a covered chamber. Snow constantly falls there, and no one is able to reach the top.§

" My two intelligent companions informed me, the writer of this, that the tradition as to the mountain having been the first to appear when the waters of the flood began to subside, and the alighting of the dove thereon, was notorious among the Afghán people of the parts around, and, as handed down by tradition from one generation to another, fully believed by them; still, no one knew or pretended to know the exact spot where the dove alighted, or where the marks of its feet are said to be."

This tradition‖ is curious, to say the least of it, because the Muhammadan accounts of the deluge agree generally with ours.

To resume the account of the route. " Setting out from the before-mentioned stage " at the commencement of the *Tangaey*, at the foot of the great range,¶ and having " proceeded in an upward direction for the distance of twelve kuroh, you reach the " *manzil* or stage of Dahana'h, which signifies 'an orifice,' 'a fissure,' 'jaws,' " 'mouth';** and here the cold is intense. This pass is called the S'hwayey Lári " Ghás'haey, a pass over a mountain range being, as before stated, called a *ghás'haey* " by the Afgháns," and *s'hwayey* is the feminine inflected form of *s'hwaey*, signifying " slippery," " not affording firm footing," " in which one is liable to stumble," and the like.†† The meaning of *lár* has been already given.

* It is, most likely, the tomb of some Afghán saint. The Hindús also make pilgrimages to the Takht.

† This description refers, of course, to its appearance nearly a century since.

‡ The Khizr clan or Khizrzís, a small and weak section descended from Dom, a grandson of Sheránaey, are located near the Ziárat-Gáh, which is stated to be the burial place of Ismá'íl, son of the Shaikh Baiṭ, or Baiṭnaey, who was adopted by Sara'h-Barn, his uncle. The Shaikh, Ismá'íl, is accounted one of the greatest of the Afghán saints.

§ I believe the survey party, who lately ascended the range, were unable to reach this point.

‖ Wilford, some eighty years ago, in his "Essay on Mount Caucasus," noticed the tradition regarding the flood in connection with this mountain. He says:—"The summit of *C'haisá-gar* is always covered with " snow; in the midst of which are seen several streaks of a reddish hue, supposed by pilgrims to be the mark " or impression made by the feet of the dove which Noah let out of the ark. For it is the general and uniform " tradition of that country, that Noah built the ark on the summit of this mountain, and there embarked; " that, when the flood assuaged, the summit of it first appeared above the waters, and was the resting place of " the dove, which left the impression of her feet in the mud, which, with time, was hardened into a rock. " The ark itself rested about half way up the mountain, on a projecting plain [ledge?] of a very small " extent."

He also says, that the "Bhaudihsts," who were the first inhabitants of that country, "are of the same " opinion as to the place where the ark rested."

¶ He means here the main ridge of the chain.

** This is what appears in our maps as the "*Dahna*" and "*Dahina*" Pass; and MacGregor also styles it by the incorrect name of "*Dahina* Pass." In the Hindí language *dáhiná* means "right," "the right hand"; and this he probably supposed was the meaning of its name. Elphinstone, however, *and he alone*, would appear to have been correctly informed respecting it, and calls it the "Pass of Shwelara," but there are no " hills" called " Shúliára."

†† The verb *s'hwayedal*, derived from the same root, means "to slip," "to slide," etc.

"This Ghás'haey having been cleared, you proceed from this *manzil* or stage ten kuroh in the direction of west, and reach Ḥájí Máno da Koṭ, or Ḥájí Máno's Fort, a small walled village belonging to the Bábaṛ Afgháns. The road to it, after clearing the pass, is level; and the kohistán or mountain tracts, on the left hand and on the right, show themselves at a distance, while the Koh-i-Sulímán, on which is the Zíárat-Gáh, or Place of Pilgrimage, appears about ten or twelve kuroh away on the right hand. The kohistán on the right hand [north-west] separates the dara'h through which the river of the Jzíoba'h runs from the dara'h of the Kwandar, through which the road to Kalát lies,* and the hilly tracts near by on the left hand are the waves or low ridges of the range of Mihtar Sulímán, the depression or slope of the country on the western face of the great eastern range being comparatively little, after the S'hwayey Lári Ghás'haey is cleared. The country farther west is rugged and hilly, but can scarcely be called mountainous until you approach the main western range, towards the end of the journey, which this route passes between. A man unencumbered can reach Ḥájí Máno da Koṭ from the Dara'h of Rámak in two days, but the stages which have been here recorded are *kárwán* stages.†

"From Ḥájí Máno da Koṭ a route leads into Pushang up the Dara'h of the Jzíoba'h, which is tolerably open and easy for great part of the way.

"In going by this Ghás'haey to Ḥájí Máno da Koṭ from the halting place of Rámak in the dara'h of that name, having first passed through part of the country of the Bábaṛs and the Úsh-tarární Sheráni territory, then through that of the Z'marí Miárnahs, you reach the kohistán or mountainous tracts inhabited by the Sheránís, and the other tribes and clans who convey the loads of traders and travellers over the great S'hwayey Lári Ghás'haey, as before mentioned."

The different sections of the Sheráni tribe, not including the Bábaṛs and Úsh-tarárnís, inhabit the hills and valleys around about and springing from the great mountain of Kasí-Ghar, or Koh-i-Sulímán, which gives name to the whole of the mighty range; and here it will be well to give a short account of that famous Afghán tribe.

The Sheráni Tribe of Afgháns.

The Sheránís are accounted one of the greatest of the Pus'htún tribes, and are, probably, the least unchanged among the Afgháns. Their occupation is agriculture. They are descended from Sherán, who was one of the five sons, and the first born, of Sharaf-ud-Dín, otherwise Sharkhabún, son of Ibráhím, otherwise Saṛ-barn or Saṛa'h-barn,‡ son of Ḳais, surnamed 'Abd-ur-Rashíd, the progenitor of the race. Sherán himself, on his mother's side, was the grandson of Kákaṛ, the progenitor of that numerous tribe, who was the eldest son of Dánaey, son of Ismá'íl, otherwise Ghor-ghas'ht, brother of Saṛa'h-barn, son of Ḳais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd. Sherán's mother having died while he was young in years, his father took another wife, who bore him four sons more, namely, Tarín, Miárnah, Barets, and Amar-ud-Dín, *alias* Aor-Maṛ. Finding that his father intended to make Tarín his heir, Sherán induced his maternal grandfather, Kákaṛ, to take him away, and admit him to dwell with his family, which he did; and Sherán vowed that he would never return to the Saṛa'h-barns again, and that he and his descendants would never acknowledge themselves to be Saṛa'h-barns or accounted as belonging to them, and that they had gone over to the Ghor-ghas'hts for ever. Kákaṛ assigned him a portion of his lands whereon to dwell, which was

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* To Kalát-i-Ghalzí, and also to Ḳandahár, as explained in another route farther on.

† In another place, in the first portion of his work, the author of these surveys says, that "a *kárwán* stage "is the same as a Bádsháh's *manzil* or stage, and not less than six or seven kuroh." He means, evidently, that it might be occasionally much more, but from the distances of the previous two stages, and at page 527, para. 5, seven is the average.

‡ I have explained the meaning of Ghor-ghas'ht, and must now explain the meaning of this by-name of his brother. "Ibráhím was so mild and gentle in temper, that, however harshly spoken to or irritated, he was "not moved to anger or to quarrel, so much so that his father and mother used sometimes to say to him,— "'What sort of a *saṛa'h barní* hast thou, that thou never becomest *tod?*' The meaning of *saṛa'h* is cold, and "*barní* nature or disposition, while *tod* means hot or wrathful; and, in course of time, these words, shortened "into *saṛ-barn* and *saṛa'h-barn*, were applied to him instead of his own proper name." The meaning of Sharkhabún, applied to his son Sharaf-ud-Dín, has not transpired.

situated near the Kasí Ghar, or Koh-i-Sulímán, or Shú-ál, which was the cradle, so to say, of the Afghán race; and in this very locality the Sheránís still dwell. The details of Sherán's abandonment of his father's family is too long for insertion here, and it need only be mentioned that Sherán, in all things, was admitted to share equally with the sons of Kákaṛ.

Sherán had a son whom he named Dzár, which, in the Pus'hto language, signifies "a sacrifice," "oblation," or "a thing consecrated." He had three sons, Dom or Dam, Jalwárnaey,* and Harpá-yil, vitiated into Hari-pál,† the two last mentioned of whom were the progenitors of other clans or divisions of the tribe. Some consider Harpá-yil Dzár's grandson. Dom had four sons, one of whom was Bábaṛ, the progenitor of that sub-tribe, 'Umar, Saidání, and Miárnaey;‡ the descendants of the last mentioned have not sent out branches. The divisions of the Bábaṛ branch have been already mentioned.

'Umar, son of Dom, had six sons, and an adopted son named Kapíp, whose descendants are the Kapíps, or Kapíp-zí. The only son of the six full sons of 'Umar, who became the progenitor of other separate branches, was Ḥamím (or, more probably, Jamím; for the letter "j," without the point or dot under, stands for "ḥ"), from whom seven other clans sprung.§ The descendants of the other six are those to whom the name of Sheráni is particularly applied; for the Bábaṛs and others, having obtained a name for themselves, have, in a measure, become independent of them.

Sherán likewise bestowed two damsels out of his family upon two Sayyids, who came into the part where he dwelt, to induce them to take up their residence for good among them, namely, Sayyid Isḥák, who was, by his Sheráni wife, the father of Ḥabíb, otherwise Abú-Sa'íd, which, in 'Arabic, means the Fortunate, the Auspicious, the endowed with good fortune, which, interpreted into the Tájzík language, and commonly used in Pus'hto, is Bakht-áwar or Bakht-yár, by which name he became known, and his descendants are the Bakht-yárs, who are chiefly Powandahs. Why he was known by this name may be briefly stated as follows :—

The Sayyid Isḥák, above mentioned, who came into the Afghán country and married a Sheráni wife, set out to proceed to his home at Úsh, near Baghdád. While journeying through the district watered by the Sharah Rúd, between Shorá-Bak|| and the present Balúch country, which was and still is peopled by the Mashwárnís, he was taken ill, and died. His wife, who was with him at the time, with her infant son, returned to her own family. Subsequently, she married Miárnaey, son of Dom, grandson of Sherán or Sheránaey, who, at the time, was a poor man. He, afterwards, began to prosper, and he attributed his good fortune to the blessing attending the presence of his wife's son by the Sayyid Isḥák. He adopted him as his own, and styled him Bakht-áwar, or Bakht-yár, both terms meaning the Fortunate, or Auspicious. When he grew up he married among his adopted tribe; and he was the progenitor of the

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* The Malik of the Jalwárnís had to furnish, along with those of the Niázis, the Lodís, and the Sarwárnís, a contingent of troops to Amír Tímúr when he marched from Bannú to Multán to invade Hindústán. I have no space for the details here.

† MacGregor ("Central Asia," Part II.), says :—"Harípáls.—A tribe of Afgháns, who inhabit the space "between the Zhób, Bóri, and the Súlimán range. *If there is such a tribe*, they ought to be met with or "heard of on the Bóri and Zhób roads (*Elphinstone*)."

Turning to Part I., written, it may be supposed, before Part II., we find the following :—"Harípáls.—A tribe "who reside beyond the Shíránís on the Dera Ishmáil frontier. The tradition is that they are the descendants "of a man called Haríb, who used to live on the Shekh Búdín or Gúnd hill, and who, after leaving that place, "married into the Umar section of the Shíráni tribe. . . . They are a tribe of *fakirs*, living from hand to "mouth," etc., etc.

Elphinstone distinctly says that the "Hurreepaul," as he writes the word from ear only, are a branch of the "Sheeraunees."

The Bozdár Balúch explorer referred to in note §, page 502, says :—"*Haripál.*—This is a Pushtu-speaking "tribe, not of Pathan descent, of about 700 men. They call themselves fakirs." This is of course a mistake, for *no people but* Afgháns or Pus'htúns speak Pus'hto, as their mother tongue.

Respecting the Maṛhels, the same native explorer informs us that the "Marhel are a Pushtu-speaking tribe "of about 1,000 men," and they are allowed by him to be "Pathans." This weak Niázi Powandah clan must have been all at home, when this Bozdár Balúch obtained his information respecting them, for they are not so numerous as the Harpá-yils. It is difficult to understand what can be the use of such information as this.

‡ Totally different from the Miárnah or Miární Saṛa'h-barns, previously described.

§ In the very short and imperfect account of the immediate descendants of Sheránaey contained in MacGregor's book, a great error has been made in the statement, that "Yákúb son of Umr son of Shíráni," is the progenitor of these sections, whereas, it is Ḥamím or Jamím, Ya'ḳúb not having been the progenitor of any separate branches, and moreover, 'Umar was not the son, but the *great-grandson* of Sherán or Sheránaey.

|| Or Shorah-Wak, which signifies a tract of country impregnated with saltpetre, and overgrown with reeds, and tamarisk *jangal.* Its derivation will be subsequently explained in the account of that part.

Bakht-yár branch, who are affiliated to the Sheránís. They are chiefly Powandahs at the present time, the advantage attending the adoption of trading pursuits by the tribes and branches of tribes who are venerated by the other Afgháns having been already noticed.

Those who are acquainted with the early history of the Musalmáns do not require to be told that the descendants of 'Alí, the fourth Khalífah, were for a long period oppressed and persecuted, and that they repeatedly broke out in different parts of the Muḥammadan world, were overthrown, and had to take shelter where best they might. Several of them, from the parts immediately west, then held by the 'Arabs, found shelter in the mountain home of the Afgháns, who, venerating them, as being of the family of their prophet, and having no men among themselves learned in the laws and tenets of Islám, they endeavoured to induce them to abide permanently among them. They considered that one likely mode of attracting and retaining them was, to give them wives, who would have families by them, and that these family ties would tend to keep them in their country. I will give an instance of this, which occurred in comparatively modern times. The Sayyid 'Alí, the Tirmizí, who has been several times mentioned in these pages, came into India in the reign of Humáyún Bádsháh, his father, Ḳanbar 'Alí, being in that monarch's service, and the mother of 'Alí was with him. The latter had taken up his dwelling at Dá'úd Pind, near Guzarát in the Panj-áb; and, after his parents left India along with the Bádsháh, when the latter retired into Sind, and subsequently into Persia, 'Alí was induced by two Gagyání priests to take up his residence in the Do-ábah of the present Pes'háwar district, on account of the Mulḥids or heretics in those parts; for they were glad to have an orthodox teacher among them. After a time he became desirous of returning to his native country, to the home of his grandfather, the Sayyid Aḥmad, son of Yúsuf, who had brought him up, and was the cause of his adopting the priesthood. The Afgháns were not willing to part with him; and Malik Daulat, the Bárakšháhzí Malízí Yúsufzí, gave him his sister, Bíbí Mariam, to wife, and induced him to remain. Subsequently, Sayyid 'Alí endeavoured to get away and take his wife and family with him, but without success. At last, he managed to get away alone, and returned to his native country; and, on reaching it, found that his grandfather and father were dead, but his mother was still alive. Although she naturally wished him to be with her now, after a short time, finding that 'Alí had a wife and family, she told him that it was his duty to live with them, and to leave her for them. He, therefore, soon after returned to the Yúsufzí territory of Buner, and there he ended his days.* The celebrated Ákhúnd, Darwezah, was his disciple.

As regards the Bakht-yárs, the descendants of Abú-Sa'íd, *alias* Bakht-yár, the fact that a tribe of Persia was called Bakht-yárís, led writers unacquainted with these facts to conclude, that these descendants of Abú-Sa'íd by his Afghán wives were the same people, and that they came from Persia into the Afghán country, but I venture to say that there is no authority to prove it. For a somewhat similar error regarding the Shinwárí Kásí Afgháns, whom Bellew supposes to have come from Shirwán of Persia with Nádir Sháh, *see* note †, page 354, and page 390.

There have been a number of reputed saints among the Bakht-yárs. One of them, the Makhdúm-i-'Álam, the Khwájah, Yaḥyá-i-Kabír (*i.e.*, the Great or Grand), the Bakht-yár, was one of the most famous saints of his time, both among the Afgháns and also among the other Musalmáns around. He was the son of the Khwájah Ilyás, son of the Sayyid Muḥammad, descended from Ato one of Abú-Sa'íd's five sons. Yaḥyá-i-Kabír was the contemporary of Sulṭán Muḥammad, Tughluḳ Sháh (who, if I am not much mistaken, flourished some centuries before Nádir Sháh), and died on the 2nd of Ṣafar, the second month of the year 734 H. (1333–34 A.D.), at the patriarchal age of one hundred and twenty-seven years. His descendants are known as Shaikhzís.

The other Sayyid who married a Sheráni wife was Muḥammad-i-Gísú-Daráz (mentioned in the account of the Kaṛlárnís at page 385), whose native place was also Úsh, near Baghdád; and he named the son born to him by her, Úsh-tarárnaey, who had five sons, the progenitors of the five divisions of the Úsh-tarární branch of the Sheránís. The two sons of these two Sayyids were admitted to share equally with the full sons of Sherán.

It now remains to mention where these Sheránís dwell. The dwelling-places of the Bábaṛs and Úsh-tarárnís have been already mentioned. The Sheránís are located immediately west and north-west, towards the Zá-o, or Naraey Tarkaey, or Narrow

* *See* page 268.

Gorge, as the words signify, and around the Koh-i-Sulímán and the Takht,* on the slopes and in the dara'hs of the great range, and extend northwards towards, but not up to, the point where the Gumul river pierces it. Beyond this again, on the west side of the main eastern range, the country slopes down, in undulating waves, towards the river of the Jzíoba'h Dara'h, and that tract, as its conformation and situation indicate, is called the Pasta'h. Here, for part of the year, dwell the Marhel clan, a branch of the Níázís, who are Powandahs, and only come here in summer, moving into the Dámán in the winter. They live entirely in tents, and have numerous cattle and flocks. They have the Kapíps on their immediate south, which, as you proceed from the *Tangaey* through the S'hwayey-Lári Ghás'haey, lies away on the right hand. Immediately south of them again are the Harpá-yils (*vul.* Harí-páls), whose lands also lie to the right hand as you proceed westwards, on the lesser hills and in the valleys around the mountain called Shín Ghar,† or Green Mountain, an offshoot from the main range westwards; and this part is sometimes known as the Shín Ghar therefrom.

The hills immediately around the *Tangaey* westwards do not seem to be held by any tribe or clan in particular—at least permanently—from the fact of the people of different distinct tribes and clans assembling there to hire themselves to the traders when the *kárwáns* arrive, but, towards the east, on the eastern slopes of the main eastern ridge of the range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, and between it and the outermost ridges towards the Indus, the small clan of Z'marí Míárnahs are located.

North of the Sheránís, in the lower part of the Dara'h of the Jzíoba'h, near where its river unites with the Gumul, are the Mandú Khel, who have the Wazírí Karlárnís on the other or north side. South and west of the Mandú Khel, and south and west of the Sheránís, are the Kákars, and some of the Parní tribe, the Músá Khel division of which adjoins them on the south. These Kákars have the Laurní Míárnahs on their south-west, extending in the direction of Púshang. Farther south, on, and east of, the great range, in its dara'hs and on its slopes, the Sheránís have the small clan of Sot (*vul.* Ísot) Parnís, who have the Músá Khel, another and large branch of the Parnís, on their west. Next to the Sots or Ísots, on the south, are the Ja'fars, a small clan of the Míárnahs, who dwell on the slopes, and in the small valleys, of the main range. These two clans of Parnís and Míárnahs have the Músá Khel Parnís on the west; their kinsmen, the sub-tribe of Kihtrán Kásís or Kánsís on the south and south-west;‡ and the Khasrání and Bozdár Balúch tribes on their east and south-east respectively.

After this brief account of the Sherání tribe I resume the description of the route from page 524.

"Leaving Hájí Máno da Kot, you proceed two stages in the direction of west, crossing the river of the Jzíoba'h by the way, and up the Kwandar Dara'h, and reach the desolate halting place known as Karwah Dzangal;§ and in this part, and in this neighbourhood, the Afghán tribes of Abdál, Ghalzí, and some of the Bábars dwell. The country of the Kákar tribe adjoins it on the left hand [south]. From this desolate stage of Karwah Dzangal, another three *manzils*,‖ in much the same direction as before, bring you to Tút,¶ the name by which two or three small hamlets, the halting place of the Abdálí tribes, situated on the other or west side of the Tarnak river, is known. From thence another two *manzils* or stages, a distance in all of twenty-two kuroh in the direction of south-west, take you to Jihkán, the name of a large village, near a great detached hill, and where the ruins of an ancient city are said to exist.** A man on foot can reach it in one day from Tút. Another stage of

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* Bellew says, in his last book (page 24), that "By Muhammadans of Asia Minor and the Western "countries, the Afghan is usually called Sulemání, apparently from the supposition that he dwells on the "Sulemán range of mountains. If so, the name is misapplied, for there are no Afghans settled on that range." This, however, is erroneous on the author's part. The Afgháns are on the Sulímán mountains, nevertheless, and are not only called Sulímánís in Western Asia, but in Eastern and Northern Asia too. For example, the Khalíl Afghán saint, whose fine tomb is at Chúnár Garh, on the Ganges, is styled "Shaikh Kásim," the *Sulímání.*

† *See* the account of Ghar-shín, the adopted son of Míárnah, mentioned at page 516.

‡ The small clan of Kihtráns located in the plain of the Dera'h-ját are not a part of this sub-tribe of Kásís, but of the Míárnahs, as already shown at page 515.

§ The Afgháns pronounce the Hindí *jangal* as above.

‖ The *kárwán* stage has been explained in a previous note †, page 524.

¶ Also called Sar-i-Tút, and Ásiyá Tút, on the route between Kalát-i-Ghalzí and Kandahár. It is now a place of desolation only.

** This place has been turned into "*Joga*" in some maps, and into "Jakan Hill" in the latest. It is the Jukan of Elphinstone.

twelve kuroh brings you to Kandahár-i-Ahmad-Sháh-í—the city founded by that Bádsháh. A man on foot, unencumbered, can reach it in two *pahar* [six hours].

"The route thus traversed from Kot Máno of the Bábars [Hájí Máno da Kot] to Kandahár lies through a *reg-istán* or sandy tract of country; and the mountain ranges, on either hand, show themselves at a distance; and the people inhabiting it are the Sayyáh Khánah [Kochís or nomads].*

"Merchants and traders who proceed by this route, out of fear of molestation from the other Afgháns, are in the habit of taking a man belonging to the Úsh-tarárnís or other turban-wearing tribe along with them [because they are venerated, as being of Sayyid descent] for the protection of the *káfilah*, and proceed on their way."

The account of this route is not given in such detail as the author of these surveys has hitherto been in the habit of giving; and, with one exception, there is a difficulty in identifying the exact positions of the five *manzils* or stages between Kot Máno and Tút. The exception is Karwah Dzangal, which is merely the Hindí rendering of the Pus'hto name of this halting place, an exceedingly dangerous practice to adopt as I have before remarked.† *Karwá* or *karwah*, or, as a Persian, or any other person, not a native of India, would write it, *karwah*, is the Hindí for *bitter*, and *jangal* here refers to a tract of country overgrown with thickets of tamarisk, wormwood, long grass, and reeds, not a forest or place overgrown with trees. In our former maps, published before the results of the observations made, and the information gained, during the late Afghán campaign, were embodied in new maps, the still unexplored parts of the Afghánistán, lying between the main eastern and western ranges of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, indeed as far west as the banks of the Tarnak river, are provided with several pretty looking, irregular ranges of mountains, as well as rivers and streams, and one map, that accompanying the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society" for January, 1879, shows some singularly regular ranges, but in the latest maps these parts, not having been explored, have, very properly, been left nearly blank.

In the previous maps, however, at about the point where, according to the distances and direction given in this route, the stage styled Karwah Dzangal is situated, we have what appears to be a difficult pass over the main western range, which is called *Trikh Ghasz*, which is no other than the "*Turuk Ghuz*" of Elphinstone, situated in what he calls the "Turuk Ghuz Plain," and lying, by his account, some distance on the east side of the main western range.‡ The correct name is Tríkh Ghaz Plain, or Tríkh Ghaz Dzangal, because the tract indicated, which does not appear to be mountainous, far from it, or even rugged, is overgrown with a species of *tamarisk*, known as *shorah-gaz* (Afgháns write and pronounce the latter word *ghaz*) by Tájzíks or Persian speaking people, or bitter tamarisk *jangal*, and which a native of India would call a *karwah jangal*, or an Afghán translating it for a person who did not understand his native Pus'hto.

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* This, apparently, is what MacGregor calls, on the authority of Lumsden, "Trikhgaz," which he says is "*a village* in Afghánistán, 160 miles from Kandahár," and that "it contained 30 or 40 houses of the *Jhumrian* "tribe." A village here is impossible; there was probably, at the time Lumsden's informant told him about it, a collection of thirty or forty black blanket tents of the Sayyáh Khánah or Kochís of the Jzamríární Kásís pitched in this part of the Tríkh Ghaz Dzangal; for hereabouts the territories belonging to the Abdálís, Ghalzís, and Bábars are mixed up, and somewhat undefined.

† *See* page 483.

‡ Elphinstone says (Vol. II., page 168):—"The country to the south of latitude 30° [south of 31–30?], "consists chiefly of sandy plains, and high stony tracts, or barren hills; that in the south-east, near the "junction of the Coondoor [Kwandar] and the Gomal [Gumul] is of the last description; but there, in the "midst of lofty and inaccessible mountains, is the little valley of Mummye," etc. His little valley, according to his account, is situated *adjoining* the Karwah Dzangal or Tríkh Ghaz Dzangal; and the author of these routes says, that the mountain ranges show themselves at a distance away on either side, as well as the country being a sandy tract. The range showing on the right hand is the main western range of Mihtar Sulímán, and those offshoots towards the south-west mentioned at page 458.

Elphinstone's description of another portion of the Durrání country is quite applicable to the tract of country through which the author of these surveys passed, and which was part, the easternmost part, of the Durrání country. When Elphinstone wrote the above, he must have overlooked what he wrote elsewhere. He says:— "The southern parts are sandy, and the northern consist of hard earth, mixed sometimes with rocks, and even "with low hills; but all is equally unproductive: scarce a tree is to be found in the whole region, but the "plains are covered with low bushes, of which the principal are those called *jouz* and *tirkheh* by the Afghauns; "and two lower bushes from which kali is produced. Yet this discouraging abode is by no means destitute of "inhabitants."

The Durrání country is very much of this description throughout, except near the rivers and streams where there are facilities for irrigation. Elphinstone's *jauz* is an error for Hindí *jhá'ú*, apparently, which is the name of the tamarisk in that tongue. The Tájzík name has been given above; and the Pus'hto for it is Tríkh Ghaz, or bitter or saline tamarisk, which is of much the same signification as the Tájzík word.

The reason why the author of these surveys did not name the other four stages was, evidently, because there were no towns nor villages to mark them, the people dwelling in this part being Ghalzís, Bábaṟs, Jzamríárnís, and other nomads, living in *kijzda'í** or black blanket tents. According to the former maps, this route would cross two or three lofty mountain ranges, and traverse more than one difficult pass, but, from the description here given, after passing Koṭ Máno, the features of the country are very different, being chiefly a sandy tract, by no means difficult to traverse.

If we take into consideration that these *kárwán* stages are but two moderate infantry marches, the distance from Koṭ Máno to Tút is but five stages, or ten marches;† from Tút to Kalát-i-Ghalzí two marches of rather less than eleven miles each; and from Tút to Ḳandahár is five miles less than from Jaldak,‡ which is but six short marches, of sixty-four miles, according to the routes furnished by the Quartermaster-General's Department; and that Koṭ Máno is but forty miles from the entrance of the Rámak Pass in the Dera'h-ját, the route I have here given is a far more important one than that of which I gave an account in the description of the march of the Sháh-Zádah, Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh from Multán to Ḳandahár by the Sangaṟ Pass. It is, without doubt, the most direct, the shortest, and the easiest route yet made known, to Kalát-i-Ghalzí and to Ḳandahár.§ The most difficult part is the S'hwayey Lári Ghás'haey, but that can be made practicable without very much engineering, and it has the advantage of being at, or close to, *our end of the road*, where assistance would be always available for the movement of troops and military stores. I firmly believe that there would be no difficulty, beyond that of the S'hwayey Lári Pass, in carrying a line of railway across from Ḳandahár or Kalát-i-Ghalzí to the Dera'h-ját.||

This route, between the halting place in the Tríkh Ghaz Plain and the next stage, crosses the route leading northwards through Wádzey Khwá, Khaṭa'h Wádza'h, and Zurmat to Ghaznín and Kábul, and, southwards, into Pushang and the Jzíoba'h Dara'h. Between the halting place just referred to and the following one, the route crosses that followed by the Bombay troops on their return march from Ghaznín to Pushang and Kwaṭa'h in the first Afghán campaign.

The routes recently followed by Generals Biddulph and Wilkinson from Ḳandahár to the Dera'h of Ghází Khán are, respectively, thirty-six marches and 461¾ miles, and thirty-eight marches and 500¼ miles; while other routes, given by Surgeon-Major O. T. Duke, vary from thirty-four marches to thirty-five, and from 423½ miles to 452½ miles. Here we have a route of four rather long and difficult marches to begin with, the first three the most so, then ten ordinary marches to Tút, and five more of ordinary distance to Ḳandahár, or, in all, nineteen or twenty marches, which I compute to be from 250 to 260 miles, or a clear gain of 163 or 173 miles on the shortest route I have just mentioned.¶ By this route I believe cavalry could easily reach Tút from the Dera'h-ját in from eight to ten marches; and the gain in taking this route to reach Kalát-i-Ghalzí would be still greater than that gained in proceeding by it to Ḳandahár.

This route would enable us, at any time, to cut off a force, coming from Kábul for example, with the object of gaining Kalát-i-Ghalzí or Ḳandahár; but, under any circumstances, it is a far better route than either of those followed by the officers previously named. At the same time it behoves us to remember that by the same routes that *we can go* others *can come;* and if the facilities for mischief which the Muscovite seizure of Marw, Sarakhs, and other points towards Hirát has conduced to—which I need not dwell upon here**—be rightly estimated, no time should be thrown away in taking steps to secure and utilize this one, even before that presently to be described.

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* Kijzda'í is the Pus'hto for a black hair tent or tents, the word being singular and plural.

† Moderate marches according to the computation of the distance by the author of these surveys. *See* note †, page 524.

‡ During the time of the Bárakzí Sardárs of Ḳandahár, this village of Jaldak was the extreme point of their territory in the direction of north-east.

§ I believe, as far as I can gather, that the recent expedition into the dara'h of the Jzíoba'h or Jzíob failed to discover this route. As it is so very easy, the Afgháns, generally, are not very anxious that it should be known, and we can well understand the reason.

|| Especially if we could subsidize the Sheránís and Ghalzís.

¶ In computing the distance to Ḳandahár by this route, which is stated to be nearly two hundred kuroh, we must deduct fifty-seven, the distance from the Dera'h of Ghází Khán to Rámak, where the route actually commences in the direction of Ḳandahár.

** This was written more than a year since, before the Russians seized upon the Afghán territory of Bádghais and Panj-Dih. I need not mention here why I did not submit this portion of these "Notes" before, as I have done so elsewhere.—July, 1885.

Ninety-third Route. From Chaudh-Wa'án of the Bábars to Kandahár and Kalát-i-Barlúk by the Ghwáyí-Lári Ghás'haey or Pass, a distance of nearly two hundred and ten kuroh.

" Chaudh-Wa'án is a town belonging to the Bábars, the chiefs of which are held in great estimation by the Bádsháh of Kábul [Tímúr Sháh, son of Aḥmad Sháh] for their loyalty; and the tribe is exempted from taxes and from furnishing a contingent to the Bádsháh's army. A brief account of the tribe has been already given [page 328]. The Kaldaní river, which issues from the mountains on the west, passes south of the town, and is expended in the irrigation of the lands. The inhabitants have likewise conducted water therefrom to their *masjids*, dwellings, and gardens. The Bábars generally are men of substance; and there are many well to do merchants and traders among them.

" In coming northwards from Wahwá, you have to pass through a sandy tract of country, here and there covered with low *jangal;* and water is exceedingly scarce. The Dara'h of Rámak lies about a kuroh distant on the left hand [west], just within the mountain range of the Koh-i-Surkh;* and in going to Chaudh-Wa'án from Wahwá, *káfilahs.* sometimes go by way of the Rámak Dara'h [to avoid the sandy waste and scarcity of water].

" Setting out from Chaudh-Wa'án, you go three kuroh north, inclining towards the north-west, to the small village of Sháh 'Álam Khán, which place was known, in ancient times, by the name of Kálú, the Kalandar; and the reason of it was this. They say [and here again we have the name of the Patriarch Sulímán brought forward] that, when Hazrat Sulímán became angry with any one, he would command him to be imprisoned in this place, and the person in charge of the place of imprisonment was named Kálú, who was a Kalandar.† Such is the tradition mentioned by Maulá-Dád Khán, the Bábar, and others; but, in all probability, it was the place of dwelling, and perhaps the burying-place, of some ascetic whose name was Kálú. My informants stated, that, even to this day, if the inhabitants of this part happen to quarrel, or disagree among themselves, they often come to this place and settle their differences, make a vow to observe the terms, and, thereby, arrive at a satisfactory and amicable settlement of their disputes.

" From the village of Sháh 'Álam Khán you proceed another kuroh north to the village of Músá Khán, and from thence three kuroh more, in the same direction as before, to Drá-bhan, a town of considerable size belonging to the Afghán tribe of Núḥární or Lúḥární, to which my companion and informant, Muḥammad Zamán Khán, belonged. The inhabitants of this place also carry on a great trade, and among them, too, are many well to do merchants, and some possessing considerable wealth.

" Opposite this place, and rather less than four kuroh to the westward of it, is the entrance to the Dara'h or Pass called after this town, which, beyond the range of Mihtar Sulímán, unites with the road by the Sh'wayey Lári Ghás'haey before described.

" This Drá-bhan Pass lies some seven kuroh to the south of the Zá-o, or Naraey Tarkaey Ghás'haey, and about twenty-two north of the S'hwayey Lári, and rather more than two kuroh north of the northern point of the Takht-i-Sulímán or Ziárat-Gáh. Like the others, the road follows the bed of a river known as the Drá-bhan river, a never failing stream, which rises in one of the great clefts or fissures with which the great main ridge of Mihtar Sulímán is seamed, to the westward of the Takht, and by following its bed, a difficult way however, the Takht can be approached from the west, on which side it is by no means so precipitous as on all other sides. The stream receives many smaller tributaries in its course among the mountains; and, on issuing from the main range, it flows in a north-easterly direction for about five kuroh and a half, then makes a bend round one of the ridges thereof, and runs directly south for nearly the same distance. After this it makes another bend round another ridge, and continues its course, winding every here and there, in the general direction of east, towards Drá-bhan, and enters the Dámán at the Drá-bhan *Kotal,* rather less than four kuroh west of that Núḥární town. Like most of the rivers of this part,

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* *See* page 330.

† A kalandar is a Muḥammadan devotee, who shaves both head and beard, and leaves everything—relations, and possessions, and retires from the world, wandering from one place to another.

it becomes a rapid impassable torrent after heavy rains in the mountains, and then its waters reach the Sind or Indus.

"At the foot of the great range, on the east side, the road separates into two, one on the right hand leading into the Pasta'h by a stony defile only practicable for men on foot, and the left-hand one crossing the great range, unites, lower down, with the S'hwayey Lári route. It is difficult, and therefore little used.

"From Drá-bhan two routes diverge: the right-hand one leads to Kábul, and the left-hand one is as follows. Setting out from that town, you go five kuroh in the direction of north-west, inclining north, to Zarkaní,* a large village now belonging to the Núhárnís, but so called after the Zarkaní Afgháns, a section of the Ghazún Shpún Baitnís, descended from Zarkanaey,† son of Ghazún, son of Shpún, brother of Bíbí Mato, sometimes called Wur Shpún, or the Little Shepherd, *wur* in Pus'hto meaning, 'small,' 'puny,' 'diminutive,' etc., and *shpún*, 'a shepherd.'‡ The Zarkanís founded this village. The country extending from Chaudh-Wa'án to Ták and Zarkaní is styled the Dámán or Skirt, as previously described.§

"From this place (Zarkaní), likewise, the route by the Zá'o, or Zá'wo, or Naraey Tarkaey Ghás'haey, also crosses the great range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, and leads into the Dara'h of the Jzíoba'h in one direction, and from thence across into the main route to Kalát-i-Ghalzí and Kandahár, and, in the other direction, to the Ghwáyí Lári Ghás'haey through the Dara'h of the Gumul. The Zá'o or Naraey Tarkaey is used by a portion only of the Násir Powandahs, because it is not a route practicable for all sorts of animals, otherwise they would not have to use the Ghwáyí Lári Ghás'haey, which, as its name indicates, is the practicable route for bullocks and other load-carrying animals. By this Zá'o or Naraey Tarkaey route only the flocks are taken, but larger animals might get through with some difficulty.||

"The stream known as the Sáwán rises in the recesses of the main eastern range of Mihtar Sulímán, in the country of the Sheráni Afgháns, about ten kuroh north of the northern or Tí-rah end of the Takht-i-Sulímán, and for distinction is called the Zá'o branch. It flows towards the south for about two kuroh after leaving the Zá'o or Naraey Tarkaey, when it meets another small stream, also rising in the same range still farther south, which comes from that direction, and up its bed there is a route which will be presently mentioned. After this junction the course of the stream, though winding considerably every here and there, is in the general direction of east-south-east. It enters the Dámán by the Shaikh Haidar Dara'h, west of the

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* This name is turned into "*Zarakni*" in the Panj-áb Revenue Survey map, and into "*Zurkunnee*" in Walker's Indian Atlas map.

The pass about two miles west of it is called the Zarkaní, and also the Shaikh Haidar, Pass, after a celebrated Shaikh of this branch of the Baitnís, whose tomb, now a place of pilgrimage, is situated near the entrance to the pass. This ground is considered sacred by some of the Powandah tribes, who have cemeteries here.

This Shaikh Haidar, who is sometimes called Khizr, but is an error, without doubt, of "*kh*" for "*h*," was one of the chief disciples of the saint of Multán, the Shaikh, Bahá-ud-Dín, Zakaríyá. On one occasion, it so happened, that the Sáwán stream, which takes its rise in one of the clefts in the highest range of Mihtar Sulímán, became completely dried up; and the people dwelling around were reduced to great distress for want of water for themselves and crops. They presented themselves before the Shaikh, Haidar, the Zarkaní, and besought him to pray to God that they might have a little water. He replied, "Last night I prayed to "Almighty God, and plenty of water will soon come." Haidar then turned his face towards the mountains and entered them, and wanted to bring water from the neighbouring Durín stream into that of the Sáwán.

Now the Durín *jú-e* or rivulet appertained to the great Khwájah, Yahyá-i-Kabír, the Bakht-yár Sheránaey, mentioned in another place; and he, becoming aware of it, hailed Haidar, saying, "O Haidar! you are not "going to steal water from my *jú-e*, are you? To come this road for such a purpose is not proper." Haidar was completely taken aback, but he made his apologies the best way he could. The Khwájah, in reply, said,— "Be a man, Haidar! water shall flow in the Sáwán *jú-e* too;" and the water at once began to run. Haidar, for the sake of a blessing, took a little of the water of the Durín *jú-e* to his own; and the lands of the Sheránís and Sarwárnís became exceedingly flourishing. This stream is incorrectly called "*Sirwan*" in our maps.

Such is the tradition respecting the Shaikh, Haidar, contained in the life of the saint, Yahyá-i-Kabír, the Bakht-yár, who lived from 607 H. (1210–11 A.D.), to 734 H. (1333–34 A.D.), and died at the age of 127 years. Shaikh Haidar's descendants still dwell here. This Zarkaní pass is followed by some of the Násirs in their movements.

† The Baitnís once held this part, and this name has out-lasted their possession of it.

‡ Hindústánís and other foreigners, all Aryans, in fact, who cannot pronounce a Pus'hto word beginning with a consonant without an initial vowel, add one, and make Ishpún of it. In MacGregor's "Central Asia" the name appears as *Úraspún*. I shall have more to say about the Baitnís in the account of the Matís and Baitnís, the descendants of Shaikh Bait or Baitnaey, farther on.

§ *See* page 328.

|| This pass is loosely called the Shaikh Haidar Pass from the Shaikh mentioned in note * above, also the Zarkaní Pass, after the village near its eastern entrance, and sometimes the Sáwán Pass, after the river, a never failing stream, along the bed of which the route runs. The first name is applicable to the eastern entrance only, and the correct name is the Zá'o or Naraey Tarkaey Ghás'haey or Pass.

village of Zaṛkaní, after which it separates into several branches, which run away north and south of that place.

"This Naraey Tarkaey Ghás'haey or Zá'o is always used by the Náṣirs, both in coming and going, but only by that portion of them who have charge of the flocks, who are styled Mejz-wál or Gosfand-wál accordingly, as related at page 498, and the route the Mejz or Gosfand Lári. In one place in it, also, they bury their dead; hence this part is held in great reverence by them.

"In coming down into the Dámán these Mejz-wál or Gosfand-wál Náṣirs leave the rest of the tribe at Kandzúr in the Dara'h of the Gumul, presently to be described; for the latter have to come by the Ghwáyí Lári or Bullock Road with the other animals which could not come by the route under description. But, as we are now going upwards from the Dámán, instead of coming down into it, I had better describe this Zá-o route, commencing from the Shaikh Ḥaidar entrance, rather than from Kandzúr to Shaikh Ḥaidar.

"At its entrance by this dara'h the road is somewhat narrow, but soon begins to open out, and is, upon the whole, good, and capable of great improvement. Soon after clearing the range of the Koh-i-Surkh or Ŕátá Pahár, you reach a point where a road branches off to the left hand [south] and unites with the Dṛá-bhaṇ route elsewhere described; while, on the right hand, another cross road turns off towards the minor Dara'h or Pass of Kuṛum.* Here the Náṣirs sometimes make their last halt before entering the Dámán. Proceeding onwards, you have to turn northwards, following the course of the river, which runs between the Koh-i-Surkh and the outer ridge of Mihtar Sulímán, and reach the burying ground and *masjid* of Mián Hai'át, situated under the first or outer ridge of the chain of Mihtar Sulímán. This is the first stage or halting place when going upwards; and the distance from the Shaikh Ḥaidar entrance is about eight kuroh. Here the Sheránís cultivate some land.

"The next stage of just four kuroh in the direction of west, gradually ascending upwards as you proceed, and the river bed winding considerably, brings you to the place of junction of the two small streams, previously mentioned as taking their rise in the main range; and here the road separates into two. The left-hand or south road leads, by the Sheráni village called Wazír Koṭ, which is a little off and hidden from the road, by a stony gorge into the undulating, sloping tract, as the word indicates, on the west side of the main range, known as the Pasta'h, in which the Maṛhel Níází Powandahs, and the Kapíp and Harpá-yil Sheránís dwell, but this road is only practicable for men on foot; hence it is known as the Tsara'h Lár or Tsara'h Wáṭ.† The right-hand or main road, which is good, leads to the Zá'o or Naraey Tarkaey by following the bed of the stream coming down from that direction, and which runs north for about two kuroh, and then bends towards the north-west for about the same distance, when you reach the skirt of another ridge in the great chain, where the Zá'o or Naraey Tarkaey defile commences. This point is the next halting place of the Powandahs; and here also the Sheránís cultivate some land, water for irrigation being available.

"The ascent from this place into the Zá'o or Naraey Tarkaey is gradual, and you follow the course of the stream which flows through it."

As the meaning of this has not been mentioned by the author of these surveys, and has hitherto remained unknown to English writers, I here take the opportunity of explaining it for the first time. The word *Zá'o* is the Tájzík for "a cleft," "fissure," "chasm," and "a defile through a mountain," and the Pus'hto equivalent, or nearly so, is Naraey Tarkaey the "Narrow Cleft or Chasm."‡

"Having entered it, the cleft begins to narrow every here and there as you proceed, and jutting rocks occasionally overhang the way. About half a kuroh or rather less from the entrance, the water flows over the rocky bed of the stream, forming a small cascade, and obstructs the way, so that you have to turn aside to avoid or clear it. Some distance farther on, you come to a huge *gaṭ* or rounded mass of rock, worn smooth and slippery from the rush of water over it in time of floods, and the constant flowing of the stream, which renders the passage here difficult. Clearing this, when about midway through

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* *See* List of Passes at page 481.

† Signifying in Pus'hto, "a foot-path," "a narrow road impracticable for horses." Wáṭ is a Sanskrit word used by the Afgháns of the east.

‡ Tark is also a Tájzík word, signifying "a crack," "split," "cleft," or "fissure," adopted by the Afgháns into their language, but not the other, and far more ancient one. Naraey, in Pus'hto, means "narrow," "spare," "thin," "slender," etc. It is a curious fact the finding of such a purely Tájzík word as Zá'o, used in this part, which may be coupled with the traditions respecting Rustam and his family, which I have related in these pages.

the defile, and about two kuroh from the entrance, the actual *zá'o* or *naraey tarkaey*, giving name to the pass, is reached. This is a mighty rent or fissure in the rocky mountain range, the sides of which rise up almost perpendicular to a vast height on either hand, and is not more than three, or, at the utmost, four *gaz* in breadth. This continues for some distance, when the defile begins again to open out a little, but, still, there are a few places somewhat difficult to pass. As the Náṣirs only bring their flocks by this road, they manage to overcome these obstacles by repairing places occasionally. Having passed on for about another two kuroh from the narrowest part of the defile, the passage over the highest ridge is completed, and you reach a point from which, by turning to the left hand [south], and following the bed of a little stream, by a difficult track, the Kesah or Kasí Ghar, and Zíárat-Gáh or Takht-i-Sulímán can be reached from the west side of the range, which is not so steep and difficult as the other.

"The defile having been cleared, you begin to descend gradually towards the west, until you reach the foot of another ridge in the chain, but which is less in elevation. This also has to be crossed, but it is effected without difficulty, and you afterwards reach another, still less in height, which slopes gradually towards the west, constituting the Pasta'h of the Marhels and others; and from thence the Dara'h of the Jzíoba'h is reached. Having arrived here, the Náṣirs, with their flocks, make their way to the general mustering place in the Dara'h of the Gumul at Kandzúr, where they join the rest of the tribe coming by the Ghwáyí Lári Ghás'haey, or await their arrival, as the case may be.

"From the Pasta'h a route branches off south-westwards, and joins that leading to Kalát-i-Ghalzí and Kandahár by the S'hwayey Lári Ghás'haey, and also that by the Zíárat of Pír Husain, through the Margha'h district, to those places, as described farther on. The road from the Dámán, by the Drá-bhan *Kotal*, before described, also unites with the Zá'o or Naraey Tarkaey route in this same Pasta'h."

From the author's description here given, it will be perceived, that the ascent and descent of the mountains by this Zá'o or Naraey Tarkaey is not, or was not, in his time,* very difficult, and that it might be made practicable for troops, guns, and baggage animals, by removing the difficulties at the points indicated, and by occasional yearly repairs. Altogether it is a most important pass and capable of improvement.

I now resume the account of the route leading to the Ghwáyí Lári Ghás'haey.

"From Zarkaní you go on another *manzil* or stage, in much the same direction as before, to Ṭoba'h, the name of a desolate halting place; and, after that, another *manzil* brings you to Mánjí-Garrá,† a small village belonging to a clan of the Núhárnís. Up to this point, the *kohistan* or hill tract, the outer ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh or Rátá Roh rise close by on the left hand as you move northwards."

Before proceeding farther with this account it is necessary to make a few observations respecting this route which follows the bed of the Gumul. It appears in our maps as the "Gomal," the "Goomul," the "Gwyleyri," "Gholaree," "Ghuleiri," and "Ghwálari" Pass; while, in some instances, the entrance from the east appears as the "Goomul Pass," and farther west as the "Gwyleri Pass." The point where the river leaves the mountains and enters the Ṭák or Ṭánk district of the Dera'h-ját is the proper Gumul Pass, but, the Ghwáyí Lári Ghás'haey or Bullock-Road Pass, by which name the route is commonly called, is a considerable distance farther west, as will appear from the description presently to be given. The Powandahs coming from the southwards, from Drá-bhan, avoid the entrance by the Gumul Pass, and, traversing the bed of the river, keep along the skirts of the hills, and cross the Tsíra'í *Kotal*, as will be seen from the description of the stages.

The Gumul, the source of which is mentioned elsewhere, dwindles into a small stream in the summer months, and continues so up to the middle of winter, when it begins to increase again, but it is liable to sudden floods. This was noticed some centuries

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* Since the writer made his survey—some twenty-five or thirty years after—a great mass of rock fell from above across the chasm, from the effects of an earthquake by all accounts, between the actual Zá'o and the western end of the defile. It has blocked up the way to a considerable extent, but the Náṣirs still manage to take their flocks by this route. Such a mass of rock the Afghán call a *ḍabara'h*, and this is the name by which it is known to the Powandahs. The meaning of *ḍabara'h* in Pus'hto is a general term for any great stone or rock, and the adjective derived from it is *ḍabarínah*. See my Pus'hto Dictionary, Second Edition, page 484.

The removal of this great *ḍabara'h* would be a boon to the Náṣirs, and would go a great way to make the route practicable for troops and baggage animals.

† The "Manjí" of MacGregor. Vigne calls it "Manjighurra."

ago by Bábar Bádsháh, who marched through the Dera'h-ját after his raid on Koháṭ and Bannú. After meeting with the *Káfila'h* of Powandahs, who received such bad treatment at his hands, as proved from his own statements, he says, in his Tuzúk:— "Passing onwards among the villages of the Dasht [the plain country] we encamped "near Tark.* Thence passing on, we encamped on the banks of the Gúmal river. "From this Dasht there are two routes leading westwards to Ghaznín; one is the "Sang-i-Surákh route, which leads to Farmul passing by Barak;† another along the "banks of the Gúmal river and not passing Barak. The one by Farmul is the "longest. Some preferred the Gúmul route. While we were in the Dasht the "rain fell for three [or some] days consecutively, and the Gúmul increased to a "great volume; so that, after finding a ford, one crossed with much apprehension. "Those acquainted with the country stated, that, by the Gúmul route, we must cross "the river several times, and that, if it happened to continue of the present depth and "volume, it would be a very difficult matter. When the drums beat for the march "next morning the point still remained undecided." The Bádsháh subsequently went by the Sakhí Sarwar Pass, as related elsewhere.‡ To resume, however.

"The next stage of nearly seven kuroh brings you to Zí-tár, the name of a *dahana'h* or gorge in the outer range [the Koh-i-Surkh], and of a desolate halting place, over a tract covered with loose round stones and gravel washed down from the hills, which appear to be formed of stones of this kind, and rocks, embedded together. From thence you proceed another short stage to Níla'í; and the road, which is narrow, first leads along the skirts of a ridge of the mountain range, after which you go down a steep descent, through a chasm or cleft in the rock, called in Pus'hto, Tsíra'í, which is the name of this *kotal*. You are now close to the territory of the Mas'úd division of the Wazírí Kaṛlární Afgháns; and from this stage until you pass beyond S'hahr-i-Chapa'h or Kandzúr, otherwise Khæṭ da Khargáhúnah, presently to be mentioned, and reach Trapúní Ghúnḍa'í, *káfila'hs* have to be on their guard, and be ready in case of being attacked by the Wazírís, especially on the return journey, because, at that time, the merchandise they can carry off is much more useful to them."

The Wazírí Tribe of Kaṛlární Afgháns.

The author of these surveys describes the Wazírís in the following manner:—

"The Wazír or Wazírí Afgháns are a great and powerful tribe numbering nearly 100,000 families; and they dwell in an extensive tract of difficult mountainous country, with few exceptions, after the manner of *íláts* or nomads. They are not much better than the brute beasts; for, save eating and drinking, moving about among their hills and dales like cattle, thieving, and plundering on the highways, and dying, they know nought besides.

"Their chief wealth consists of numerous flocks, and vast numbers of cattle of different kinds, including numerous cows and oxen. They pass their lives under tents, and cultivate the available patches of land called *kats*§ on the banks of the various streams and watercourses which run through their country, and in the defiles with which it abounds, but, of the usages of agriculture generally they are ignorant.

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* *Sic* in MSS., but Ṭák is no doubt meant.

† *Sic* in MSS., and I fail to recognize the place indicated, but the name occurs as that of one of the disciples of the famous saint, the Khwájah, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Bakht-yár, Kákí (born 585 H.—1189 A.D.), which disciple was a Ḍoṭární.

‡ There is a voluminous "Report, by Lieutenant-Colonel J. Brown, R.E., Political Officer with the Thal-"Chotíalí Field Force," advocating the "establishment of a cantonment in the Kákar country," one of the reasons for so doing being, it is stated, "that it would cover the important military road through Zhób to Lake "Abistada and Ghazní *along which the Emperor Báber once marched a large army to Kábul on his return "from India.*"

This is not correct. Bábar Bádsháh, with a force of between 3,000 or 4,000 troops only, set out from Kábul on a raid upon Bannú and Koháṭ in 910 H. (1505 A.D.), as related from his own memoirs at page 359 of this work; and from thence he turned down the Dera'h-ját, and never entered India at all. From the Dera'h-ját, not deeming it advisable to take the route by the Gumul, he continued to move southwards, and then passed by the Sakhí Sarwar Pass, into Tal and Tsoṭíálí, where his camp was flooded, then by Dukí, and, skirting the north-eastern part of the Pushang Dara'h, proceeded by Ṭoba'h to the Áb Istádah, and from thence to Ghaznín. After halting there to make good his great loss of horses, he returned to Kábul. The "Zhób Valley," consequently, and its "military road" were never touched; and these facts only show on what inaccurate foundations reports are often based. I shall give a translation of the whole passage from Bábar's Tuzúk, from the point where I left off at page 359, when I come to mention the parts in question.

§ The Ghalzís, who use "*j*" in place of the "*ts*" in the original word, call these patches of alluvium *kaj* in their country, as mentioned at page 97, where one dara'h is called the Dara'h of the Kaj-hah, or Dara'h containing several *kats*, or *kaj*.

"This great tribe is wholly independent, and they have neither tax nor tribute to pay, and own allegiance to no one. Being subdivided into a number of branches, they do not acknowledge the authority of an hereditary, or of a single chief, but have numerous head-men, who hold a little authority; and these are chosen with the consent and accord of the branch or division to which they belong, but, when about to undertake a warlike expedition, a leader is elected, whom all implicitly obey. There is no doubt but that very much less internal disagreement exists among the Wazírís than any other Afghán tribe, and the consequence is, that, being more united, they are much more powerful. It is very certain that they know their own strength, and are proud of it. Their country extends from the Dámán to the territory of the Bangas'h Kaṟlární tribes, more than one hundred kuroh in length, and in breadth fifty kuroh. Kární-Grám is situated in one of their mountain dara'hs. They have iron mines about there, near Makín and Bábaṟ Ghar, and make exceedingly good knives and swords. There is no level land, so to say, in their country, which consists of some of the highest spurs, ridges, and offshoots, on either side of the eastern range of Mihtar Sulímán, Koh-i-Siyah, Ghar, Kasí Ghar, Shú-ál or Shú-ál Ghar, as it is also called, as well as by other designations already mentioned.* Wherever a small area is found capable of being cultivated it is brought under tillage, and is called by a separate name [the name of the clan or section who cultivate it].†

"These Afghán people entertain an inveterate hatred towards people of Hindústán."

Such is the brief account of the Wazírís written about a century since. I will add a few remarks concerning them and their descent, leaving a more detailed notice for my history of the Afghán people.

The Wazírís are a branch of the Kaṟlární division of the Afgháns, and are descended from Sulímán, brother of Shítak, who were two of the sons of Kakaey, son of Kaṟlárnaey, as previously mentioned in the account of the tribes of the territory of Lower Bangas'h.‡ Wazír, their immediate progenitor, was brother of Malik Mír and Bá'í, the progenitors of the Malik-Mírís, Kághzís, and Bá'ízís of Kohát or Lower Bangas'h; and these and the Wazírís are the people who are referred to in history as the Akwám-i-Bangas'h, or tribes of—not the name of any tribe—the country called Bangas'h. The Wazírís became numerous only in comparatively modern times—within the last two hundred years or less—but they subsequently increased to such an extent, that, when the author of these surveys wrote, they were one of the most numerous of the Afghán tribes.§

They are subdivided into a number of divisions and branches, more perhaps than any other Afghán tribe except the Ghalzís and Kákaṟs. Wazír, the progenitor of the tribe, had two sons, Khizr or Khizraey, and Lálaey. The latter son's descendants did not become so numerous as the descendants of the other son, and contain but two divisions, each of which consists of three clans or subdivisions. A feud having arisen between them and the descendants of Khizr some centuries ago, they separated from them, and took up their abode with their Kaṟlární kinsmen the Khogíánís, and along with them they still continue to dwell. They are located around Gandamak, on the northern slopes of the Spin-Ghar range, and are said to number 5,000 families, but persons I believe to be nearer the mark than families.

Khizr or Khizraey, son of Wazír,|| had three sons, Músá, who is known as the

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* *See* page 465.

† In another place (page 89) the writer says that he himself "saw between Spín Won and Mámak, within "the area of one kuroh merely, nearly fifty such plots of land, each of which was known by a separate "name."

‡ In one place, in his "Central Asia," Part I., MacGregor says, that "the *Vazirs*," as he terms the Wazírís, "are descended from Vazír, son of *one* Sulimán," but, in another place, he states, that, "the *Útmánza* "section [as he styles the 'Utmánzí division of the Darwesh Khel Wazírís] is the most powerful of all the "Vazírís," and that they are the "senior branch of the *Darvesh* Khel, who are descended from Súlimán, the son "of Kaki, the son of *Kurdan*," whoever he may be—but he is unknown to Afghán annals—and as though the Mas'úd Wazírís were not also descended from Sulímán, son of Kakaey, son of Kaṟlárnaey. *See* also page 386.

§ Thus, in the history by Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, the Khaṭak, we do not hear of the Wazírís being such a powerful tribe in his day.

MacGregor, in the work above referred to (on the authority of Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, apparently), sets the Wazírís down at 43,980, but, whether families or individuals is not to be gathered from his account of them. The 'Utmánzís are said to number, 17,000, the Aḥmadzís 12,180, the Mas'úds, 14,500, the Gurbuz 1,500, and the Lálí, who have been separated from the others for centuries, at 1,500. According to this, even if families be meant, the Wazírís must have decreased more than *one half* since these surveys were made. They, certainly, have not decreased, but, on the contrary, have increased to some degree.

|| Surgeon-Major H. W. Bellew, C.S.I., gives us some very curious accounts of the Wazírís as of other Afghán tribes. In his *first* book ("Afghanistan and its People," pp. 65 and 76) he included "the Wazírí" among the "*most numerous and powerful tribes classed under the head of Karrhai or Karaláni*" (he refers to

Darwesh or Devotee, Maḥmúd, and Mubárak. Músá had two sons, Aḥmad and 'Utmán; and the latter was the father of three sons, Maḥmúd, Ibráhím, and Walaey, who were the progenitors of the Maḥmúdzí, Ibráhímzí, and Walízí or Walí Khel. These again are subdivided into a great number of branches. Aḥmad, who was the eldest son of Músá, is the progenitor of the Aḥmadzí branch, which is accounted, in consequence, the head or senior branch. It contains two main divisions, which are again subdivided into a number of clans or smaller sections. These descendants of Músá, the Darwesh, whom they all venerate as a saint, whose tomb is at Nekzí, a village on the Ṭonchí river, mentioned at page 87, are known under the general name of Darwesh Khel Wazírís.

Mas'úd,* son of Maḥmúd, son of Khizr or Khizraey, son of Wazír, had two sons, 'Alí and Bahlúl, whose descendants form the 'Alízís and Bahlúlzís. These again are subdivided into a great number of clans; and the whole of Mas'úd's descendants, who are very numerous, are known as Mas'úd Wazírís, and may now be accounted almost a separate tribe.

Mubárak, the other son of Khizr or Khizraey, son of Wazír, remaining to be noticed, had a son named Gurbuz, whose descendants, now numbering only about 1,500 families, have separated entirely from the rest of the Wazírí tribe, and dwell in the elevated tract between the Shamal and Ṭonchí rivers, on the south-east boundary of Khost, about eight miles south of Segí, and east of Dawaṛ, and immediately east of the Mughal M'lá defile on the road from Segí to Bannú, mentioned at page 90, but adjoining the Darwesh Khel, and there they cultivate the available lands, for which they used to pay a small sum annually to the Durrání government.

The Darwesh Khel Wazírís dwell together, and the Mas'úds live separate from them, but, in some places, their territories adjoin or lie contiguous to each other. The former dwell chiefly in the northern and western parts of their country, and are nearest to Kohát and Bannú in our territory, on one side, and to Khost, Dawaṛ, and the valley of the S'haey or Right Gumul, on the other. The Mas'úds dwell in the southern and eastern parts, and are near Bannú, Ták, and the valley of the Gumul, but they nowhere touch our border. The 'Utmánzí branch of the Darwesh Khel are located farthest north, and the Aḥmadzí in the south-western part of their possessions. Some of the sections and clans of the Darwesh Khel have become British subjects, and have taken to agri-

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Kaṛlární), but *then*, "nothing but an unity of origin will account for the remarkable similarity of the Afghán "physiognomy to the well-known Hebrew type, nor for the prevalence among them of many customs peculiar "to the Jews of all known nations of the earth," but *then, too*, "the facts already adduced in support of their "claim to the title of Bani Isráil" were "those which attracted" his "attention during a residence of several "years among this people and in different parts of their country."

In his *last* book ("The Races of Afghanistan," p. 89), all is changed. *Now*, "*The Waziri who displaced "the Khattak, or Shattak, as it is pronounced in the western dialect of Pushtú*" ["Pukshto"? He is here confounding Shítak with Khaṭak, under the supposition that the initial letter of both words is Pus'hto ښ — which is "*s'h*" in the Western, and "*k'h*" in the Eastern dialect. Both words are, however, written with Arabic ش and خ respectively, which are totally different from the Pus'hto letter] "*form the Sattagydia of "Herodotus, for he is the only one of the ancient authors who has mentioned this people;*" and then we are further informed that they "appear to be identical"—a single letter in the name is enough for identification—"with the Wairsí or Vairsí of the early Muhammadan historians. The Wairsí were a division of the Sodha "tribe, which itself was a branch of the Pramára Rájpút."

This came from Elliot, seemingly (Vol. 1, p. 531), who states, referring to the people of *Sind*, not of the Afghánistán, that the "Beg-Lár Náma" states, that *Wairsí* was a chief among the Sodhas; that Tod considers them descendants of the Sogdi; that neither Q. Curtius nor Arrian mention them; and that he himself thinks they are the Sodræ of Diodorus. With these wise speculations I have nothing to do here, more than to point out, that, whoever Wairsí was, he was not *Wazír*, son of Sulímán, a great-grandson of Kaṛlárnaey, who was the adopted son of 'Abd-ullah, grandson of Aor-Maṛ, grandson of Saṛa'h-barn, son of Ḳais-i-'Abd-ar-Rashíd, *the progenitor of the Afghán race*, who died in H. 41 (661–62 A.D.); and it would be strange indeed if he were mentioned by the authors named. *See* page 380, and note *, page 382.

I will not go back to Herodotus, because the progenitors of tho Wazírí Kaṛlárnís were not born for many centuries after his time, but it would have been well to have named the "early Muhammadan historians" who say that the "*Wairsi*" or "*Vairsi*," are Wazírí Kaṛlárnís, It is strange that Herodotus showed such a preference for Afgháns, and never bestowed a thought upon Jaṭs, Balúchís, and "Khilich Turks." In his *last* book Mr. Bellew says that the Wazírís *are* "Patháns," not Afgháns at all. The "Patháns" used to be Herodotus's "Pakhtues," but now they seem to have become his "Sattagydia."

As Wazír—the Afghán, I mean—who was the progenitor of the Wazírí tribe, was fourth in descent from Kaṛlárnaey, who lived about 852 A.D., it is somewhat startling to find that his descendants, after they had become a considerable tribe, are mentioned by Herodotus about *thirteen centuries and a half before their ancestor was born.*

Lumsden (H. B.) says, "The Wazirs are Sunnis, and *although of Afghan descent*, have many customs "peculiar to themselves." Elphinstone, as might be supposed, styles them by the correct name of Afgháns.

* He was neither named Mahsud nor Másaúd, but Mas'úd, a Muḥammadan name signifying, happy, fortunate, august, etc., consequently, his descendants are neither called "*Mahsúds*" nor "*Másaúds*," but Mas'úds.

cultural pursuits, and others will, probably, in time, follow their example. These Wazíris are responsible for the Tonchí, and other passes leading in and out of the tracts respectively occupied by them. Some of the Darwesh Khel, such as the Kábil Khel—not "Kábal Khel,"—one of the four chief divisions of the Walí Khel 'Utmánzís, descended from Walaey, 'Utmán's son, and the Mas'úd Wazíris, have been, until very lately, a perpetual source of trouble since 1849.

The Wazíris now hold a much larger extent of territory than they did when these surveys were made; and, for some fifty years or more, they have gained a footing in Bannú, and their country now extends from around Tal (not *Thal**) on the river of Kurma'h in the Kohát district, and the *Thal* or desert of Bannú, described at page 322, on the north-east, to the Gumul, where it enters the plain of the Dera'h-ját, on the south. Thus the country of the Wazíris consists, throughout its whole length and extent, of the main range and subordinate parallel ranges, on the east and on the west, of the great eastern chain of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, also called Shú-ál, Shú-ál Ghár, and its spurs and cross ridges. These subordinate parallel ranges are much loftier on the east side of the main range than on the west, the country on that side being much more elevated. The south-eastern portion of this territory is that part of the great main eastern range of Mihtar Sulímán, which I have described at page 464 as being much disturbed and bulging out; and, throughout its whole extent, on the east, it is flanked by the Koh-i-Surkh or Rátá Roh, already described. On the north-west, the main range here sends out smaller parallel ranges, or waves they may be termed, which slope downwards towards the Dara'h or valley of the Tonchí; and, on the west, one of these parallel ranges, which is somewhat higher than the others on that side—for I am only attempting to describe the main features of the Wazírí country—bounds the Dara'h of Wárna'h on the west, and separates it from the dara'h through which the S'haey or Right Gumul flows from north to south. Between these subordinate ranges on either side are still smaller dara'hs formed by cross ranges, such as Shaka'í, Dab, Hinda'í, Shpeshta'h,† Badr, Sharana'h, Kus'hto, etc., and some elevated tracts of table-land of no great extent, such as Sham and Razmak, Shera'h-Tala'h, and others, and in these the Wazíris cultivate such land as is fit for tillage.

Some of the mountain tracts in the possession of this tribe are well wooded, and contain forests of pine of two or three descriptions, as well as other forest trees, and others of lesser growth.

On the west, the Wazírí territory touches the Sulímán Khel and Kharotí Ghalzís; and it is probable that, some day, they will come into contact with the first-named most numerous and most powerful of the Ghalzís; for it is said that the Wazíris are merely restrained from extending farther west than Margha'h, in the upper part of the Tonchí Dara'h, into Farmul, out of fear of them.‡ The northern boundary of the Wazíris in this direction is irregular. On one side they touch the Jzadrárn branch of the Mangalí Karlárnís, and, farther eastwards again, they are separated from Khost by the range of mountains dividing it from the Tonchí Dara'h, and, still farther east, lies Dawar. But all their neighbours in that direction, it will be observed, are Karlárnís like themselves, without exception; indeed, all the Karlárnís adjoin each other.

The Wazíris have very few villages of any size, but live much scattered about, a few families together, and mostly in *kijzda'is*, or black tents made of goats' hair, and in mat and grass huts, but, in some places, among the Ma'súds chiefly, they have houses partly hollowed out of the hill-sides,§ which are roofed over, and some have two and three roofs or storeys. Makín is their principal village, for Kární-Grám, although it is within their territory, and they hold their *jirgah's* or assemblies there, it is inhabited by Aor-Mar‖ Afgháns, the descendants of Amar Dín *alias* Aor-Mar, son of Sharaf-

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* *See* note ‡, page 552.

† This word signifies a wedge in Pus'hto.

‡ It must be remembered that the Wazíris being pastoral and nomadic, only visit some places during part of each year.

Margha'h, previously noticed in the account of the route at page 87, is five kuroh from Kharótí, a place belonging to and called after that branch of the Ghalzís, and six kuroh from Urgún in the district of Farmul. The direction from those places is about south-east, inclining east, on the route from Ghaznín to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán in Bannú. Margha'h lies on the north bank of the Tonchí river; and half a kuroh east of it is Pírán Sháh, the general name given to two or three villages of Pír-Zádahs, or descendants of Músá, the Darwesh, the Pír or Spiritual Guide of the Wazíris. These are on the south bank of the Tonchí, and one of these villages is named Khúzí (Khúbzí?), and the other Nekzí, and the toub of the Pír is situated south of the last-named place. *See* page 85.

§ Which has led some persons to say that they "live in caves."

‖ *See* page 383.

ud-Dín, *alias* Sharkhabún, grandson of Ḳais-i-'Abd-ar-Rashíd, the Paṭán, who formerly possessed the country round, and were ousted from all else besides by the Wazírís.

The Wazírís carry on a little trade with our frontier districts, and bring down the surplus produce of their hills, and take back fabrics for making clothes, salt, and a few other necessaries of life.

I now resume the author's account of the route, from the Tsíra'í *Kotal*, from page 534.

"From this *kotal* you go half a stage, and reach another uninhabited halting place called Romún, and then another half stage, the road being difficult, brings you to Wuch-Sar, signifying in Pus'hto, the dry top or elevation; and the Takht-i-Sulímán lies away distant on the left hand [south], and the Ghwáyí Lári Ghás'haey is distant one kuroh towards the west.

"At this point two roads diverge, that on the left hand [south], having crossed two or three short, but difficult *kotals*, brings you to the *manzil* or halting place of Mandzí, which descends down to the banks of the Gumul river. From Wuch-Sar to Mandzí, which is the name of another desolate halting place, and a place frequented by the *ílát* or nomad Núḥhární Afgháns, is two stages; and from Mandzí to S'hahr-i-Chapa'h is one stage. The other, or right-hand, road, followed by the writer, is as follows.

"Setting out from Wuch-Sar, you go one kuroh west, and reach the difficult *kotal* or *ghás'haey* known as the Ghwáyí Lári or Bullock-Road Pass, a gorge or defile, wide at first, but narrowing as you advance, between towering cliffs on either hand, in some places stony, and containing many ascents and descents, some of which wind considerably and are steep. This defile is in some places not more than about twenty-five *gaz* [about eighteen or twenty yards] wide, and at others from two to three hundred, but, in a few places, it is not more than from ten to twelve *gaz* in breadth. Having cleared this defile, and traversing two or three small *kotals* by the way, you reach the stage known as Sarmághah, so called after a coarse description of grass growing about; and the river of the Jzíoba'h Dara'h, just before reaching it, unites with the Gumul on the left-hand side. You then proceed another stage and reach Koṭ-Ka'í;* and, in going thither, you descend into the valley of, and cross, the Gumul river, which also, on the right hand, is joined by a small river which comes down from the Dara'h of Wárna'h where the Doṭárnís dwell. Hereabouts in the valley of the Gumul the Sayyáḥ Khána'h or nomad Afgháns of the Aká Khel Hedzab Ghalzís cultivate lands; and on the hills around, már-khur and wild sheep abound. The bed of the Gumul is stony, like all the river beds of these parts, but, altogether, the road is not difficult.

"From the halting place of Koṭ-Ka'í, leaving the Gumul on the left, you go on another stage and reach S'hahr-i-Chapa'h, which is known to the Afgháns as Kanzúr or Kandzúr, and Khæṭ da Khargáhúnah,† which is a great mound of earth and stones [clay and pebbles—conglomerate] standing in an open plain. The Pus'hto words signify, 'the mound containing halls, chambers, courts, and other apartments,'‡ *khæṭ* signifying a mound or hill, and *khargáh-únah*, or *khar-gúnah*, the Pus'hto plural form of Tájzík *khargáh*, which means 'a court,' 'the apartment of a palace,' 'pavilion,' 'tabernacle,' as well as 'a large round felt tent.' In ancient times a large city stood here, but now naught but ruin and desolation remain.§

"From this place roads branch off in different directions. One leads northwards by the Dara'h of Wárna'h, Marwatí Koh, and Farmul by Urgún, and Sih-Rauza'h by Shor Kats, to Ghaznín; and by Urgún into Khost and Dawaṛ, and into the Dara'h of

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* A severe battle was fought at this place, some ninety years ago, between the Núḥárnís and Wazírís, in which the latter were defeated. A great number were killed on both sides, and a large pile of stones marks the place where the slain Núḥárnís were buried.

The Powandahs are most exposed to being waylaid by the Wazírís between the Tsíra'í *Kotal* and Kandzúr.

† This is Vigne's "Kangur," Walker's "Khut-i-Kurgum," and Broadfoot's "Khat-i-Kharga Una," who makes it out to be a different place from what he calls Kanzúr walí, as he computes it to be six miles from his "Gúlkach," while the last is said to be fifteen from it. MacGregor, who takes his account from Broadfoot, alters the name and calls it "Katt-i-Khirga Ūna." In Wilson's map it is written different from the other three, and is not much nearer the correct form than they are, namely, "Khut-i-Khurga Una."

Shahr-i-Chapa'h, is evidently the Tájzík name, but what it may mean I cannot say.

‡ Or it might be called "The Chambered Mound."

§ About mid-way between the town of Dṛá-bhaṇ and the pass, but standing more to the north as you go thither, there is a great mound with furrowed sides, of something the same character as that of S'hahr-i-Chapa'h, and their history is, doubtless, connected with each other. The Afgháns call it the Deṛa'í, which signifies "a heap," "a mound," "a pile," "an elevation." It is said to be the site of an ancient fortified town.

Kurma'h, and from thence to Kábul, by the routes already described.* Two roads also branch off north-westwards towards Ghaznín, and another south-west to Kandahár, which unites with the route described at the stage of Karwah Dzangal or Tríkh-Ghaz Dzangal, previously noticed.†

"The right-hand route of the two, leading north-westwards towards Ghaznín, the Afgháns call *Samey lah bah wú-rágha͡eh*, the meaning of which will presently be explained. This is a little nearer than the other, but the left-hand route, although longer, contains water, and inhabitants are there to be found, and this is the route now to be described.

"Leaving the halting place of S'hahr-i-Chapa'h, Kandzúr, or Khæṭ da Khargáh-únah, you proceed one kuroh and a half towards the right and ascend the mountain range for the distance of four kuroh more, when you reach an open plateau or small tract of table land, bounding Wárna'h on the west. You then have one kuroh of descent, and again reach the bed of the Gumal, having passed by the way the bed of a small river which comes from the northwards and unites with the main stream. This halting place is known as Trapúní Ghúnḍa'í;‡ and the road from S'hahr-i-Chapa'h to this stage is known as the *war-sak* route, which word in Pus'hto signifies the spur or ridge of a mountain, also a bend or angle along a mountain side.§ From this halting place of Trapúní Ghúnḍa'í the Takht-i-Sulímán can be seen towering aloft at a distance of some thirty kuroh. Hitherto the direction followed from Drá-bhaṉ to this place was north-west, but now you have to proceed in the direction of west until Kalát-i-Barlúk [or Kalát of the Ghalzís] is reached. From this point, likewise, two roads diverge; the right-hand one [north-west] leads to Ghaznín, and will be subsequently described: the left-hand one is as follows.

"Setting out, therefore, from the halting place of Trapúní Ghúnḍa'í, you proceed two stages, and reach the Zíárat of Pír Husain, the tomb and shrine of a Muḥammadan saint, which is of great repute as a place of pilgrimage;|| and here some of the other Afgháns come to trade with the Powandahs. In this neighbourhood, likewise, the Jzamríární Afgháns dwell. They are a section of the tribe of Kásí or Kánsí, as it is also written, the progenitor of which was Kásaey or Kánsaey, son of Khair-ud-Dín, *alias* Kharshabún, son of Ibráhím, *alias* Sara'h-barn, son of Kais-i-'Abd-ar-Rashíd. Kánsaey or Kásaey had twelve sons, one of whom was Jzamríárnaey, another Kihtrán, and another was Shinwáraey, the progenitor of the Shinwárí tribe, located west of the Khaibar Pass, who lately fought so sturdily against the Amír, 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán Khán, Bárakzí. I shall notice the Kánsís or Kásís again farther on.

"From the Zíárat of Pír Husain you proceed two *manzils* or stages in the direction of west (which direction you continue to follow as far as Kalát), and reach Tarwey,¶ which, in Pus'hto, is the name of a purgative plant [*turbith* or *ipomœa turpethum*], and then another four stages to Sulímán Khel, not a village, but merely a halting place of this numerous branch of the Ghalzí Afgháns. Another four stages take you to Margha'h** [the name of a halting place in the tract so called]; and three more to Kalát-i-Barlúk or Kalát-i-Ghalzí.

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* *See* Routes Three to Seven, pages 74 to 93.

† *See* page 527.

‡ In Pus'hto *ghúnḍa'í* means a mound or detached hill separated from a higher range; and *trapuní*, the adjective qualifying it, is derived from the verb *traplal*, to leap, vault, bound, etc. Ghúnḍa'h also means a detached hill.

§ Also a steep, craggy ridge.

|| The only saint that I know of belonging to the Kásí or Kánsí tribe to which this can refer, is the Shaikh Ḥasan, the Kihtrán Kásí, who was a contemporary of the Shaikh, Mulhí Kattál. The names Ḥasan and Ḥusain are written so much alike in the original that they are liable to be mistaken the one for the other.

¶ This appears to be what Elphinstone calls "Teerou."

** It was in this part, on a *wála'h* or rivulet, a tributary of the Arghasán, that the Khas'hí and Ghwarí or Ghwaríah Khel Afgháns, now located north, west, and south-west of Pes'háwar, once dwelt. *See* note *, page 221.

It was the flooding of the lands of this part, and the consequent scarcity of forage, which led to the Khas'hís being expelled from it by their stronger kinsmen, the Ghwaríah Khel, when they moved northwards to Ghára'h and Mushkí or Nushkí, and, subsequently, took up their quarters in the dara'hs immediately south and west of Kábul. *See* note *, page 66.

In that tract, then dependent on the province of Kandahár, in the spring of the year, if the rains are propitious, the grass, especially a description called *kabl* in Pus'hto (*Agrostis linearis*), and also *margha'h* (derived, apparently, from Tájzík *margh*, called *dúb* in Hindí), and herbs spring up most luxuriantly. When the heat of July comes, the ground becomes dry, and the vegetation also dries up, but this particular grass, which predominates, is very *ghwara'h*, that is, very acceptable, to the cattle, which graze upon it with avidity in its dry state. This lasts them for fodder until the next spring, but, if the rainy season brings excessive rains, the rivers overflow, and the country becomes flooded; and when the floods subside, this grass rots and

"From the stage of Trapúní Ghúnḍa'í* to the Ziárat of Pír Ḥusain there is excess of *kohistán*, the roads through which are difficult to traverse, but, after that, as far as within a short distance of Kalát, the route runs through a sandy tract of country, and the mountain parts appear at a distance on the right and left hand. From thence you go on to Túṭ, mentioned in the preceding route, distant seven kuroh, and then another similar stage to Hazárí Zindir.† From thence another stage of seven kuroh brings you to S'hahr-i-Ṣafá, a place famous in the history of the Abdálí tribe, afterwards known as Durrání. The site of the ancient city of Jihkán shows itself on the right hand as you proceed. It is three stages from Túṭ.

"After this you have to proceed a stage of ten kuroh to Ḳala'-i-Ákhún, or the Ákhúnd's Fort;‡ and another of seven kuroh and a half takes you to Ḳandahár-i-Aḥmad-Sháh-í.

"Between Kalát and this place, on both sides of the road, there is a *kohistán*, that on the right hand [west] being the highest, and that on the left [east] is the westernmost range of the Koh-i-Surkh or Sor Ghar; § and the road follows very nearly the course of the Tarnak river.

"From Drá-bháṇ to Trapúní Ghúnḍa'í, the direction followed was north-west; from the last-named stage to Kalát west; and from that place to Ḳandahár the direction was south-west."

This route, from the foregoing description, contains twenty-four *kárwán* stages from Zaṛkaní, which, as before stated, averages not less than six and not more than seven kuroh (unless the contrary is stated), but, out of this number, it occupied eight stages, or from forty-eight to fifty-six kuroh, in reaching S'hahr-i-Chapa'h, or Kandzúr, from Zaṛkaní, whereas Kandzúr is not much farther west than Hájí Máno da Koṭ of the previous route, which is only thirty-two kuroh from Rámak. Although the first two stages from the latter place are a little longer and more difficult until the S'hwayey Lári Ghás'haey is cleared, which can, certainly, be improved and made quite practicable, the Ghwáyí-Lári Ghás'haey would also have to be improved as far as Kandzúr to be made practicable for guns by this route. In doing this, however, we should, at the same time, be improving the route leading to Ghaznín and Kábul

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becomes useless, in which case no more forage is obtainable until the young grass springs up again in the following spring. A place which is noted for the growth of such grass is called Margha'h likewise, and also Ghwara'h Margha'h; and this is the tract above referred to, which is included in the present territory of the Hotak Ghalzí Afgháns. It was the country of the celebrated Ḥájí, Mír Wais. It lies east of Kalát-i-Barlúk or Kalát-i-Ghalzí, and immediately east of the Sor or Súr Ghar or Koh-i-Surkh, referred to at page 458.

The Margha'h or Ghwara'h Margha'h here mentioned must not be mistaken for the place—the battle field—referred to in the note page 66, because there is a vast difference between the meaning of ghwara'h, meaning "chosen," "preferred," "choice," and the like, and ghwaṛa'h with Pus'hto "ṛ," which means "greasy," "fat," "oily," "unctuous," etc., which two meanings have caused some rather amusing mistakes regarding the two localities, especially in the account given by Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, in his book, which, when not taken from the Makhzan-i-Afghání, is a mere transcript of the writings of Elphinstone, or of Bellew and some others.

MacGregor, in his "Central Asia," Part II., has a "Ghwara Margha," which he says is "a small district in "Afghánistán, situated in the Ghilzai country, but whereabouts is not so clear. . . . . Elphinstone says "that Kala Abdúl Rahmán is in Ghwara Margha, and Outram in his operations against the Ghilzáes destroyed "Kala-i-Margha, the fort of Abdúl Rahmán. This fort was 20 miles south of Mansúr Karez and below the "district of Nawar. . . . Any way there is no doubt there is such a district," etc., etc. This is certainly a satisfactory description, and quite enough to guide any one to it without a guide.

The tract called Náwar, after the lake—*náwar* is the Turkish for a lake—lies, however, *west* of Ghaznín, and the tract referred to here is well known, and is situated to the south-east of Ghaznín, and to the east of Kalát-i-Barlúk or Kalát-i-Ghalzí. The Ḳala'-i-Margha'h destroyed by Outram in 1839 lies farther to the north-east. MacGregor has mistaken Náwar for Náwah, with "h," and given it a final "r."

* There is a tolerably good road from this halting place to the Gumul, which unites with that route by the 'Uṣmán Gorge or Sang-i-Surákh, at Dir-Tsaulah, presently to be described.

In 1827, when Raḥím-Díl Khán of Ḳandahár, one of the Sar-dárs, wanted to reach Pes'háwar, to come to an understanding with the other Bárakzí Sar-dárs of Pes'háwar against their brother, Dost Muḥammad Khán of Kábul, he came to Ma'rúf of the Bárakzís, and then got into the route of the Powandahs, and reached Ṭáḳ.

This route must have been crossed by the Bombay column of the Army of the Indus, in September, 1839, when returning to Kwaṭa'h from Ghaznín by the direct road, leaving Ḳalát-i-Barlúk and Ḳandahár on the right, somewhere about Ghúnḍán and Músá or Massú Khel. *See also* note †, page 459.

By crossing the hills south from Margha'h, and proceeding a stage of sixteen miles or thereabouts, you reach Spín-Warí, from which place a road leads south to Ma'rúf, Púshang, and Kwaṭa'h, which was followed by the Bombay column. From Margha'h, likewise, by crossing the hills and going about fifteen miles a little to the north of east, you reach Ghúnḍán, from which a road leads northwards to Kábul through Khaṭa'h-Wádza'h Zurmat, and the Khar-wár *Kotal*, the route followed by Outram in 1839, which is quite practicable for guns.

† Not in our maps.

‡ There is a "Khel Akhund" in our maps, but it is too far away from Ḳandahár to be the same place.

§ And some offshoots of the Koh-i-Siyah or western range of Mihtar Sulímán, noticed at page 458. Both ranges about here are much disturbed.

by the Gumul, presently to be explained, which joins this one at Kandzúr or S'hahr-i-Chapa'h, otherwise Khæṭ da Khargah únah, of the route I have just described.

This route from Zarkaní to Kalát-i-Barluk, now known as Kalát of the Ghalzís, according to the above computation, is a distance of from one hundred and forty-four kuroh to one hundred and sixty-eight, or, at the outside, three hundred and thirty-six miles. The lesser computation of two hundred and eighty-eight miles* I believe to be nearer the mark.

It is much to be regretted that the author of these surveys did not describe this route in greater detail, but this is the fault in some places in the second portion of his surveys, which fell into my hands quite unexpectedly. This is the more surprising, because the first portion embraced such an immense tract of country, and yet everything is described at considerable length.† His not mentioning any other serious obstacles in this route than he has done certainly indicates that great difficulties do not exist, and that, of a certainty, there are no "Pushtú or Central Sulimani "mountains, bounding Khorassan and India according to the natives," to be crossed, nor such a very regular and apparently stupendous range of mountains as the western range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah is made to appear in the map contained in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society" for 1879, which I have had occasion to refer to several times in these pages.

This route appears to follow pretty nearly the course of the river of Kwandar—but known to us, from our maps, as the "Kundur," "Kúndar," "Kundar," "Coondoor," and "Kundoor"—from near Trapúní Ghúnda'í to the first stage beyond the Zíárat of Pír Husain, at, or a little to the north-eastwards of, the Laka'h Tíjza'h,‡ after which it must lead across to the farther or left bank of that stream. Then, as described in the route itself, it takes a more direct westerly course, north of the stage of the Karwah Dzangal or Tríkh Ghaz Dzangal of the preceding route, by the S'hwayey Lári Ghás'haey, and appears to run nearly parallel to that route, with about two stages intervening, possibly less, through the country of the Sulímán Khel Ghalzís, and the tract known as Ulán Tágh,§ the Turkish name for Koh-i-Surkh, Sor Ghar, or Red Mountains—as far as Margha'h, or Ghwara'h Margha'h, the tract of country where the *margha'h* grass grows, described in note **, page 539.

Ninety-fourth Route. From Drá-bhan to Ghaznín by the Ghwáyí Lári Ghás'haey, a distance of nearly two hundred and ten kuroh.

"By this route you follow that described in the preceding one as far as Trapúní Ghúnda'í in the valley of the Gumul river, where two roads diverge. Leaving Trapúní Ghúnda'í, the road follows the bed of the river referred to, which is somewhat stony, for about two kuroh in the direction of north-west inclining north. Then the bed begins to widen, and to be less stony, and you pass a flat topped, detached hill or mound known as "da Khizáney Ghúndey' or 'the Hill of the Treasure,' from the tradition that the treasure of some former invader of these parts is deposited therein. Continuing onwards for rather more than another kuroh, the bed of the river continuing wide as before, you reach a small plot of alluvium, called after the person who is supposed to have first cultivated it, Jání's Kats, the signification of which latter Pus'hto word has been previously given. Just after clearing this, you pass the channel of another river, which comes from the right hand [north], from the south-west slopes of the mountains bounding the Dara'h of Wárna'h on the west, and, after passing it, the first halting place is reached.

"Setting out from this halting place, you proceed for the distance of a kuroh and a

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* At two miles to the kuroh, which is the *extreme* computation of the length: one mile and three quarters being the general length of the kuroh in these routes.

† The reason why his details are not so ample may have been caused through having to accompany the Powandahs whom he names, and, consequently, he would not have had much time or opportunity for inquiry and observation. On his previous journeys and surveys, related in the three previous Sections of this work, it is evident that he was able to make his observations at leisure.

‡ There are two or three places bearing a similar name. For its signification *see* pages 123, and 429, note ‡.

§ This is Elphinstone's "Hullataugh," which he places east of the Ghwara'h Margha'h district; and in it, in his map, "Ghoondaun," the Ghúndán mentioned at page 459, is situated. He also makes it appear as a tract of level or open country of considerable extent; whereas, the part indicated in that map happens to be the hilly tract in which the ridges thrown out by the Koh-i-Siyah towards the south-west becomes mixed up with the ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh, as explained in the page just mentioned, and where we also have the Turkish name Ḳará Tágh, the equivalent of Koh-i-Siyah.

half in the bed of the river, when you come to a slight ascent of about one hundred *gaz* or thereabouts. Having gained the top of this, you emerge on a flat and open, but, stony and barren plain, which you cross for about the distance of a little over two kuroh, when the usual halting place is reached. On the way from Trapúní Ghúnda'í to this halting place there is plenty of water from the Gumul, and many camping places of the Sayyáh Khána'h or nomad Afgháns of the 'Alí Khel Hedzabs. This barren plain or plateau is known to the Afgháns by the words '*Samey lah bah wu-rághæh,*' signifying 'They continue to come, or are wont to reach a, or the, plain,' but what the derivation of this term may be is unknown to the writer.* It is here that the Powandahs bury their dead; perhaps the above name refers to this in some way.

"Leaving this second *manzil* or halting place, and continuing along this barren plain for rather less than a kuroh, you again enter the bed of the Gumul, and proceeding onwards therein a little farther, you pass the deep, wide, rocky bed of a river dependent on rain, which comes from the *kohistán* to the north. After passing this about a quarter of a kuroh, you have to cross a very difficult *kotal* over the ridge of a hill, at a point where there are some large blocks of stone, rock, or boulders, which is known as the Gáṭí *Kotal,* a block of such like stone or rock, in the Afghán language, being called *gáṭaey* [the plural is *gáṭí*, giving name to the *kotal*]. After clearing this obstacle, the road continues along the *rághah* or skirt of this hill for the distance of half a kuroh or rather less, after which, another two kuroh bring you to the Toda'h Chína'h or Hot Spring, the name of the halting place. This is a most difficult stage; and here the *garm-sír* or hot climate terminates, and the *sard-sír* or cold [temperate] climate is entered. East of this place snow seldom falls; and now the danger of attacks from the Wazírís is over, having passed beyond their bounds.

"From the Toda'h Chína'h the next stage is to Angá Sháh-í. From the first-named place you proceed up a broad ravine, which gradually ascends, for a distance of three kuroh and a half, when you have to cross an easy *kotal* over a low ridge of the mountains; and, having descended from it by one of two or three tracks, by a gentle descent of some two hundred *gaz* or thereabouts into the bed of the Gumul again, you go on another kuroh and a half, and reach the desolate halting place known as Angá Sháh-í. The next stage from this leads out of the bed of the river, which now begins to wind considerably, and its bed to become more stony, but it still continues very broad. Then you have to go down a ravine some fifty *gaz* in breadth, for about half a kuroh or more, when you again get into the bed of the river, the water in which now decreases considerably in breadth. It has to be so continually crossed for about three kuroh more until you come to the next halting place, that all those who can, that is men on foot and unencumbered, leave the bed of the river, ascend, and cross over the hills on either side, and rejoin the main body with the laden animals shortly before the halting place is reached, which is a small, level piece of ground just above the river's bed. It has no particular designation.†

"The road to the next halting place still continues to follow the winding bed of the river, which now becomes more stony, and contains a number of boulders; and here again, those who can do so, go over the hills and rejoin the *ḳáfila'h* farther on. After

* Literally, "To the plain they in the habit of reaching are."

Nothing more can be made of this Pus'hto sentence than the writer has done, but what it refers to is doubtful. It may possibly have reference to the numerous ascents and descents, and turnings and windings in the route, both before they reach it and after they have passed it, whether going to the Indus or returning from it; namely, that they are in the habit of reaching level ground some part of the way. Or the burying place may be referred to, to which they are in the habit of coming with their dead.

The verb in this sentence is that form of the imperfect tense used to denote continuity, habitude, usage, custom, etc., which is formed, as described in my Pus'hto Grammar (second edition, page 91, para. 230) by prefixing the particle *bah* to the past tense. The third person masculine form of the past tense here used is that peculiar form described at page 84, para. 214, of the same work, but, *bah wu-rághlæh* would be equally correct.

This plain is called *Semla Borag* (from the above words) by Vigne; and he, very properly, did not pretend to explain what he did not understand, and it is a pity that others did not follow his example. Broadfoot, quoted by MacGregor in his "Central Asia," Part II, calls it "the desolate plain of *Sumblabar Raghle* ('we have 'reached the black plain'), the boundary of Khórásan and India."

This is another specimen of the mode in which names of places are written. Neither "*Semla Borag*" nor "*Sumblabar Raghle*" have any signification, but what their Afghán informants really told the two travellers, and what their words are meant for, can now be seen at a glance There is nothing whatever in the Push'to about black—*tor* is black in that language—and the verb is not in the perfect tense. As to the so-called "black" plain being "the boundary of Khórásán and India," the statement of the author of these surveys, farther on, and Vigne's account, quoted at page 469, refute it.

† This seems to be the place, or very near it, called by Broadfoot "Ahmudzi Kuts," meaning, probably, the Aḥmadzí Kats. It is perhaps the stage called "Sturei" by Vigne, and may be meant for the Pus'hto *staṛaey*, tired, wearied, tiring, fatiguing. etc.

proceeding just two kuroh in this manner from the last halting place, the bed of the river grows narrower, and begins to wind more and more, and the stream to lessen in volume. You now reach the place where the *tsalaey* rises up in the midst of the river bed. This is a large, upright, pillar-like fragment of rock or monolith, of a whitish colour; and such a rock or pillar-like mass, in Pus'hto, is called a *tsalaey*. After passing it the bed of the river begins to narrow again, and to wind very considerably. This continues for a distance of a little more than two kuroh, but there is still plenty of room for *ḳáfila'hs* to pass to and fro. Having gone this distance, just after passing a small stream of brackish water, which flows from the left hand [westward] and unites with the Gumul, you reach the halting place, which, from the tall, reedy grass, previously mentioned, which grows in great patches in this neighbourhood and farther on, is called Sar-mághah.*

" From this place to the next *manzil* or stage you wend your way in the bed of the river for about three kuroh; and the mountains which, hitherto, rose up at a considerable distance on either hand, and sloped down gradually to the bed of the Gumul, begin to approach closer, and high cliffs to overhang it. The bed grows still narrower and more tortuous as you proceed, but the bottom continues level and practicable for the animals. At length you emerge from the narrow, winding passage, and enter upon a considerable open space of level ground, which is the desolate halting place of Dir-Tsaulah.

" At this point two considerable bodies of water,† from the left hand and from the right, unite, and receive the name of Rúd-i-Gumul or River of Gumul. That branch which comes from the left hand [north-west: it first runs southwards and then bends west] is called the Kírn Gumul, from the Pus'hto word *kírn*, signifying the left, or left hand; and that which comes from the right hand [north], is known as the S'haey Gumul, from the Pus'hto *s'haey*, signifying the right or right hand.

" At this place, likewise, two roads diverge. The left-hand one leads through the cleft or gorge of 'Usmán,‡ out of which the Kírn Gumul issues, by way of Margha'h,

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* This is Vigne's " Sirmagha." He says, respecting the march to it from " Sturei," that " the dreary " barrenness of the lower range began now to diminish; and tufts of grass, wild tulips, and aromatic plants " were spread over the hills."

† The volume of water of course depends on the season of the year; and, as elsewhere mentioned, the Gumul is liable to considerable rises.

Dir-Tsaulah here mentioned is what Elphinstone calls " Doorchelly," and says, " the Gomul rises *at Doorchelly*," in which statement he is, of course, wrong. Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, copies Elphinstone, and writes it " *Dúr Chalí*." MacGregor, under the heading of " Gomal," says, " it rises on the east slopes of " the Súlimán range, *in two branches*," and yet a few lines under he says, " this river, which rises in two " branches, at 14 miles from its source, joins the other branch or the Dwa Gomal." Then he informs us that *it* " rises near *Sirafza* [Walker's ' *Sirufza*.' This is the way Sih Rauẓa'h is written by them], and " 14 miles from its source joins the other branch or Dwa Gomal," and that " it is the same size as *the other* " *branch*."

But, in another place in the same volume (" Central Asia," Part II.), under the heading of " Dwa Gomal," he says, it is " one of the main branches of the Gomal river, which rises at *a hill* called *Dúrtsely* [improving " on Elphinstone] *very near Paltú* [it was ' near Sirafza ' before, and ' Paltú ' is a long way from that], and " that it joins the Gomal at Úrsak, eight miles below its source."

Under the head of " *Ghwalarí*," again, in describing Broadfoot's route, MacGregor says, with reference to " a tower of refuge " which he calls the " Kala-i-Babakar," near " Útmán," that " the main stream of the Gomal rises here;" and then, between the halting place near " Útmán " and the next stage called " Sirmagha," a distance of thirteen miles, he says, " at eight miles the *Dwa* Gomal makes *its* appearance," etc., etc.

The " Gomal " appears from all this to rise in a variety of places, but, really, a sad hash has been made of it. It does not appear so much the mistake altogether of the compiler, as the blunder of his authority, Broadfoot, who could not have known what " *dwa* " meant. Dwah, for so it is written, is the Pus'hto for *two*, and the two refers to the two bodies of water, the Right and Left Gumuls, mentioned in the text above. The S'haey or Right Gumul takes its rise in the great western range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, near to, and west of, the source of the Ṭonchí river, a long way to the northwards of Dir-Tsaulah, the " Doorchelly " of Elphinstone, and " Dúrtsely " of MacGregor. The Maidán-i-Rustam is here, and the river of Zurmat rises near by. *See* pages 327 and 456.

Vigne, who did not pretend to a knowledge of Eastern languages, and was liable to err when writing Oriental words, thus describes the meeting of the two waters :—" Shortly before reaching Dormundai, an open " airy station where we encamped on the tenth of June, the Gomul was joined by another stream called the " *Shei* Gomul,—Shei in Poshtu, the language of Afghanistán, signifying the right; and the old stream, " whose course we still followed up, being called the *Kena*, or left Gomul." This description is perfectly correct.

‡ 'Usmán's cleft or gorge I believe to be, what, in ancient times, was called the Sang-i-Súrákh or Rifted Rock route. Sulṭán Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, after he became ruler of Dihlí, on one occasion, made a dash upon Ghaznín from the Panj-áb against his father-in law, Sulṭán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, ruler of the Ghaznín kingdom, who had to fly; and he took refuge in Kaṛmán (*see* page 82). In less than a month, however, I-yal-dúz, by a rapid movement from thence, appearing before Ghaznín, and taking Í-bak by surprise, he had to beat a hasty retreat by way of the Sang-i-Súrákh back to the Panj-áb again. Subsequently, the Sulṭán of Khwárazm, who had secured the whole of the territories south of the Oxus, suddenly invaded the Ghaznín kingdom, secured the frontier routes leading to Hindústán towards Gardaiz and the Karábah Dara'h, so that

already mentioned in the preceding route, to Ḳandahár through the small tract called Wádzey Khwá; while the right-hand one, followed by the writer, leads to Ghaznín, and from thence to Kábul. This cleft or gorge is so called after a person named 'Uṣmán, who was the first to go by it to Ḳandahár, thus setting the route a going. By it Ḳandahár can be reached in ten stages.

"Leaving this uninhabited halting place of Dir-Tsaulah, you proceed for a distance of between three and four kuroh and reach Dir-Tsaulah itself, which gives name to the previous halting place, and which is a village belonging to the Kharoṭí branch of the Ghalzí Afgháns. From this halting place you continue onwards towards the north, inclining north-west, and following the course of the Kírn Gumul, now become a little stream, for about four kuroh, when you lose it altogether and reach the crest of the great western range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, the outermost [west] slopes of which constitute the extreme boundary in this direction between the territory of Ghaznín and the Afghánistán or Pus'htún Khwá. This great range likewise is the boundary of Khurásán in this direction, according to the Powandahs and the Afgháns in general; and here a new region, as it were, begins.*

"At this encamping place the tops of the mountains around rise up in various forms; and the lesser hills become much disturbed, and assume all sorts of shapes. Looking eastwards, from some points near by, the Takht-i-Sulímán can be seen in the direction of south-east; while, on the opposite side, the country descends gradually towards Ghaznín, and the valley of the river of Ghaznín, on the right, and the upper part of the valley of the river Tarnak, on the left-hand side, some lesser ranges of hills, portions of the Koh-i-Surkh, Sor or Súr Ghar, or Ulán Tágh, intervening. Two other ranges of mountains show themselves beyond in that direction, the most distant of which is the loftiest, and is every here and there clothed with snow. It separates the Ghaznín territory in that direction from Ghúr; and between it and the nearest or lower range, known as the Gúl [also Tájzík for Red] Koh range, the Arghand Áb, Arghand Áo, or Arghand river, flows from the right towards the left [from north-east to south-west], in the direction of Ḳandahár. Beyond it again, it unites with the Hírmand or Hílmand, which flows almost parallel to the Arghand Áb beyond the highest range referred to. An account of these rivers will be given farther on.

"From this halting place west of the crest of the great western range of Mihtar Sulímán, three stages take you through the district of Khaṭa'h-Wádza'h, in which a portion of the numerous branch of the Sulímán Khel Ghalzís dwell, to Patan-i-Sháh-í,† the name of a village, a dependency of the province of Ghaznín; and from this halting place, Sherana'h,‡ a village belonging to the Sulímán Khel, is distant one kuroh to the east. From it several roads branch off; one, on the right hand, leads by Chalak and the Ḳolághú§ to Kábul by the Dara'h of Gardaiz and the Chashmah-i-Tarah *Kotal*, and another by the Ḳolághú and the Khar-wár *Kotal* to Kábul. In the other direction, or left hand, a route leads to Kalát-i-Ghalzí and Ḳandahár in one direction,‖ and into Púshang and to Kwaṭa'h or Shál in another.

"From Sherana'h three stages, in the same direction as before, bring you to Ghaznín. The road, after crossing the western Sulímán range, leads for the most part through sandy tracts of country, in which there is little cultivation, but the hills to be crossed rise gradually, and the ascents and descents are not difficult. As

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aid from thence could not reach him, and, while I-yal-dúz was absent from Ghaznín for a short time, suddenly appeared before it; and I-yal-dúz was also obliged to fly by the Sang-i-Súrákh route, and reached Láhor in safety. *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 505, 506.

* Vigne, describing the appearance of the country on reaching the crest of the great western range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, and the commencement of the march towards Ghaznín, says:—"On the "eastern side of the moutains I had traversed with the Lohanis, there was nothing but India. The terrific "heat of the day, the barren plain, the furious tufan [túfán, high wind, hurricane] of the evening, the muddy "stream, the scarcity of trees and fruit, the plants, the animals, the natives and their customs, were exclusively "Indian. On the western side, at the height of seven thousand feet, I found myself in a totally different "climate. There were numerous villages, and mud forts standing near every one of them; the glaring same-"ness of the walls more than relieved by the brilliant green foliage of the fruit-trees that were waving over "them. The scented sunjyt,—unknown in India, rare in Kashmir, and common in Persia and Little Tibet,—"was growing plentifully amongst the willows on the stream side; and the magpie and the white clover of "England were joyfully recognized as old acquaintances."

He was then standing *on the boundary* between Khurásán and Hind. *See* page 468.

† Here, I am told, are the remains of an ancient city, once the capital of Ghaznín, before the latter place was even known.

‡ This seems to be the "Shintzah" of Vigne, or near it.

§ This word, or the other form of writing it, namely, Ḳahluḳah, are both Turkish, and signify a pass between two lofty mountains. The letters "*gh*" and "*ḳ*" are interchangeable in Turkish words.

‖ Vigne says:—"The rear kafila came up with us on the eleventh. . . . . From this place, part of "the caravan took the road to Kandahar westwards, which they expected to reach in ten days."

before mentioned, the country slopes downwards towards the south and west, and here and there small walled villages and castles are scattered about. An account of Ghaznín will be given in another route farther on."

This route by the Gumul, like the two preceding ones, is a very important one. It was previously known, for some part of the way, from Broadfoot's account of his journey from Ghaznín to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, in company with a Powandah *káfila'h*, in October, 1839. I say for some part of the way, because Broadfoot's first eight marches from Ghaznín to what he calls "near Utman," ninety-three miles and three quarters from the former place, is quite a different route from that which I have here attempted to describe, and lay about ten or twelve miles to the south of it. From Broadfoot's eighth to his sixteenth's stage I can follow him pretty well, and the two descriptions in several points agree, but his halting places are nearly all different. He made twenty stages to *Zirta*, as he calls Zí-tár, which is the first stage of the route here given west of Mánjí Garrá; and he computes the total distance from Ghaznín, including forty-nine miles from Zí-tár to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, to be two hundred and ninety-five miles. I make it, at the usual computation of the kuroh, two hundred and forty-six miles or thereabouts to Zí-tár, the number of stages being twenty-one, but, as before stated, with the exception of three or four, they are quite different from Broadfoot's, and some are so short that two could be got over in a single march. I believe that Ghaznín could be reached in eighteen marches from the entrance of the Gumul Pass in the Dera'h-ját without difficulty, and possibly in fifteen, especially if the road should be improved.

Vigne's route from Drá-bhan to Ghaznín agrees very well with the one here described as far west as the crest of the great western range of Mihtar Sulímán, from whence he took a different route. Although he gives very few details compared with Broadfoot, he is in some things, as I have already noticed in the foot notes, much more correct.

What Broadfoot calls the Kotal-i-Sarwandí, is neither referred to by the author of these surveys nor by Vigne. They crossed the great range a little farther to the north, and neither of them mentions any difficulties or obstacles in the way, not even such as Broadfoot mentions with regard to his Sarwandí *Kotal*, which was by no means difficult; and the fact that neither of the other two notice any difficulties is a proof that none exist in the routes by which they crossed the crest of the range.

As in the case of the Shwayey Lári route, and the 'Zá'o or Naraey Tarkaey route, so in this,—the greatest difficulties occur close to our own frontier, where support and assistance are available, and not near the end of the march, as is the case with regard to the Bolán and Kojzakh, the Tal or Tala'h and Tsotíálí, and other intermediate routes, and also by the Shutar Gardana'h,* and the Khaibar.

Another great advantage which this route by the Gumul possesses is, that it threatens alike Kábul and Kandahár as well as Ghaznín; and now that the Russians will be taking the Hazárah people under their "protection," and thereby be able to carry their intrigues and their observations up to within sight of the walls of the last-named place,† this is important. But, as I have previously mentioned, the best and shortest route, from a central position in the Dera'h-ját to Kandahár and Kalát of the Ghalzís, is the S'hwayey Lári, which, as well as being shorter than that by the Zíárat of Pír Husain, and this one by the Gumul, does not traverse the stony bed of a river for a considerable part of the way, as in the first mentioned, and for two thirds of the way as in the last, and like them the only serious difficulties in the route occur at our end.

This route by the Gumul also possesses another advantage over the routes now followed, that, after the crest of the great western range of Mihtar Sulímán is crossed, there is a choice of four parallel routes, near each other, leading to Ghaznín; and routes to Kábul, one of which Outram followed in 1839; others to Kandahár, and to Púshang and Kwata'h, by which the Bombay column of the Army of the Indus returned in that same year, and which cross the two other routes from the Dera'h-ját.

Much depends upon the point where troops may be concentrated, but, in the case of another march to Kábul, I fancy, that a force assembled on the Gumul, close to our frontier—still better if at Kandzúr, otherwise S'hahr-i-Chapa'h, or Khæt da Khargáhúnah, a matter which is not impracticable—would find a march to that city,

* The Shutar Gardana'h leading to Kábul up the Kurma'h valley is here meant; for there are three in all mentioned in these "Notes."

† They will now be able to sow insurrection and disaffection, and carry on their intrigues, *à la* Bulgaria, within sight of Ghaznín and Kalát-i-Ghalzí, and within a short distance both of Kábul and Kandahár.

although a little longer, less trying both to troops and to cattle,* especially the latter, than by the Khaibar or Shutar Gardana'h routes.

Broadfoot's journey was performed in October, and Vigne's in May and June; and it must be remembered that the Gumul is liable to become flooded between December and the beginning of April, as Bábar Bádsháh found upwards of three centuries since, but, there are short by-roads, parallel to the main route, every here and there, which could be followed in case of emergency. Forage and water will be found in abundance in April and the summer months, and at other times sufficiently plentiful. Fuel, perhaps, is not abundant, but supplies of various kinds would probably be forthcoming, with the aid of friendly tribes, as far as the country would afford. Broadfoot considered that two months' supplies would require to be taken by a force marching by this route to Ghaznín, but, when he stated this, the Panj-áb was not in our possession, nor our frontier near to the eastern range of Mihtar Sulímán. Now, one month's supplies would amply suffice.

A line of railway to Kwaṭa'h will, no doubt, be a good thing as regards Ḳandahár and its immediate neighbourhood, in connecting it with the lines from Sind and Multán, but, in the present state of affairs, Hirát might be completely invested, or even carried by surprise, from Marw and Sarakhs,† before the news reached Ḳandahár. Moreover, a single line of railway, costing 2,000,000*l.*, in an exceedingly mountainous country, inhabited by uncivilized tribes, who are generally at feud one with another, *can be* obstructed,‡ or may be blocked; and one obstruction closes the whole for the conveyance of stores and heavy *matériel* coming from the coast. The question arises whether one quarter of this sum, devoted to the improvement of the S'hwayey Lári, Zá'o, and Ghwáyí Lári routes, the two first especially, and employing the independent Afghán tribes through whose territory they run in effecting it, and guarding the road afterwards, might not be more advantageous. Kwaṭa'h will be still one hundred and forty-eight miles from Ḳandahár even after a railway reaches the former place, which distance is as great as from Ḥájí Máno da Koṭ, near the western end of the S'hwayey Lári Ghás'haey, to Tút, and as far as from the Zíárat of Pír Ḥusain to Kalát-í-Ghalzí.

Let us also not forget the fact, that the three central routes here described *turn all the others north and south*, and that no invader in his senses would entangle himself in the Kojnakh, or any other of the known routes, while those easy ones by the Zá'o and the S'hwayey Lári were open to him.

Remarks on Prince Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh's Route to Ḳandahár from Multán by the Sanghaṛ Pass, and the Ḳáfila'h Route taken by English Merchants many years before.

Respecting the expedition from Multán to Ḳandahár by the Sanghaṛ Pass under the Prince, Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, and the route taken by him and his army, no mention of which had previously been made by any European writer before it

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* It has been a cause of wonder to many, how such a vast mortality takes place among our baggage animals, especially camels, in operations beyond the Indus. The reason is plain enough, if we but consider a little. The camels employed in these expeditions are mostly, if not wholly, obtained from Sind and the Panj-áb or the North-West Provinces, the ground in which parts is soft and sandy, as well as flat; and we at once send the poor beasts from such tracts to carry heavy loads in a stony, difficult, and mountainous country, day after day, and often overladen, without halting. How could we expect a human being, who had been accustomed to tread on a soft carpet all his life, to perform long and tedious journeys, day after day, with a load on his back, over rocky, stony ground, in the most mountainous country in the world perhaps, without being footsore and heart-broken? It is this also which afflicts the camel, even if its feet are not cut completely through; and this daily misery throws it out of condition, and breaks its spirit, until, at last, it lies down to die. Look, on the other hand, at the feet of the camels of the Powandah Afgháns. They are like pieces of horn in hardness, because they have been all their lives accustomed to traverse such routes, and their feet have become hardened in consequence, and they can go anywhere. In future operations beyond the Indus we should endeavour, by all possible means, to employ Powandah camels; and I believe the Powandahs might be induced to sell or hire them out to us, especially if we were in alliance with their people, instead of, as on former occasions, making war upon them. If the Muscovites are allowed to draw their intended bonds round the Afghán State on the west and north, by seizing Afghán Turkistán, and Badakhshán, as well as the country of the Jamshedís, and the Turkish tribes of the Hazárah-ját, the Powandah Afghans will, for the most part, find their carrying occupation gone, and no employment for their camels.

† Instead of these two places, I may now say from Panj-Dih and the Bádghais district in a single march. The above was written two years ago.

‡ As before mentioned, this Section of the work was written more than two years since, and for certain reasons I did not send it in, but I forwarded a short account of these routes to the India Office at the time the Russians seized upon Bádghais, and a war seemed imminent. The block on the railway, which I foresaw as likely to occur, has happened in time of peace at "Rhindli." What, then, may we expect in time of war?

See also my article on "Muscovite Proceedings on the Afghán Frontier," reprinted from the "United "Service Gazette" for 7th and 14th February 1885, and the same paper for 21st March 1885. [January, 1887].

appeared in these "Notes," my further researches since that account was written six years ago, the impetus thereby given to the exploration of the roads from the Dera'h-ját to Ḳandahár, and the description given by Major-General Sir M. Biddulph, K.C.B., of the route taken by his column in returning from Púshang to the Dera'h-ját, have enabled me to trace the Prince's route with tolerable accuracy.

It was the usual *Ḳáfila'h* route chiefly, well known, and often frequented; and this, probably, was the reason why the author from whom I extracted that narrative did not consider it necessary to enter into such a description of it as we should so much have liked to possess.

The Prince, Muḥammad-i-Aurang-zeb, brother of Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, had taken the same route a few years before, accompanied by a much smaller force, in order to join the Wazír, Sa'd-ullah Khán, detached from Kábul, for the purpose of besieging Ḳandahár for the second time, in 1061 H. (1651 A.D.).

I had, however, better prefix these remarks on Prince Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh's march with the account of the *Ḳáfila'h* route by the Sanghaṛ Pass, as given by Messrs. Richard Steel and John Crowther, two merchants in the service of the East-Indian Society, who went from Ajmír to Iṣfahán in 1614 and 1615, just thirty-nine years before the Prince set out, and at the time that Sher Khán, the Tarín Afghán, mentioned in note *, page 270, and farther on, in the account of that tribe, was the chief of Púshang and its dependencies, and about the time that Khizr Khán, the Boṛízí Parni, father of the renowned Dá'úd Khán, was serving in the Dakhan.

These two merchants were bearers of a letter from "the Great Mogol," to the King of Great Britain, and had been detained at Ajmír some time. From there they went to Ágrah, and from thence by Láhor, where they provided themselves with servants and necessaries for the way, to Multán, which they reached on the 22nd May, 1614.* I will now give their narrative in their own words, and without altering the orthography:—

"This (Multán) is a great and ancient Citie. Within three Course [*kos*] of it *Indus* runneth. It yeeldeth white Linnen and Diaper. All Carauans are constrayned to stay at this Riuer eight, ten, or twelve dayes before they can get leaue of the Gouernour to passe, to the end that the Citie being poore may get some-what.† We were stayed fiue days, and then were faine to make way with a Present.

"The eight and twentieth, we passed the Riuer and went to *Pettoallee* a small Village 20 c. [*kos*]. The nine and twentieth, we passed another great Riuer by Boate, and the same night came to a small Riuer called *Lacca*,‡ where we found the Carauan aforesaid; we presented the Carauan *Basha* with a Looking-glasse and Knife, who wished vs to pitch our tent neere to his, that wee might haue no wrong offered vs. The Carauan had been heere ten dayes, and stayed till the 2nd of Iune, to procure a Conuoy of Horsemen to conduct them to *Chatcza*, a small Fort in the Mountaines, hauing heard of the Mountaineers iniury to a former Carauan.

"The second of Iune, we dislodged and entred that night into the Mountaines 12 c., where wee were distressed for want of fresh water, the water being brackish. The 3rd and 4th, we traueled all night climbing high mountaines, and following water Courses with diuers windings twelue Course, but in direct Line not aboue sixe. The fifth we followed the Course of a Riuer full of great Pebles, etc. The sixth we rested. The seventh we went 4 c. still crossing the said Riuer. The eight, 8 c. The ninth twelue. The tenth, three, and came to *Chatcza*, which is a little Fort, the wals built of mud, enclosed with a Ditch, where the *Mogoll* maintayneth eightie, or one hundred Horsemen to secure the way from Theeues. But they themselues are as very Theeues as any, where they find opportunitie.

"The Captaine of the Castle exacted vpon euery Camel of the Carauan two Abacees [*abássís*], although nothing be due by reason, he and his haue wages of the King. In all this way betwixt *Lacca* and *Chatcza*, we found not any sustenance for man or beast,§ except in some places a little grasse; and therefore we were constrained at *Lacca* to make prouision, hiring an Oxe for that purpose to carrie Barley for our

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* This was in 1023 H., which commenced on the 31st January, 1614 A.D., old style; Jahán-gír Bádsháh was ruler of Hindústán; the fortress of Ḳandahár and the province was then under his sway; but Sháh 'Abbás, the Safawí, again recovered it eight years after.

† Mas'údí, who wrote as early as 330—332 H. (941—943 A.D.) mentions Multán as the place where the *Kárwáns* for Khurásán assemble. What they call the Indus here is the Chín-Áb.

‡ The constant changes in the course of the Indus must be taken into account.

§ This is the tract which Mr. O. T. Duke identifies as "Janjah" or "Junjeh," which he says was so "highly "populous and well cultivated, and paid a large revenue" in Akbar's time. These merchants undertook this journey *early in the following* reign. The fact is Mr. Duke has mistaken a *pargana'h* of Sind, for this part of the Afghánistán, as I have pointed out farther on.

Horses. The AGWANS (so they call the Mountaine people) came downe to vs euery day where we lodged, rather to espy what they could steale, then to buy, as they pretended.

"The twelfth, in the euening, hauing made prouision for three dayes, we went thence 14 c. that night.* The thirteenth, 10 c. The fourteenth, 10 c. This day the people came downe to vs and brought Sheepe, Goates, Meale, Butter, and Barley in great abundance, sufficient for our selues and our Cattle, at reasonable prices. And from this place† forwards the people daily did the like, sometimes also bringing Felts and course Carpets striped. The fifteenth, we went 6 c. The sixteenth, 4 c. The seventeenth, tenne. The eighteenth, 9 c. The nineteenth, 9 c. to a little Towne of the AGWANS, called *Duckee*,‡ where the *Mogore* [Mughal] maintayneth a Garrison, with a little square Fort, the wals built of mud a good height, distant a mile from the Towne. Heere wee stayed three dayes, because the Carauan could not agree with the Captaine of the Castle, who pretended a dutie on euery Camell, which at last they payd, one *Abacee* and a halfe on each. The three and twentieth, we went 6 c. The four and twentieth, we passed by a place called *Secota*,§ or three Castles, because of three Villages triangle-wise seituate on the side of a hill neer together. Wee went 8 c. The five and twentieth, wee rested by reason of foule weather. The sixe and twentieth, 6 c. The seven and twentieth, 14 c. This day we passed the *Durues*, or Gates of the Mountaines, being narrow straits, hauing Rockes on both sides very high, whence with stones a few may stop the passage of a multitude;‖ and diuers Carauans haue beene in these places cut off. This night where we lodged we suffered diuers insolencies from the AGWANS, and on the morrow they exacted of vs as wee passed by a small Village called *Coasta*,¶ two Abacees and a halfe on each Camell. The eight and twentieth, 5 c. The nine and twentieth, by *Abdun*** a Village, 8 c. The thirtieth, 6 c.

"The first of Iuly, 7 c., to a place called *Pesinga*,†† a small Fort much like vnto *Duckee*, where are store of souldiers for securing the way. The Captaine exacted half an *Abacee* vpon a Camell. The third, we left the Carauan and went forward 6 c. The fourth, wee passed a mightie Mountaine, and descended into the Plaines.‡‡ The fifth, 20 c., we were distressed for want of graine for our Cattell. The sixth, in the like distresse for them and our selues, 12 c. The seventh, to *Candahar*, 8 c.

"These Mountaines of *Candahar*, are inhabited by a fierce people called AGWANS or POTANS,§§ very strong of body, somewhat whiter then the *Indians*, great Robbers, accustomed to cut off whole Carauans. But at present partly for feare of the *Mogoll*, and partly through sweet found by commerce (in venting their graine, sheepe, and Goates, of which they haue great store, and buying of coarse Linnen and other necessaries) they are become more ciuill. Yet if they can take any straggling by themselves or staying behind, they will sell them aboue in the Mountaines, and hoxe them to preuent running away, and put them to grind graine with Hand-mils, and other seruile drudgerie."

When I come to the account of Ḳandahár, farther on, I shall again revert to this interesting account.

Surgeon-Major O. T. Duke, (late) Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent in Balúchistán, in his Report to Government, entitled "*A Historical and Descriptive* "*Report on the Districts of Thal-Chotiali and Harnai, with the adjacent country*

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* It is unfortunate the season was so late as to render travelling by night advisable. Had the *ḳáfila'h* moved in the day time we should have probably had some further interesting particulars.

† This, no doubt, was Tsoṭíálí; Prince Muḥammad i-Dárá-Shukoh also found supplies forthcoming here. *See* page 23.

‡ The name of this place, in the original narrative of Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh's expedition, is written Doḳí, and thus Abú-l-Faẓl writes it. Bábar Bádsháh writes it Daḳí. I know no Pus'hto equivalent for it, but, in Persian or Tájzík *dúk* means a spindle; and *dak*, hill and plain bare of grass, herbage, bushes, or thorns; also a tree bare of leaves, and ground difficult to cultivate because of its hardness. With short "*u*" and the "*k*" doubled—*dukk*, in 'Arabic means a low hill. Mr. Duke calls it "*Duki*," but, the way in which Abú-l-Faẓl, and Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh's chronicler writes it, it must be Doḳí or Dúḳí, with "*o*" or "*ú*," but it is constantly written with "*g*," Dogí or Dúgí.

§ This place is also mentioned in Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh's march—Sih-Koṭah. *See* page 23. In the original MS. it is written in such a way that it may be read Sih-Gotah or Sih-Kotah, but Sih-Koṭah with ṭ is correct.

‖ This is the Ziárat-gáh *Kotal* which the Kákaṛs closed against the Ḳizil-báshís when they evacuated Tsotíálí and Daḳí on the advance of the army from India under Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh.

¶ Kawas of the maps.

** "Amadún" of the maps, and "Ahmedún" of Biddulph.

†† Pushang or Púshang.

‡‡ Over the Kojzakh Pass. *See* page 462.

§§ They did not fall into the modern error of turning Afgháns and Pus'htúns or Paṭáns into two different races.

"*inhabited by Biluch and Pathan Tribes*,"* quotes my account of Prince Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh's march and this expedition pretty extensively, but, appears, unfortunately, to draw conclusions to fit into his own theories, most of which are wrong, as I shall proceed to show; and it will be better to correct them at once than leave them for others to adopt.

He first quotes this work incorrectly (page 67), saying, that the account of the expedition is taken by me from the "Tarikh-i-Kandahari of Rashid Khan *of Kan-* "*dahar*." These last two words are his own, not mine; and Rashíd Khán was not "of" Kandahár. Then he has, "Shah Jehan considered Kandahar the key of "India." This, too, is not in my work. No history can be named, I think, in which it appears that any ruler of Hindústán ever said that Kandahár was the key of India, but one author, the Shaikh, Abú-l-Faẓl, says, that Kandahár *and* Kábul—not one without the other—are its gates, or words to that effect. English writers who have so asserted did not know, probably, that, from the accession of Akbar Bádsháh to the downfall of the house of Tímúr in India, *the total length of time* that this so-called "key of India" was held by them was *fifty-four years and four months*.†

I said nothing in my account of the Prince's march about "Oosbegs," neither did I say, nor was it, "the season of the year which determined the *young* Prince" (he was then in *his fortieth year*‡) "to go *viâ* the Sangar Pass." The route was determined long before; it was the usual route, and the shortest "by one hundred and sixty "*jaríb kos*;" and his brother, Muḥammad-i-Aurang-zeb, had traversed it shortly before, when he proceeded by that road, accompanied by about 20,000 cavalry from Multán, to join the main army coming by way of Ghaznín under the Wazír, Sa'd-ullah-Khán.

Then Mr. Duke says, "Dara Shekoh" (I write, Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, which has a signification§) "divided his forces into two portions; *all his wheeled artillery* "was sent by the Bolan Pass." Here, again, Mr. Duke has not quoted me correctly. It does not seem to have occurred to him how "Dara Shekoh" managed to open trenches and *batter* walls for about four months, before the big guns arrived, if "all "his wheeled artillery" was sent by the Bolán route. Only the monster battering guns mentioned in my account were sent by way of Ḍádhar and Shál; and the forces were not divided into "two divisions," but marched in *three* divisions, with one day's march between each. In my account (*see* page 23) I say, "In seven consecutive "marches (from the foot of the Sanghaṛ Pass) the frontier of the *Jajah* territory was "reached, when a *kárwán* of merchants from Í-rán was met."||

In the original MS. this name—Jajah—is written ججه, as I transliterated it, but further research shows, that, as often occurs in MSS., the three points of two letters have been run into one each by the scribe, and that ججه—*Jajah*, should be چچه—*Chachah*, intended for څچه—*Chatsah*, the writer not understanding the Pus'hto letter "*ts*"—the only difference between which and "*ch*" being the three points over instead of under. It is the "*Chatcza*" of Steel and Crowther, and the name of one of the divisions of the Afghán tribe, or rather sub-tribe, of Kihtrán Kásís. The place they refer to, where the little fort stood, was in the tract held by the Chatsah clan or section of the Kihtráns. This is, in all probability, the place now known on the frontier as "Chachí ká Shahr," belonging to the Kihtráns. With this name, Jajah,

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* Calcutta: Foreign Office Press, 1883.

† Abú-l-Faẓl's words are, that, "in former times, Kábul and Ḳandahár were considered the gates of Hin-"dústán, one leading into Túrán and the other into Í-rán"; and that, "by guarding them, Hindústán could be "safely protected from strangers." This is quite true, but he, at the same time, meant, that those provinces should be in the possession of the protectors, and that Ghaznín and Kalát-i-Ghalzí should be included.

A writer in the reign of 'Álam-gír Bádsháh calls Ḳandahár the portal of Í-rán, and Kábul a barrier against "the foxes of Túrán and Balkh." He here refers to the Ŭzbaks. We must now write *bears* instead of *foxes*.

‡ He was born in Ṣafar, the second month of 1024 H. (1615 A.D.), and this was the fifth month of 1063 H. (March, 1653 A.D.), and he was his father's eldest son.

§ The meaning of Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh is, "Muḥammad, in Grandeur like Darius;" and Muḥammad-i-Aurang-zeb is, "Muḥammad, the Ornament of the Throne." After he came to the throne the latter assumed the title of 'Álam-gír, "the World-conquering." The names Dárá-Shukoh, but never *Shekoh*, and Aurang-zeb are sometimes used without the name Muḥammad prefixed, but such is not *really* correct; for, calling the Prince Dárá-Shukoh only, is, interpreted, calling him Prince "In-Grandeur-Like-Darius:" better call him simply Dárá—Darius—than that. The author of the 'Álam-gír-Náma'h, Muḥammad Káẓim, in his history, invariably styles the unfortunate victim of his master's ambition, "Dárá-i-Be-Shukoh," or "Darius, without "grandeur."

|| The Ḳáfila'h-Báshí was sent for by the Prince in darbár, and questioned as to the strength of the garrison, and he gave him false intelligence after all.

as I thus transliterated it, and my remark that the halting place of Sang-i-Nuksán must be somewhere near the hills bounding the present Kihtrán country on the west, Mr. Duke at once lays down the situation of Jajah, and asserts that "*the route under* "*discussion lies through the Janjah district* (*Janjah in Akbar's time I think*) *which* "*in those days was highly populous and well cultivated, and paid a large revenue,*" etc., etc.; and yet, as stated in my narrative, the army of the Prince had to take supplies along with it, "because nothing but grass and fuel was obtainable by the "way (as Messrs. Steel and Crowther found thirty-nine years before) until Tsoṭíálí "was reached, where provisions became tolerably plentiful."*

In the map accompanying his "Report," Mr. Duke actually lays down the boundaries of the *Jajah* territory, which in other places he calls *Janjah* and *Junjeh;* and this is done, to all appearances, to make the word *Jit* the name of one of the *pargana'hs*† or districts of the Síw-istán province of Thaṭhah, which extensive *sarkár* or province he has mistaken for the small district of Síwí, which was not a *maḥáll* of Síw-istán, but of the Bakhar *sarkár* of the Multán *ṣúbah*.

In another place (page 150) he says, "The *Khetran* country was one of the sub- "districts of *Sewistan* and of the Hind [*sic*] province of Tatta. In Akbar's time it "was called *Janjah*," but the Á'ín-i-Akbarí has *Chanijah*. However, as this identification of his rests solely upon the word *Janjah* which appeared in the First Section of this work, and which has since been found to be *Chatsah*, the "Chatcza" of Steel and Crowther, his arguments fall at the same time. The assertion, made immediately after, that "this district [Janjah and Junjeh] was peopled by a Jat "community of Hindoos, who apparently became *incorporated* with a small Pathan "tribe, which had marched from Vehowa under Mahomed Khan, and who assumed "the title of *Khetran* or cultivators," is equally erroneous, and shown from the narrative of Messrs. Steel and Crowther to be incorrect.‡ The Sanskrit for a field and ground is *khet*, and *kheti* is husbandry; and, living in an atmosphere of Hindú subordinates, Mr. Duke concludes that the name of this Afghán tribe is Khetran, which he interprets "cultivators," but, unfortunately, there is no *khet* in the name of this sub-tribe of Kásí Afgháns,§ which is written كهترانـ—Kihtrán, and which is much nearer, in point of similarity of orthography, to the Tájzík word *kihtar-án*, the plural of كهتر—*kihtar*, meaning "junior," "small," "less," "mean," etc., than "cultivators."

Who the Kihtráns are I have shown in the brief account I have given of the Kásí tribe of Afgháns, farther on. Hindús, Jaṭs, Balúchís, or Tájzíks may become the *ham-sáyahs* of Pus'htúns or Afgháns, but, for idol-worshipping Hindús, Jaṭs, or Balúchís, to become "incorporated" into an Afghán tribe is utterly impossible.‖ MacGregor, in his "Central Asia," in one place, calls the "Khetráns, the wealthiest "of the Baloch tribes," but, on the next page, says, "the Khetráns are usually con- "sidered Patháns, and their language is in many words and phrases quite distinct "from the Baloch language. . . . . They themselves *scout the idea* of their

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* Jahán-gír Bádsháh says, in his "Autobiography," when giving instructions for the march of an army from Multán for the relief of Ḳandahár, then closely invested by Sháh 'Abbás, in 1031 H. (1622 A.D.): "As between Multán and Ḳandahár the country is thinly peopled, and barely cultivated, I directed that "grain sellers should receive advances of money to be induced to carry grain to every stage on the line of "route."

This was just eight years after Steel and Crowther went by the same route.

† There is not very much difference between the two words, but, in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, the word *pargana'h* is used for the divisions of Síw-istán and other *sarkárs* of the Ṭhaṭhah province, while the term *maḥáll* is used for those of Bakhar, and other *sarkárs* of Multán.

‡ When they traversed this route the people hereabout and around were Afgháns or Paṭáns, they say; and since it was early in the reign succeeding that of Akbar Bádsháh, the "Jat community of Hindoos" must have quickly become "incorporated." The *pargana'h* of the *sarkár* of Síw-istán or Wícholo or Middle Sind, which he has mistaken for "the present Khetran country," very probably contained communities of Hindús and Jaṭs, and Balúchís also. All tribes were more or less cultivators, therefore, there was no need to "assume" such a "title," and all Afghán tribes are known by the names of their progenitors.

§ Why not turn them into Khatrís, the Hindú military caste, as Mr. Bellew has done? In his last book he styles them "Khatrini." Lumsden, whose heart probably was in the Highlands, called them "Katherans," and a local report, "Kuteerans."

‖ Among some Afghán tribes dwell sections or portions of sections of other tribes, who, for some reason or other, left the parent stock. They are called *ham-sáyahs*, lands are assigned to them, and they are treated in every way as though part of the tribe with which they dwell, but, they have no voice in the internal affairs of the tribe. They are generally weak in point of numbers. For the hated Balúch to be so honoured is impossible, or the contemptible Jaṭ, or the idol-worshipping Hindú either.

These *ham-sáyahs*, or denizens, who, among some tribes, are called *faḳirs, bazgars*, and *ra'iyats*, are well protected; indeed, it is considered a point of honour to protect them. There are also a few slaves, and the personal followers of chiefs.

" being Baloches, though it is *the usual custom* to consider them so." What would they say as to being turned into Hindús, I wonder?

I may add that as Mr. Duke's " Janjah " or " Janjeh " is a mistake for Chanijah,* it does not refer to the " present Khetrán country," but to one of the *pargana'hs* of the *sarkár* of Síw-istán, the northern-most division of the province of Ṭhaṭhah, as constituted in and before Akbar Bádsháh's reign, which he has mistaken for " Sewi," as he styles Síwí or Síbí, " *w* " and " *b* " being interchangeable, because, in some modern maps, the word " Sewistan " appears written on the territory lying on, and north of, the Kachchh of Gand-ábah, instead of over the tract of country commencing about two degrees farther south, and stretching from the Indus to the Kahṭar range of mountains in one direction, and from the *sarkár* of Bakhar of Multán, on the north, to the break in the Lakhhí hills, near Raní Koṭ on the south, as its boundaries are described farther on.

Tracing the movements of the Prince, Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, on the maps from the most recent surveys, and the narrative of Messrs. Steel and Crowther, coupled with farther research since I wrote of the Prince's expedition to Ḳandahár, I am enabled to state for certain, and, indeed, as I previously indicated very plainly, that he followed the route many miles to the north of " the present Khetran country " of Mr. Duke, and by the Hing-lún† defile over the main range, following the bed of the river of Sanghar, and from thence through the Tsamálang‡ dara'h or valley of our maps. Part of the force, probably, took the road to the right before the Hing-lún defile is reached, and went through the Landey defile. The " Kerwada " route of Mr. Duke was certainly not taken, as will presently appear. The so-called Jajah, but, correctly, Chatsah, territory, referred to in the account of the Prince's march, is part of the now almost uninhabited tract formerly held by the Laurní Miárnahs, bounding the Kákar country on the north, the Músá Khel Parní territory on the north-west, and the " present " Kihtrán country on the south and south-east. The Prince's army was accompanied by a great number of *birinj-árís*, or *banjárás*, who carried grain for the use of the troops, as stated in my account of the expedition, and which appears to have been unnoticed by Mr. Duke.

Another point reached during the march, respecting which there is not the shadow of a doubt, is the halting place one march on the east side of Tsoṭíalí, namely, what is called in my narrative Sang-i-Nukṣán, and near which was the boundary between Hind and the province of Ḳandahár, or, in other words, where the jurisdiction, merely or for the most part nominal, of the Multán *ṣúbah* terminated on the west, and that of Ḳandahár commenced.

This, curiously enough, is indirectly, but indisputably, confirmed by a document—an old *parwána'h*—sent from the Prince, Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, by an officer, the leader of a small detachment sent in advance, named Jahán-gír Beg, to the Tarín Afghán Maliks of Púshang.

Mr. Duke fortunately obtained a sight of it from the descendant of one of those very persons to whom it was sent, and of which he had a translation made, which he considers very correct. It is enough for the purpose required, but I cannot exactly agree as to the correctness of such a translation, when he says (page 6 of his " Report ") that " Daulat Khan, Shah Jehan's agent, claims Peshin and its " dependencies as the territory of the king of Delhi." It means that the Prince, through his agent, Jahán-gír Beg, claimed Púshang and its dependencies, as an integral part of the province of Ḳandahár, which it was,§ and which he was then going to attempt to recover, at the head of a great army, but it never again came under the sway of the rulers of India. " *Allah Akbar Khalifa-Alramani Sahib* " *Koran Sani, seal of Khan Shah Jehan*," is hardly a " very correct " translation of the seal of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh. Moreover, Jahán-gír Beg, who was at the head of only 700 horse, was not of very high rank, and certainly not " a general."

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* *See* note *, page 556, paragraph 4.

† The Pus'hto word for assafœtida is *hinja'h*, from Sanskrit *hing*, possibly; and *laun*, in Pus'hto means hue, colour, kind, species, genus, etc. Whether the name of this defile is in any way connected with these words I am unaware.

‡ Called " Chamalung " and " Chamalang " by those who cannot realize the sound of Pus'hto " *ts*," but Major-General Sir M. Biddulph, K.C.B., appears to have done so. See " Proceedings, Royal Geographical Society," for April 1880, page 240.

§ Farther on, I shall give the names of all the forts and districts dependent on the Ḳandahár province when the traitor, 'Alí Mardán Khán, the Zík, betrayed it into the hands of the Prince's father a few years before. I may mention that, after this attempt to recapture Ḳandahár, *it never again came under the dominion of the Delhí Bádsháhs.*

In this *parwána'h* the extent of the *'aláḳah* or territory of Púshang is defined, and the Sang-i-Nuksán is mentioned in it. Respecting this last name, Mr. Duke adds, that the Nawwáb, Hasan 'Alí Khán, Attaché to the Governor-General's Agent, maintains, that, "in the original document, the words are Sang-i-Lakhshán, and that "in his country such a heap of stones ready to slide down a precipice [as at the point "in question], would be so called." The Nawwáb is perfectly correct, and Sang-i-Nuksán [but not "Songi Naksan," as Mr. Duke writes it], and Sang-i-Lakhshán [not "Sangi Lakshan"], both refer to one and the same place, near the exit from the Laurní *Tangaey* or Defile from the east. Lakhshán, in the Persian language, is the part. actv. of the verb *lakhshidan*, "to move," "to tremble," "to be propped up, or supported ready to let go," etc., and this place the Afgháns call Sang-i-Nuksán.

Mr. Duke has also misunderstood the paragraph in my narrative respecting Jahán-gír Beg's report to the Prince at page 23, which is plain enough. He imagines that the Kákaṛs had closed the Zíárat-gáh *Kotal* "*against the Prince*," and adds, according to his own reading of the passage, that, from the information received from Jahán-gír Beg, "*the Prince had to determine his future route*," which are Mr. Duke's words, not mine, and, from the account there given, not admitting of such a construction. He also says in one place that Jahán-gír Beg "*probably went by the Sukki Surwar Pass* [Sakhí Sarwar is the name]," and, in another, that "Jehangeer *came Terepech* [?] *by the Saki Sarwar Pass.*"

Jahán-gír Beg did not go by the Sakhí Sarwar Pass. My account says, plainly, that he was "sent forward, with instructions to keep well in advance,"* when the Prince reached the Sanghaṛ Pass; that the Kákaṛs closed the *kotal* in question against the Ḳazil-báshís; and that the latter, "having abandoned everything, had "saved themselves by flight, and had succeeded in reaching Púshang with some loss "in killed, wounded, and prisoners." The Prince made no change whatever in his line of march from the outset; and the Kákaṛs, like other Afgháns, being *Sunnís*, were quite ready to aid the Indian ruler against the *Shí'as*, because they had not been well treated by them, but the Taríns had been for a considerable period subject to the rulers of Kandahár,† and had hitherto been well treated.

Having reached Tsoṭíálí, Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh's next march took him to Tal,‡ or Tala'h, and from thence to Dogí or Dokí, then to Sih-Koṭah, and two marches more to Tabak-sar. Mr. Duke believes Sih-Koṭah to be "Pui" and Tabak-sar to be the "Sarabar-Tangi," but he is in error. The route lay ten or twelve miles north of both places, as I shall now show. Sih-Koṭah is the *Secota* of Steel and Crowther, and the Zíárat-gáh *kotal* is their "Durues, or Gates of the Mountains, being narrow "straits, having rocks on both sides very high, whence with stones a few may stop the "passage of a multitude." In my note as to the name of Tabak-sar, page 24, I said, "Tabak signifies 'a layer,' 'slab,' 'stratification,' etc.; and I find that the rocks here

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* A reconnoitering party, in fact.

† *See* note *, page 270, and in the historical account of Síwí and adjacent parts farther on.

‡ It is inexplicable to me why people, if they know the meaning of *Thal*, will persist in calling this place by that name. Thal is very proper applied to the Thal of Marwat, or to the Thal in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah of the Panj-áb (*see* page 338); for it is a Sanskrit word used by Panj-ábís and Balúchís, and signifies *a level, sandy, arid waste*, which Tal or Tala'h in the Afghánistán, mentioned above, is not. The idea seems to be that if one place is called Thal, the other place must be called "Thal" also. The correct name, as given above six years ago, is Pus'hto, as may be seen from my Afghán Dictionary, page 254, sig. third, and page 257, which names indicate the features of the locality, and were applied to it by the people accordingly.

I am pleased to see that Major-General Sir M. Biddulph, K.C.B., shows his discernment in writing this name, and many others in this part, correctly (but he does not do so in all instances, but mostly such as he appears to have himself heard from the people of the country). At page 231 of his account of the route between Púshang and the Dera'h-ját, previously referred to, he gives an excellent piece of advice respecting mountain ranges, much similar to what I have been so earnestly endeavouring to impress in these "Notes," which is equally applicable to towns, villages, rivers, passes, and tribes, and which I will here transcribe:—"As a rule, we are apt to give a general name to a range of mountains, because we notice that it is a great "physical feature; but the untravelled and unlearned natives have their own name for the particular portion "of it known to each. One can only suggest that *the greatest care should be taken in catching the pro-"nunciation, in being sure that we have the right name, and in having it entered in plan and report in a "perfectly legible manner.*"

I notice that the Government of India, misled by the Gazetteers probably, and not aware of the great difference between the meanings of Pus'hto Tal or Tala'h and Sanskrit "Thal," lately decided that the new cantonments in this locality shall be designated "Thal-Chotiali," which literally means "The *sandy waste* "Chotiali." I hope it is not yet too late to give it its correct name.

It is the same way with the village on the east bank of the Kurma'h river in the Kohát district, which has been incorrectly styled "*Thal*" in the maps and Gazetteers. It stands on the high bank of a river, which bank is being gradually washed away. The hills come down quite close to the village, the cultivation is well irrigated, and, among other grains, wheat and barley are extensively grown, and cotton also is produced, and yet the name applied to it (not by its inhabitants) indicates that it is *a level, dry, sandy waste!*

"are of a very peculiar stratification." Thanks to Major-General Sir M. Biddulph's account of the route followed by his column from Púshang to the Dera'h-ját ("Proceedings, Royal Geographical Society," April, 1880), I have been enabled to identify this place exactly. The Major-General says, "Three miles east of Chimjan there "stands the singularly formed table mountain called Siazgai (Siyaj-gai), which, rising "well out in the plain, is a natural fortress;" and he gives a sketch of it, and adds, "There is here a meeting of plains and routes, and the locality has, in the eyes of the "people, a great prestige and importance. In the old time the Moguls used the hill "as a military post [in the time of the Turk Sultán's, probably, and the early Mughal "invaders]."

The name given by Major-General Sir M. Biddulph is the Afghán name, such as a European would write from ear, for Síádz-ga'í, and Tabak-sar is the Tájzík name, *both words being of exactly the same signification*, as may be seen from my Pus'hto Dictionary, page 632. The author of the Táríkh-i-Kandahár, who was a native of India, in all probability, but of Mughal descent, asked the name of this place, and its Pus'hto meaning was interpreted to him, and was entered accordingly in his chronicle, but such a mode of giving the interpreted meaning of the name of a place in the language in which one writes, without, at least, stating that it has been thus interpreted, and giving the native name also, is a dangerous practice, as in the case of the S'h'karana'h Ghunda'h or Horns Peak, which the Hindú surveyor, out of love for his language, and as far as he realized the meaning, turned into "Bokar Kand," and entered it accordingly in the Survey map, but the signification of the name he gives, unfortunately, is the *Ram's Peak.**

So, Prince Muhammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh's army, both in going to and returning from Kandahár, went by Síádz-ga'í or Tabak-sar hill, while the Prince himself, on returning with the advanced portion of the army, went by the Waní *Kotal*, which was much more difficult than the other. As the rear division was one march behind, the Prince, on his reaching Sih-Kotah, where the road is rather narrow, ordered a halt to be made, and Rustam Khán, the commander of the rear division, was given the option of following by the Zíárat-gáh or Waní *Kotal*, the parallel route, and that described by Steel and Crowther, who traversed it thirty-nine years before, which lies some few miles south of Síádz-ga'í or Tabak-sar, or by the last-named route. Rustam Khán, knowing the difficulty of the road by the Waní *Kotal*, took the same road as was followed in going to Kandahár (*see* page 27); and it was not until the troops reached Sih-Kotah that the Hindús among them could eat and drink again. In two marches more Dogí or Dokí was reached, and all danger of pursuit ceased. The reason why such confusion ensued on the line of retreat was, that the commander of the post left to occupy and hold Dogí or Dúkí† when the army advanced, had been informed that the army would retire from Kandahár by Ghaznín and Kábul, and so evacuated that place.

It can now be clearly seen what route the Prince took, and also that Mr. Duke's theories ("Report," page 68), that, "*if* Dara Shekoh *went* by the Sangar Pass," which he seems inclined to doubt, "there is only one route by which he could have moved "a large force;" and that his suppositions as to "the Kerwada route," "Gwanza "route," "Pui," "Bagao," the "Sarabar Tangi," etc., etc., are all equally erroneous.

The Síwí District, and the Parní and other Afgháns inhabiting it.

I must now, before going farther with these surveys, give some account of the Síwí or Síbí district, and parts adjacent to, and formerly dependent thereon, its history, and some account of the Parní tribe.

The name of the territory or district, and old town and fort, of Síwí or Síbí, "*w*" and "*b*" being interchangeable, to which I briefly referred in the first section of this work, is written in the original سِیوِي and سِیبِي, but never "*Sewi;*" for the equivalent of that would be سیِو; and the name "*Sewistan*," applied to the district in question, and a great tract of other territory besides, although the name does

* *See* pages 482, 483. † *See* page 548, note ‡.

appear in two or three maps of recent years,* and in various Gazetteers, it is certainly a misnomer, and a terrible error, as I shall presently show, but "Sewistan," thus applied is not to be found in any eastern geography or history whatever.

Mr. Duke, in his "Report" previously alluded to, quotes largely from these "Notes," but, here again, has not quoted me correctly. He begins his remarks on the "history of Sewistan," with Alexander, of course, and thinks "*that even in those "days some of the Rajputs and the great Jat tribe* [in Sind] *were called* BILUCHES "or BILUCH." This is at variance with the statements of others, who have been actually resident among them, and yet tell us that the "*Baloch*"† are descended from "*Mir Hamza, son of Abdúl Máhtab, who lived in the time of Hazrat Imam "Husen*"!

Mr. Duke informs us, that, "in Akbar's time we really first find dry land; in the "history of his regulations are given the mahals or districts in the provinces of "Multan, Tatta, and Kandahar; the district marked Sewistan on the maps must have "been included in one or other or partly in each of these provinces; a consideration "of the tables below enables us to identify generally the districts under report;" and, further, that "the Subah of Tatta had five districts and included the greater part of "Sind, Las Bela, &c.; the most northern of these districts was Sewistan; there is no "difficulty in identifying the Kandahar districts, but much and very careful local "inquiry will be required before all the *Perom, Panjnud, and Sewistan mahals can "be properly fixed.*"

In this Mr. Duke is quite correct, for he has mistaken the meaning of the Persian adverb *berún*, for a proper name "*Perom*"! There was a *mahall* or district of the Multán *súbah*, and also one in the *súbah* of Láhor, known as Berún-i-Panj-Nad, or Panj-Áb, that is to say, Extra Panj-Nad or Panj-Áb, which referred to districts on the Indus, but, beyond or without the area embraced within the *five* rivers or Panj-Áb or Panj-Nad, as mentioned before in this work and farther on, and will be referred to again in the account of the Balúchís of Sind and Multán.

Mr. Duke then gives a translation made for him, he says, after he had "in vain "sought for an English copy of the Ain Akbari," of the "Sub-districts in the "District of Sewistan of the Tatta Province of Hind [*sic.* Sind?] in Akbar's time, "A.D. 1581;" and among what he calls the "*old names*" is "SEWISTAN." To this he adds that it is "the modern *Siwi*,‡ Talli, Mal, &c.;" gives the revenue as 16, 19, 732 *dáms*; turns them into "Tabreezi rupees,"§ never current in these parts, nor in Akbar Bádsháh's revenue system of accounts, and, after that, into Company's rúpís. Then he says regarding the whole of the revenue accounts:—"I do not think that the "idea should be entertained that the large sums put down in these statements were "even collected; they are chiefly of value as indicating the amounts which a complete "administrative system might have hoped to secure." Consequently, Mr. Duke would lead us to suppose that that most elaborate administrative system of Akbar Bádsháh recorded in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, "only indicated the amounts which a com-"plete administrative system *might have hoped to secure*,"‖ but we know that it was a most complete and efficient one, and the system followed in subsequent reigns.

The following is Mr. Duke's list of the *pargana'hs*¶ of the *sarkár* of Síw-istán,

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* Elphinstone, although partly in error, does not carry "Sewistan" to Síwí and into the country of the Parní, Tarín, and Kihtrán Afgháns. He includes in it part of Sará-wán and Jahlá-wán, and, in his map, he has "*Cutchee, or Gandawa Cutch or Seeweestaun*," marked over the tract of country extending from his "Kelauti Nusseer," as far as his Kismore [Kashmúr] and Kin on the Indus, but, *south* of Ḍádhar.

† Mr. R. Bruce's "Report," quoted by MacGregor.

‡ If "Siwi" and "Sewistan" refer to the same place, how comes it that Mr. Duke writes one *Si* and the other *Se*? If they are the same, they should both be either Sewi and Sewistan or Siwi and Siwistan. Along with his "Report" he gives a map, and in that it is *Sewestan*; so the name has been written by him in *three* different ways.

§ Even in the Ḳandahár province, much less in the Bakhar *sarkár* of Multán, of which Síwí was one *mahall* at the period in question, "*Tabreezi rupees*" were unknown, and not current. Abú-l-Fazl, under Ḳandahár, says:—"Eighteen *dínárs* they call *one tomán*, and every *tomán* equals 800 *dáms*," which, at 40 *dáms* to the *rúpí*, the fixed equivalent throughout the empire, makes exactly one *tomán*. "The *tomán* of Khurásán," he also says, "is equal to 30 *rúpís*, and the *tomán* of 'Irák to 40 rúpís." . . . . "Grains, berries, etc., are "chiefly computed by the *khar-wár*, which is equal to 40 *manns* of Ḳandahár, which are equal to 10 *manns* of "Hindústán." Mr. Duke's estimate therefore of the revenue of Ḳandahár contained in his "Report" is wrong.

‖ And applicable to all the rest of the empire, perhaps?

¶ It may be noticed here, that, in the Ṭhaṭhah province to which Síw-istán belonged, the sub-districts are always termed *pargana'hs*, while, in the Bakhar *sarkár* of Multán, and other *sarkárs*, they are called *mahálls.*

and it will be observed that the name of Síwí, which he supposes it to mean, *does not occur therein*, for the reason presently to be explained:—

"*Sub-districts in the District of Sewistan of the Tatta Province of Hind* [sic] *in Akbar's time*, A.D. 1581.

Old Names.	Present Names.	Mahal.	Remarks.
Patar.		[No Mahálls entered here in the "Report."]	I do not think that the idea should be entertained that the large sums put down in these statements were even collected; they are chiefly of value as indicating the amounts which a complete administrative system might have hoped to secure."
Baghbanan	Raverty asserts that in the old days there were two Bághs in the Sewistan plain;* one of them is almost certainly the present Bagh on the Nari.		
Buten -	Mitri.		
Bosikan.			
Junjeh -	The present Khetran country.†		
Khat -	The Quat-Mandai valley with, in all probability, Sangan.‡		
Sewistan§	The modern Sewi,‖ Talli, Mal, &c.		
Kahan -	I believe that this is not the Kahan in the Marri hills, which place has only recently acquired that name, but the country along the Bolan river (pure surmise).		
Lakhawat	The red country; this is the old name for the Bughti country, which is called also the red mountain; it probably included the Kahan, Makhmar, and Philawar valleys, also the Hassan plain.		

I will now give a list of the *pargana'hs* of the Síw-istán *sarkár* of the Thaṭhah province, as given in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí as they appear in different trustworthy copies, and in Blochmann's printed text, with the names correctly transliterated.

SARKÁR OF SÍW-ISTÁN.

"Nine pargana'hs.—1, Pátar;¶ 2, Bághbánán [sometimes written Bághwánán, '*b*' and '*w*' being interchangeable]; 3, Batan or Patan [sometimes written without points, and also with '*d*' for '*t*']; 4, Búbakán, which in some copies of the original is written without points; 5, Chanijah** [the three points of the چ having been run into one thus—ج—it looks like Janijah]; 6, Khiṯ or Khiṯ-púr [Sindís write it Khito]; 7, SÍW-ISTÁN-ḤAWELÍ: here there is a strong fortress; 8, Gáhán [written in MSS. کاهان [the first letter standing for '*k*' or '*g*']; and 9, Lakhhá-waṭ."

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* I said nothing as to "Sewistan plain."

† The fallacy, as well as the impossibility of which I have already pointed out.

‡ Another proof, were any wanting, to show that Khiṯ or Khiṯ-púr is not "the Quat-Mandai valley with "Sangan, &c.," is manifest from Abú-l-Faẓl's description of the extent of the Multán *Súbah* before Ṭhaṭhah was annexed to it, as extending in breadth *from* Khiṯ or Khiṯ-púr *to* Jasal-mír, thus showing that Khiṯ-púr of the Síw-istán *sarkár*, in which Síwí was not included, *lay nearest* to the Multán territory, where the two provinces joined in that direction, or, in other words, to the westward of the *sarkár* of Bakhar of the Multán *Ṣúbah*. *See* also pages 559 to 562.

§ On the very first page of his "Report," Mr. Duke mentions Masson, and says "he is usually wonderfully "accurate;" and immediately under says that Masson next "mentions, that, in Akbar's time *Sewistan included* "*Jhalawan and Sarawan;* and that Kalat furnished quotas of troops but paid no revenue." Masson certainly says so, and in this he is certainly wrong, as I shall presently show, but he never said Síw-istán was Síwí, nor Síwí Síw-istán.

These names, Jahlá-wán and Sará-wán, are comparatively modern, and are Balúch names. The district dependent on Kalát-i-Nícharah was a *maḥáll* of Ḳandahár in Akbar Bádsháh's time, and long before that. It can scarcely be said to have furnished quotas of "troops," but it was assessed as liable to furnish 500 horse and 500 foot for "*militia* purposes."

‖ As to "*modern Sewi*," I shall presently show from history that it is mentioned nearly seven hundred years ago, at least, and Síw-istán likewise, and as totally distinct from each other.

¶ The Sindís appear to pronounce this word Pátr.

** This is in no way connected with the "Jajah" territory referred to in the march of Prince Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, which I have since been able to identify with the "Chatcza" of Messrs. Steel and Crowther,

This Lakkhá-waṭ *pargana'h*, the name of which is evidently connected with that of the Lakhhí range, and which Mr. Duke has removed some two hundred and fifty miles farther to the north-east, lay near, and in, the hills immediately south-south-east of the Síw-istán Ḥawelí or Sihwáṇ *pargana'h*, and the Manchhur Lake, and west of the town of Lakhhí, now a railway station on the way to Sihwáṇ from Koṭrí, and on the other side of the Indus, east of Lakhhí, the river having encroached many miles westward since Akbar Bádsháh's time. In former times, about two hundred years since, it was farmed by one of the ancestors of the Laṭí or Kalhorah rulers of Sind,* an account of whom I have given farther on. The amount of revenue yielded by the Síw-istán *pargana'hs* is a matter of no consequence with regard to their geographical situation, but I may mention that that of Lakhhá-waṭ was the lowest in the whole *sarkár*.

Then, out of the various *sarkárs* of the *ṣúbah* of Multán, Mr. Duke gives the names of *one sarkár*, which is not the one required here, and which I shall refer to again presently; while the *sarkár* which contains the places required appears not to have been found by the Native Assistant Agent, Ganpat Rai, whom Mr. Duke states assisted him in searching the "Ain Akbari."

It is only by comparing the accounts of the northern-most *pargana'hs* of the Síw-istán *sarkár* of the Ṭhaṭhah province, along with the southern and western *maḥálls* of the Bakhar *sarkár* of the *Ṣúbah* of Multán, that the situation of the places sought after can be realized and understood; and it is unfortunate for Mr. Duke's identifications, that the Native Assistant did not mention to him, that, before the word Síw-istán, which Mr. Duke forthwith proceeds to identify as "the modern Sewi, "Talli, Mal, &c.," in every copy of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, occurs the word "*ḥawelí*," and that after Síw-istán came the words, "it has a strong fortress." He then would have found that the place referred to under the name of Síw-istán, and giving name to the whole *sarkár*, is the present Sihwáṇ on the Indus, which was always called Síw-istán, but never "*Sewi*," centuries before the time of Akbar Bádsháh, and that it does not refer to Síwí or Síbí at all.† That *maḥáll* (Síwí), under the revenue system laid down in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí or "Regulations of Akbar," was not included in the Síw-istán *sarkár* of Ṭhaṭhah, consequently, Mr. Duke's surmises and identifications, amount of revenue, and the like, fall to the ground. If the Á'ín-i-Akbarí is examined in that part containing an account of the Bakhar *sarkár* of the Multán *ṣúbah*, it will be found that Síwí was one of the twelve *maḥálls* constituting that

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mentioned at page 547, which is, correctly, Chatsah. The above is a *pargana'h* of the Síw-istán *sarkár* of Ṭhaṭhah, while Chatsah lies north of the Bakhar *sarkár* which separated the Síw-istán *sarkár* from the mountain tracts forming the southern part of the Afghánistán. *See* page 562.

In describing Roh, the vitiated form of Koh, which is the equivalent of Pus'hto Ghar, and which, as mentioned at page 466, has been turned into "the mountains of Ghor" by those ignorant of the fact, it is said by the native historians *to extend, on the south, as far as* the *ḳaṣba'h* or town of Síwí, but Mr. Duke, in his "Report," and the map which accompanies it, removes his "Sewistan" into Roh!

* Waṭ, in Lakhhá-waṭ, is evidently the Sanskrit *waṭ* used in composition as a contraction of wáṭ, "a road," "highway," "path."

Major-General Malcolm R. Haig, of the Bombay Staff Corps, and formerly of the 5th Regiment N.L.I., who served many years in this part of Sind in the Revenue Survey, and latterly as the head of the Department in Sind, and who, on two several occasions, settled the revenue of this part of Sind which formed the *sarkár* of Síw-istán, tells me, that it was Mián Naṣír, Kalhorah, who farmed the revenues of the Lakhhá-waṭ *pargana'h*.

This Mián, or Shaikh, Naṣír, the Laṭí or Kalhorah, was the father of Dín Muḥammad, the rebel, who was put to death by order of Prince, Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Ṣúbah-dár of Multán and of Ṭhaṭhah in 1113 H. (1702 A.D.), and of Yár Muḥammad, the first of the family who obtained a *manṣab* and the title of Khudá Yár Khán from the Mughal Government. *See* my account of the Laṭís or Kalhorahs farther on.

According to General Haig, Chanijah lay opposite the present *ta'allúḳah* of Dádú, and now forms part of the Morá *ta'allúḳah*. Khiṭ or Khiṭ-púr, which, in all probability, is the Sindí Khito, lay immediately south of it on the opposite side of the Indus, as it now flows, and north-east of Sihwáṇ. Búbak or Búbakán is still a *pargana'h* in the Manchur lands, south of the lake of that name.

The old names have been lost or nearly so, or died out, because the Laṭís or Kalhorahs and the Tál-púrs gave their own names to places.

† Elliot (in his "Indian Historians," vol. 1st, page 386) says, respecting the town of "Siwistán" (that is Síw-istán), under the Ráí dynasty, "that Sihwán on the Indus is here alluded to," adding, that, "the town of "Sebí, or Síbí, and the province of Síwistán [here he falls into the same error as others *on the mere* "*authority of an incorrect map*; and to try and make a difference between the two, writes the town *Siwistán* "and the province *Síwistán*], are the constant source of confusion and mistake [true, as he has just "proved], whenever the name occurs; insomuch, that it is sometimes difficult, as in the passages here quoted, "to determine positively which place is indicated. This perplexity is not diminished by the fact of the large "province of Sístán, or Sijistán, being not very remote."

There is no difficulty whatever if we merely go by history and Abú-l-Faẓl's clear definitions and descriptions, and do not jump at conclusions.

sarkár, and that it never, at any time, formed part of the Síw-istán *sarkár* of the province of Ṭhaṭhah. Moreover, it was the only *maḥáll* inhabited by Afgháns.* These were of the Parní tribe chiefly, who were rated at 500 horsemen and 1,500 foot for militia purposes. Síwí paid 13 *lákhs*, 81 thousand, 930 *dáms* as revenue, but nothing in kind, as the Kandahár *maḥálls* paid. This sum, at the rate laid down in the A'ín-i-Akbarí of forty *dáms* to the *rúpí*, is equal to just 34,548 *rúpís* and a fraction. All these facts I mentioned at page 21 of these "Notes," but Mr. Duke thought he knew better.† The result is that he has turned the whole tract of country, from the break in the Lakhhí range near Raní Koṭ ("Ráni ka Kot" of the maps), a little south-west of Sann on the bank of the Indus, extending about one hundred and eighty five miles north, and between seventy-five and eighty miles from east to west in its broadest part (before the main branch of the Indus encroached westwards), including the present Sihwáṇ and Mehar Deputy Collectorates, and very probably the western-most part, lying nearest the mountains, or about a quarter of the present Láṛ-kánah Deputy Collectorate (about one fifth of the whole of Sind as at present constituted), into the small *maḥáll* or district of Síwí, because some one, unacquainted with the geography of the country, in compiling a map, some fifty or sixty years ago, wrote "Sewistan" in the wrong place. Then, in order that the *pargana'h* of Síw-istán *Ḥawelí*, nearly the extreme southern district of the whole, namely Sihwáṇ on the Indus, might fit into the theory that it is "the modern Sewí, Talli, Mal, &c.," Mr. Duke removed the whole *sarkár* or province two hundred and fifty miles to the north! ‡

According to the A'ín-i-Akbarí of Abú-l-Faẓl, § the ancient boundaries of Sind and Multán before his time appear to have been much the same as is described therein. Abú-l-Faẓl says, "Before Ṭhaṭhah was added to the *ṣúbah* of Multán, it (Multán) extended in length from Fírúz-púr [on the present Sutlaj] *to* Síw-istán, four hundred and three kuroh, and, in breadth, from Khiṭ-púr|| to Jasal-mír, one hundred and twenty-six kuroh. After Ṭhaṭhah was added thereunto it extended to Kích¶ and Mukrán, a distance of six hundred and sixty kuroh**. On the east it adjoined the *sarkár* of Sahrind, on the north Pes'háwar, on the south the *ṣúbah* of Áj-mír, and on the west Kích and Mukrán, which tract of country, in early times, formed part of, or was included in, Sind.†† "For convenience sake," Abú-l-Faẓl says, "they," Multán and Ṭhaṭhah "are separately entered and described. . . . . The Multán *ṣúbah* "consisted of three *sarkárs*, Multán [proper], Díbál-púr, and Bakhar, containing "eighty-eight *pargana'hs*. . . . . Ṭhaṭhah now forms the fourth *sarkár*‡‡ of the

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* *See* also page 561.

† He also considers this tribe of "Panni Pathans," as he styles them, assessed, in Akbar Bádsháh's reign, at 2,000 men liable to do militia duty, to be "then evidently a small nomad tribe"!

‡ At page 158 of his "Report," para. 35, he brings "Thal-Chotiali" into his "Sewistan," whereas they were included in the territory of Dokí or Dogí, which was a *maḥáll* of the province of Kandahár, according to the A'ín-i-Akbarí. So anxious does Mr. Duke appear in his "Report" to make out Síwí to be a part of Sind, having mistaken Síw-istán for it, that he quotes Elphinstone to confirm his statements, but quotes him *incorrectly after all.* He says, "Elphinstone expressly states:—'The eighteen provinces where Hakims "'reside are Herat, Furrah, Kandahar, Ghazni, Kabul, Bameean, and Ghoreband, Jellalabad, Lughman, "'Peshawur, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Shikarpore, *Seewee* Sind (underlining Seewee), Kashmir, "'Chach, Hazara, Lya, and Mooltan.'"

Instead of this, Elphinstone (which see) has, "Shikarpore, Seewee, Sind, etc.," *with a comma between the two words*, and not "*Seewee* Sind."

The compiler of a "Gazetteer of Sind," referred to farther on, has also made a grave mistake respecting Síwí, but, after another fashion. He tells his readers (p. 31) that "Síwí (Sebi), in 1711, comprised Shikarpúr "and Sukkur"!

§ Abú-l-Fazl's account of the Khán-i-Khánán's advance from Bakhar, where his forces were concentrated, against Sind, that is, the territory of Mírzá Jání Beg, when it was finally annexed, says:—"The "Khán-i-Khánán hastened to invest Sihwáṇ, and after a few days succeeded in capturing it. A part of this "territory [he refers to Jání Beg's whole territory, including Lower Sind: Upper Sind had been annexed long "before] is called Síw-istán, and this fortress [Sihwáṇ] was the residence of the ruler."

|| *See* note *, page 556.

¶ The above is the way in which the word is spelt, in the original, کیچ; but, as stated several times before, in MSS., the three points of the چ are apt to be run into one in writing, and thus the letter becomes mistaken for ج when it would become Kíj or Kej. In Blochmann's edition of the text it is sometimes کچ without any ی and at times کیچه with an additional ه Both ways are misprints, or incorrect readings.

** If any one will take the trouble to calculate this on a correct map, it will soon be seen in which direction most of the *pargana'hs* of the Síw-istán *sarkár* lay.

†† *See* page 18, note *.

‡‡ Instead of styling Ṭhaṭhah a separate *ṣúbah*, it is called, for convenience, the fourth *sarkár* of the Multán *ṣúbah*, in the A'ín-i-Akbarí, and is divided into five *sarkárs*, containing fifty-two *pargana'hs*.

"Multán *ṣúbah*, but, formerly, for a long period of time, it was a separate country. "It now forms a portion of the empire, and extends from Bakhar [the boundary of "that *sarkár* he means] to Kích and Mukrán, a distance of two hundred and fifty-"seven kuroh in length; and in breadth [in one direction] from the *ḳaṣba'h* or town "of Budín to the *bandar* or port of Láharí, one hundred kuroh; and, in another "direction, from the *ḳaṣba'h* or town of Chándú,* one of the dependencies of Bakhar, "to Bíkánír, sixty kuroh. It [the Thaṭhah territory, of which Síw-istán was the "northern-most *sarkár*] has *Síwí on the north*,† the salt sea on the south, Gujarát "on the east, and Kích and Mukrán on the west." Consequently, Síwí was not included within it any more than was Gujarát or the salt sea; and, moreover, he says in another place, that "between Bakhar and Síwí there is a great *dasht*," which word is equivalent to the *ṣaḥrá* and *bayábán* of the early 'Arab geographers, the *paṭ* of the Sindís. and Balúchís, and *thal* of the Panj-ábís, in which, "for a period of three "months, during the hot season, the *samúm* blows."‡

In another place, describing the boundaries of the *sarkár* of Ḳandahár, at that time forming a part of the *ṣúbah* of Kábul, the same author says, "It extends in "breadth from Sind to Faráh. It has *Síwí on the south*, Faráh on the west, and "Kábul and Ghaznín between east and north." Can anything be clearer than this, that the little district of Síwí does not refer to Síw-istán, of the province of Thaṭhah?

Describing the mountain ranges, Abú-l-Fazl continues, "On the north, the mountains "separate into several branches.§ One stretches away towards Ḳandahár; another "from the ocean to the *ḳaṣba'h* or town of Koh-bár,‖ which [branch] they call Rám-"Gir [Gir or Girí, the Sanskrit for a mountain], terminates at Síw-istán [that is, on "the Indus near the Síw-istán Ḥawelí or Sihwáṇ], and there they call it the Lakhhí "range;" and from the descriptions given of it, or at least of many parts of it, it resembles what I have described in the First Section, and in other places in these "Notes," as the Koh-i-Surkh or Red Mountains of Tájzíks, the Sor or Súr Ghar of Afgháns, the Rátá Roh of Baluchís, and Rátá Paháṛ of Hindús and Panj-ábís. "A large Balúch tribe is located therein, whom they style Kalmáṭí,¶ consisting of "20,000 families, among whom are 1,000 horsemen. An excellent breed of camels is "produced here. Another branch [of the mountains] extends from Sihwáṇ** to Síwí, "and that is known as the Kahṭar†† range, and is the dwelling-place of the tribe of "Nuh-mardí Balúchís,‡‡ who muster 300 horsemen and 7,000 foot. Below this "again is another tribe of Balúch, who are known by the name of Ẕihrí,§§ [num-

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* Also called Chándú-kah.

† Ganj-áwah or Gand-áwah, it must be recollected, is called a dependency of Síwí, like as Lahrí was. I have before mentioned that the western quarter of the present Láṛ-kánah district was included in Síw-istán, and it was in this direction that it approached nearest to the dependencies of Síwí and the Kachchh of Gand-áwah.

‡ This desert plain which bounded this extreme northern part of Síw-istán province in this direction, and separated it from Síwí and its dependencies, is known to the people of this part as "the *Paṭ*." Masson crossed it in going from Bhág to Ruján with a *ḳáfila'h*. He says there was danger in crossing this belt of desert from predatory bands from the hills to the north, and that it is sometimes called the "Dasht Bédárí;" and that its name "Bédárí," or "vigilance," implies as much, etc. What is meant is Dasht-i-Bedárí, the latter word being the Persian for "wakefulness," "watchfulness," "sleeplessness," etc. It will be found mentioned again farther on, in the extracts from Mír Ma'ṣúm's history.

It appears in the latest map of this part (1882), under the strange name of "*Dasht Bedar Desert.*" The compiler of the map could scarcely have known the signification of *dasht*; for, as the words now stand, they mean "*Desert Bedar Desert.*"

§ He here refers to that part of the Ḳandahár *sarkár* near Kwaṭa'h or Shál.

‖ In one copy Koh-Már.

¶ In some copies the word is Kalmání, one point of the "*t*" being wanting, or the two points run into one which make "*n*." Kalmáṭí, however, is correct. They are a well known tribe, and were located here long before Abú-l-Fazl wrote, and yet Masson, and those who follow him, presume to say that they have "migrated "to this part from Sind." These Kalmáṭís are still independent.

** In one MS. written Siwáṇ: the "*h*" in such words is often left out in MSS., particularly by foreigners.

†† Kaṭ'har in Hindí signifies a wooden cage in which wild beasts are kept. It is the "*Kheerthur*" of the Sind Revenue Survey maps. In that of Upper Sind it is stated, that this is the eastern name, and that the western desiguation is "*Karothur* or *Kurroo* Mountains." It is also remarked therein, that, "Wherever the "rush of the stream has divided these mountains of mud," referring to the second and third ranges, "the bright "colours of strata of fuller's earth, in mingled line of blue, yellow, red, and grey, contrast pleasantly with the "prevailing *dull red colour* of these hills."

‡‡ Written نُه مردی in the original, but Elliot, in Vol. I. of his "Historians of India," has *Nahmrúí*, turning the "*d*" into "ú." The Táríkh-i-Ṭáhirí, however, has Nuh-mardí, as above. These are Pottinger's "*Noomrees*," and Tod's "Noomries (the foxes)." *See* the account of the Laṭís or Kalhorahs, farther on.

§§ The place, now known as Ẕihrí, which is the name of a tribe only, is, doubtless, the site, as it exactly agrees, of Ḳandá'il. The red and white compact limestone of the detached hill on which Ẕihrí is situated is also remarkable.

"bering] 1,000 persons.* An excellent breed of horses is bred here. There is "another range, one extremity of which adjoins Kích, and the other the Kalmátí "people [*i.e.*, the mountain tract in which they are located], and that range they "call Kárah.† It is the dwelling-place of 4,000 Balúch."

Further, Abú-l-Faẓl states, that, "towards the north, from the confines of Úchchh‡ "down as far as Thaṭhah [westwards], are lofty mountains which are called Khárá,§ in "which dwell the *ulús* of Balúch, tribe upon tribe."

Let us now, for the sake of comparison, take the twelve *maḥálls* of the Bakhar *sarkár*, remembering at the same time, that, since Abú-l-Faẓl wrote, the course of the Indus, as well as the courses of the Panj-áb rivers, have continued to alter very considerably, as was the case before his day.‖ The *maḥálls* lying on the Indus, with three exceptions, which are somewhat doubtful, are easily recognized by persons acquainted with Multán, Upper Sind, and the Baháwal-púr territory, and the former history of these parts. The *maḥálls* west of the Indus belonging to the Bakhar *sarkár* are,—(1) Sanghar, the northern half of the present district dependent on the Dera'h of Ghází Khán;¶ for, at this period, and for many years after, that town was not in existence; (2) Jaṭú-í, the southern half of the same district, as far south as the Cháchar Pass, including the present Dájal and Harand, and a small portion of the present Baháwal-púr state, east of the present course of the Indus, and west of Úchchh-i-Sharíf; (3) Fatḥ-púr;** (4) Síwí;†† (5) Bakhar; (6) Chándú-kah. Chándú-kah embraced three fourths‡‡ of the present Láṛ-kánah Collectorate of Upper Sind, besides more farther east, before the Indus encroached considerably westwards in later times, and the Noh-Shahrah *ta'allúḳah* of the Shikár-púr Collectorate. It extended westwards from the banks of the Indus, was the southern-most *maḥáll* of the Bakhar *sarkár* of the Multán *Ṣúbah* west of the Indus, and separated that *sarkár* from the Wícholo or Síw-istán *sarkár* dependent on Thaṭhah. How then is it possible for Síw-istán *sarkár* to be Síwí, which lies two hundred and fifty miles farther north?

The three *maḥálls*, the exact situation of which is doubtful, are,—(7) Kárkarí, also written Káhkarí, and Kákarí, which since "*k*" and "*g*" are written precisely in the same way in Persian MSS., may be Gárgarí or Gárgharí, or the like; (8) Kahiṛah-Gágan, which may be written Kahiṛah-Kákan for the same reason, and is written in other ways; and (9) Gahjánah or Kahjánah. From the fact, however, that Chándú-kah, Dar-Belah (10)§§ and Kárkarí,‖‖ as Mír Ma'ṣúm, the Sayyid historian of Sind,

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* Here the word is *kas*, which means "a person," and not *mard*, "man," or *khánah*, "family," or "household," as in other places. Masson, in one place, styles them "*Bráhúis*."

† The Koh-i-Ḳáran of the "Kitáb-i-Masálik wa Mamálik."

‡ There is a Úchchh some miles north of Jacob-ábád, but that on the Panj-Nad, in the present Baháwal-púr State, is meant here.

§ Which in Persian or Tájzík means hard stone.

‖ Yet people expect to find the places mentioned in the campaigns of Alexander in the very same positions on its ever changing banks.

¶ The Dera'h of Ghází Khán, and the territory dependent on it, continued to form a portion of the Multán province down to the annexation of the Panj-Áb in 1849.

** About thirteen or fourteen miles west of the junction of the Panj-Áb, or Panj-Nad, or Five Rivers, and a long way above the junction of the Panj-Áb or Panj-Nad with the Indus.

†† In another place Abú-l-Faẓl says that Ganj-ábah, as he always writes it, and never Gand-ábah, is "a dependency of Síwí."

‡‡ As before stated, I believe the extreme western quarter of the present Láṛ-kánah district, nearest the western mountains, belonged to Síw-istán *sarkár* in those days, and not to that of Bakhar.

§§ Words terminating in *há-i-mukhtafí*, the Sindís appear to change into *wáo-i-majhúl* in their dialect, thus Láṛ-káno for Láṛ-kánah, and Kahiṛo for Kahiṛah, and they would call Dar-Belah Dar-Belo, and Balúch Baloch. There is a "Dar-Belo" about 44 miles N.N.E. of Sihwáṇ, on the east side of the Indus, but this can scarcely be connected with the name of the *maḥáll* of Dar-Belah of the Bakhar *sarkár* of Multán *ṣúbah*, which never, I believe, extended so far to the south. Moreover, the Indus, it must be remembered, at the period in question, in this part of its course, flowed farther to the east.

‖‖ More respecting this name will be found farther on.

Major-General M. R. Haig, previously referred to, tells me that there is a *pargana'h* in the present Khair-púr territory of Upper Sind—'Alí Murád Khán, Tál-púr's territory—immediately north of the Kandiáro *ta'allúḳah*, in our territory, named Gághri, and he is inclined to think that it may refer to the Kárkari *maḥáll*, or *pargana'h*, as the Sayyid, Mír Ma'ṣúm, writes it.

In ordinary Persian writing, as already mentioned above, the letter ک stands for گ as well, and the word here referred to *might* be meant for Gárkarí, Gárgarí, or Kárgarí, as well as Kárkarí, but, in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, Abú-l-Faẓl, when '*g*' is meant, makes the difference by putting the additional mark to the letter ک = گ Mír Maṣ'úm, however, who held the *maḥáll*, or a portion of it, as a free grant, writes it plainly کارکری, which is very different from گاگهری, but then, he makes no difference between ک and گ

With regard to Kahiṛah Gágan or Kákan, the same theory applies. It may be Kákan, Gákan, Kágan, or Gágan. General Haig thinks Gágan may be meant, but, as the word stands in the original Persian MSS., the ordinary way of reading it, since it is not specially marked, would be as I have rendered it in the text above.

writes the latter name, were conferred upon him in *já-gír* by Akbar Bádsháh, as related farther on, there can be little doubt that they lay contiguous to or near each other, and that the two last mentioned lay *east* of the Indus. These two, with (11) Máṭhí-lah, and (12) Aror or Alor,* constituted the eastern *maḥálls* of the Bakhar *sarkár*; and, on that side, Máṭhí-lah adjoined, on the north, the Úbárah *maḥáll* of the district called Berún-i-Panj-Nad, or Extra Panj-Áb, belonging to the Multán *Ṣúbah*. Consequently, these eastern *maḥálls* of the *sarkár* of Bakhar extending southwards from Úbárah, included all the present Rúṛhí (*vul.* Rohrí) district of Upper Sind as at present constituted, and all the western half of the present Khair-púr territory, extending eastward as far as the old bed of the Hakrá or Wahind.

The positions of Jaṭú-í and Fatḥ-púr being sufficiently obvious, enables us to lay down, with some degree of probability, the positions of these two doubtful *maḥálls* of Gahjánah or Kahjánah and Kahiṛah-Gágan or Kákan. The Fatḥ-púr *maḥáll* adjoined Jaṭú-í on the south, and included the country around the present Miṭhan-Koṭ and Asúní, and some tracts now on the east bank of the Indus. At present, from the encroachment of the great river westwards, the chief places in those *maḥálls*, and after which they were named, namely, Jaṭú-í and Fatḥ-púr, lie some miles away east of the river bank. The Bakhar *maḥáll* of the Bakhar *sarkár* included all the present Shikár-púr district, less the Noh-Shahrah *ta'allúḳah*, which, as already stated, was included in Chándú-kah. Between this Bakhar *maḥáll* and that of Fatḥ-púr these two doubtful *maḥálls* of Gahjánah or Kahjánah, and Kahiṛah-Gágan or Kákan must have been situated. At the same time it must be remembered, that, from near Kashmúr downwards, for a considerable distance, the Indus has *receded* some ten miles or more, from west to east, its old bed being traceable downwards some seven or eight miles south-west of Ghauṣ-púr.

These two doubtful *maḥálls* must have extended westwards as far as Sháh-púr and Úchchh, north of Khán-Gaṛh or Jacob-ábád, where the Síwí boundary touched them,

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Kahiṛah occurs in the names of several places in Sind, as in Lekan Kahiṛah, Kahiṛah Belo, and the like, but, although no meaning can now be assigned to it, no doubt, the meaning was sufficiently significant.

In a previous note (||, page 557), I have referred to what Mr. Duke says with regard to Masson's having stated that Jahlá-wán and Sará-wán of the Balúchistán were included in the *sarkár* of Síw-istán in Akbar Bádsháh's days. What led Masson, in all probability, to imagine that such was the case, was a seeming similarity between some of the names of the small districts or divisions of those parts, and some of the *pargana'hs* of the Síw-istán *sarkár*. Masson, too, must have taken his information from Gladwin's very imperfect translation of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí. There is a Káhán (but the name is differently spelt from that of the Marí town, which has one letter less, and which is a comparatively modern name, about forty-two miles west of Ganj-ábah; a Bághwán, or Bághbán, or Bághwánán, or Bághbánán; for it is, and may be, written in these different ways, ninety miles or more south-south-west from Ganj-ábah, on the caravan route between Kalát-i-Nícharah or Kalát-i-Balúch and the seaport of Suní-miání; a Fatḥ-púr—a common name for a town or village—four miles to the south of Ganj-ábah; and a Púdín (which Masson perhaps mistook for Badin or Batin) west of Ghúrgínah, which is, itself, sixty miles west-north-west of Kalát-i-Nícharah or Kalát-i-Balúch, in the mountain tracts west of Sará-wán, and above two hundred miles from the banks of the Indus.

We are certain of the situation of Patár or Pátr, and Bághbán or Bághbánán (the first word is the Persian for a gardener, and the second its plural form) was certainly near it, if not adjoining it; for, as mentioned farther on, when Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain espoused the daughter of Mír Khalífah, he assigned the *pargana'hs* of Pátar or Pátr and Bághbán or Bághbánán to her brother for his support. Since two *pargana'hs* were assigned to him, one of which, as we know for certain, was situated on the west bank of the Indus, it stands to reason that the other could not have been one hundred and twenty or thirty miles away from it on the west, with two lofty mountain ranges intervening, and no direct road leading from one to the other. From Pátar or Pátr one would have to go a very round-about route to reach it, and pass through a very difficult tract of country. Besides all this, the territory in which the Bághbánán of Jahlá-wán is situated did not belong to Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain to bestow.

As mentioned in the account of Sháh Beg Khán's invasion of Sind, he set out from Síwí and Ganj-ábah, came by way of Fatḥ-púr to Pátar or Pátr and Bághbánán and Káhán, and then moved southwards to Ṭhaṭhah. To have moved towards Ṭhaṭhah by the Bághbánán of Jahlá-wán, he would have gone a vast distance out of his way, and have doubled, if not nearly trebled it, and that route would have taken him through a poor and difficult country; whereas, Pátar or Pátr and Bághbánán of Síw-istán were the two most populous and productive *pargana'hs* of the whole *sarkár*. Certainly, the other Bághbánán never yielded what that of Síw-istán did, or anything approaching such an amount. Furthermore, as related at page 20, irrigation in the *pargana'h* of Bághbánán of Síw-istán was carried on by means of wells with Persian wheels, worked by camels, while in the other Bághbánán of Jahlá-wán the cultivation depended chiefly, if not wholly, upon rain, and does so to this day.

* Tod, in his "Rajast'han," claims having *discovered* this city, which every historian who has written on Sind, including Abú-l-Faẓl, has distinctly mentioned the situation of. Tod says (Vol. 1, page 42), "I have "to claim the discovery of several ancient capital cities in the north of India . . . . *Alore*, on the Indus, "the capital of the Sodas," etc., etc. At page 243 he has, in a table of dates, "Final conquest of Sinde, and "the name of its capital *Arore*, changed to *Mansoora*," under the year 136 to 158 H. This, like a good many more of such "discoveries," is refuted by the above, seeing that the name was unchanged just nine hundred years after the conquest of Sind, which took place in 96 H. (714–15 A.D.). Aror or Alor was never called Manṣúrah, which was situated just two hundred miles farther down the Indus. The situation of Manṣúrah will be found in note *, page 563.

Chatar or Chatar Bázár, a little to the north-west of Sháh-púr, being a dependency of the Síwí *mahál ;* while, on the east, they touched the Máthí-lah *mahál* of Bakhar, and the Úbárah *mahál* of the district called Berún-i-Panj-Nad, before referred to.

While Fath-púr and Gahjánah or Kahjánah were the poorest *mahálls* in the Bakhar *sarkár*, the former yielding but 4 *lákhs*, and 87,859 *dáms*, and the latter 6 *lákhs*, and 45,205 *dáms*. Kahirah-Gágán or Kákan stood next to Chándú-kah, which, next to the *mahál* of Bakhar itself, was the most productive *mahál* in the *sarkár*, the assessment of Kahirah-Gágan or Kákan being 27 *lákhs*, and 32,331 *dáms*, or about twice as much more than Fath-púr and Gahjánah or Kahjánah put together.

The difficulty with regard to the situation of this latter *mahál* is the great amount of revenue it paid, but there can be no doubt that the tracts of country on the Indus, adjoining the Úbárah and Máthí-lah *mahálls* on the west, some of which lands now lie on the east bank of the Indus, stretching from Kashmúr and Kin Kot down the river, were, in former days, much more fertile, and much better cultivated, than in later times. It is possible that the Kahirah-Gágan or Kákan *mahál* lay lengthways along the river, and Gahjánah or Kahjánah on the outside of it, on the west, towards the desert and the skirts of the lower hills of the Koh-i-Surkh range. If this was so, the vast difference in their revenue may be accounted for.

The only *mahál* out of the twelve, here mentioned, inhabited by Afgháns was Síwí, and that, we well know, was inhabited by a portion of the Parní tribe. Sanghar was peopled by Samíjahs; Jatú-í by the Balúch people of that name; Fath-púr by Samíjahs and Zháríjahs; Bakhar by Mahrs and Dihárs; Chándú-kah by Chhanahs; Gárgarí or Kárkarí by Mangrerahs;* Kahirah-Gágán or Kákan by Zháríjahs; Gahjánah or Kahjánah by Jámans;† Dar-Belah by Bhatís; Máthí-lah by Zháríjahs;‡ and Aror or Alor by Zharíjahs. Leaving out the Síwí *mahál*, the other eleven furnished 4,100 horsemen, and 9,600 foot, for militia purposes, or were assessed as being liable to furnish that number.

Further information respecting these parts will be found in the descriptions of the Routes ninety-seven to one hundred.

After all that is stated in the "Biluchistan" histories about the "mighty Chákar "Rind," that "God-like man," a petty *Zamíndár*, in those days dwelling in the Chanhat Do-Ábah north-east of Multán, who is made to "*support*" Humáyún Bádsháh, and actually to "*set him upon the throne*" of Dihlí, it is merely necessary to note, that, when the Á'ín-i-Akbarí was written, nearly half a century after, in the reign of Humáyún Bádsháh's son and his successor, with the single exception of the Jatú-ís, there was not another Balúch clan located in all these extensive districts of the Bakhar *sarkár* of Multán, from Dádhar and Síwí to the Indus; although there were great numbers of them located in the tracts east of the Indus, farther north, and parts dependent on the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, extending from Sít-púr§ to Dhan-Kot,‖ as already mentioned, where they had been settled for more than a century before the "mighty Chákar Rind" was heard of, and many likewise in the extreme south-western parts of the *sarkár* of Kandahár.

It is now necessary to turn again to the Síw-istán *sarkár* of the Thathah province, which adjoined, on the north and east, the *mahál* of the Bakhar *sarkár*, just described.

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* Who cannot be turned into Kákar Afgháns, who dwelt two hundred miles farther north.

† These are, apparently, the Jamális of Postans, who makes them out to be Balúchís, but Abú-l-Fazl does not; he always mentions Balúchís distinctly, when he refers to people of that race.

‡ The Samíjahs and Zháríjahs are two of the eight branches of the Yádú (*vul.* Jadoon) Ráj-púts, who, for the most part, adopted the Musalmán faith at the time that Sind was subject to the 'Arabs and other Muhammadan rulers. The present Ráo of Kachchh-Bhúj is a Zháríjah, and the chiefs of some other petty Indian States.

Tod, in his "Rajast'han," of course, cannot allow that these Zháríjahs of Sind, like many other Hindú peoples, *adopted* the faith of Islám of their own free will, and assures us that the "*Jareja* have become so con-"taminated by admixture with the Mahommedans of Sind as to have forfeited all pretensions to purity of "blood." Further, he says, "The *Jarija*, partly in ignorance, and partly to cover disgrace [in Rajpút eyes?], "says that his origin is from Sham, or Syria, and of the stock of the Persian Jamsheed; consequently, *Sam* "[which, however, is not *Shám* before mentioned] has been converted into *Jam*; which epithet designates one "of the *Jarija* petty governments, the Jam Raj."

I may mention that the Jáms of Sind, who did not adopt that title as coming from *Sam*, as he calls Syria above, but as descendants from the famous Jamshed, sovereign of Í-rán, ceased to be a dynasty some three or four centuries since.

It is strange, but the writers of "Biluchistan" history above referred to, bring the "lofty Bolak Rinds" from Shám likewise.

§ Sít-púr was inhabited by the Nághar (*vul.* Náhir) tribe, of whom more presently.

‖ *See* Sections First and Fourth of this work.

It must not be overlooked that Síw-istán did not include any of the hill tracts bounding the plain of Kachchhí on the north;* in fact its most northern point was above a hundred miles from them, the Bakhar *sarkár* intervening, and Chándú-kah *mahall* adjoined it on the north. Its hill tracts lay west, south-west, and south, the Kahṭar range bounding it on the west and south-west. The break in the Lakhhí range at Rańí Koṭ (Ráni ka Kot on the maps), out of which a stream issues and unites with the Indus near Sann, formed the southern limit of the Síw-istán *sarkár* at the period in question.

I have already given a list of the names of the *pargana'hs* of the Síw-istán *sarkár* at page 555. Of these Pátar or Pátr,† so called after a formerly well known *kaṣba'h* or town, since gone to ruin, lay on the west side of the Indus about west-south-west from Dar-Belah, and about sixteen miles distant from that town, which is now on the east side of the river. Bághbánán or Bághbán, to which I referred at page 21 of these "Notes," does not refer, as Mr. Duke supposed, to Bhág on the Nárí river, in Kachchhí, and called in history Bhág-i-Nárí, but to a place south-south-west of, and distant about ten and half miles from, Pátar or Pátr above mentioned, after which the *pargana'h* of Bághbánán took its designation.‡ Gáháṇ, the name of another *pargana'h* of Síw-istán, does not refer at all to the Marí town of Káhan, so celebrated for its gallant defence by a detachment of the 5th Regiment of Bombay N. L. I., during the first Afghán campaign, but to a place some two hundred miles farther towards the south.

The *pargana'h* of Síw-istán Ḥawelí refers, of course, to what may be termed the home *pargana'h*, or that in which Síw-istán and its fortress, otherwise Sihwáṇ,§ was situated, and which, in ancient times, as elsewhere related, was known as Sindú-stán. The situation of the remaining *pargana'hs* is not so easy to define, but one thing is quite certain, and that is, since the extreme northern part of the Síw-istán *sarkár* did not extend beyond 27° 50′ of north latitude, its Chanijah *pargana'h* cannot be the Kihtrán Afghán country situated nearly three degrees farther north, and two degrees farther east, whither Mr. Duke transfers it under the supposition that it was the "Jajah" territory mentioned in my account of Prince Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh's march to Kandahár by the Sanghaṛ Pass, but which farther research shows to have been Chatsah, which the native scribe, who was unacquainted with the Pus'hto letter څ intended to have written Chachah, but, having run each of the three points of چ into one, Jajah was the result,‖ but, at the same time, the name Chanijah of the Síw-istán *pargana'h*, contained *four*, not three consonants.

Of the Síw-istán *pargana'hs* Pátar or Pátr was the most flourishing,¶ the assessment

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* Abú-l-Faẓl says not one word as to Síw-istán being "bounded by the eastern ridges of the Suliman hills," which Mr. O. T. Duke states in his "Report," page 6, para. 49. He has misquoted Abú-l-Faẓl's work entirely.

† *See* note ¶ below.

‡ For this information I am indebted to Major-General M. R. Haig, who, on two different occasions, adjusted the Revenue Settlement of this part of Sind. Gáháṇ, giving name to the *pargana'h* (the last letter being the final nasal "*n*" prevalent in the Sindí dialect), according to the same authority, is eighteen miles north-west of Síw-istán or Sihwáṇ. Bághbánán lies south-west of Pátr, and is now in the Dádú *ta'llúkah*.

§ In the Chach-Náma'h, Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, calls Sihwáṇ "the fortress of Síw-istán," and, in another place, refers to it as "near Nírún on the Mihrán." Again, in another place, it is said that he prepared to march to "Síw-istán, which is situated on an eminence to the west of the Mihrán. . . . . After "the capture of Síw-istán, he re-crossed the Mihrán, and moved against Rá'e Dáhir." The Táríkh-i-Ṭáhirí mentions "the town of Síw-istán, now known as Sewáṇ," dropping the "*h*," as foreigners are apt to do. I have mentioned elsewhere that "Sadúsán," as the name appears in some native geographical works, is an error for Sindú-stán (the points to the letters having been left out by the careless scribes or copyists)—which is much the same as the names Afghán-istán, Balúch-istán, Sijis-stán or Sigiz-stán—namely, the country of the Sindú.

‖ *See* page 547, and note **, page 555.

¶ Pátar, or Pátr, as the Sindís call it, was the most flourishing part of the *sarkár* of Síw-istán when Humáyún Bádsháh was in Sind; and, when investing the fortress of Bakhar, and supplies were scarcely procurable at any cost, he despatched about half his followers, under his brother, Hindál Mírzá, thither, great distress, indeed, starvation almost, reigning in his camp at that time. Pátar, too, for other reasons, may be called a famous place in the history of India; for it was while Humáyún Bádsháh was in his brother's camp there, whither he had come, from investing Bakhar, to see how matters went on, that, by chance, he met Ḥamídah Bánú Bígam, daughter of the Shaikh, 'Alí Akbar, the Jámí, who was in Hindál Mírzá's service, and soon after married her. She was the mother of Akbar Bádsháh, who was born at Amar-Koṭ in Sind.

When, previous to the period above referred to, Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, son of Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún, married Gul-Barg Bígam, daughter of the Sayyid, Mír Khalífah, the Wakíl and Díwán Bígí of Bábar Bádsháh, he assigned the two *pargana'hs* of Pátar or Pátr, and Bághbánán (referred to at page 20) for the temporary support of her brother, the Sayyid, Mír Ḥusám-ud-Dín. These two *pargana'hs* appear to have adjoined, or to have been near each other; for they are constantly mentioned in connection together.

of which I have already given; and, after Pátar or Pátr, Bághbán or Bághbánán paid most. The total amount, however, received from the whole *sarkár* of Síw-istán was about *one sixth less* than the sums yielded by the Bakhar *sarkár* of Multán *Şúbah*, out of which the Síwí *maḥáll* contributed 13 *lákhs* and 81,930 *dáms* to the revenue.

The "Kitáb-i-Masálik wa Mamálik," written about nine hundred and thirty-four years ago, contains a curious map of Sind, which shows, that, even at that early period, Síw-istán, giving name to the whole *sarkár*, the Sihwáṇ of modern times, was called Sindú-stán; that it was situated on the Mihrán, and lay east of Ḳuṣdár—not spelt "Khozdár," nor "Khwzdár," nor "Kozdár"; for there is neither "*kh*," nor "*z*" in the word—and south of Nudhah, which the author of that work describes as a great tract of flat land* between Túrán, Mukrán, and the Multán territory. This territory of Nudhah was famous for its breed of camels, and its chief town was Ḳandá'íl, standing on a hill. This great flat tract had "Bál-yús of the Turks"—and at the time the author wrote, 365-366 H. (975-976 A.D.), the Bál-yús country had, long before, been subdued by the Turk slaves of the Sámání dynasty—on its north and west; the territory dependent on Multán on the north and north-east, of which the Bakhar *sarkár* lay nearest to it (but, in those days, as in Akbar Bádsháh's, and

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* In his "Historians of India," Vol. I., Sir H. Elliot, or his Editor for him, constantly, but not always, turns Nudhah into "Budha," and "Búdah." *See* page 22 and note 2, and what is there made of it, until, at last, Mas'údís' بۏوره becomes turned into "the family name of the Rája of Kanouj," namely, a *Tomar* Ráj-pút. The Iṣṭákhurí, translated in this same volume, mentions "Mukrán and *Nudhah*, beyond which, as far as the "frontier of the Multán territory, all belongs to Sind; *Nudhah* is there an uncultivated tract [a *ṣaḥrá*, but "not necessarily a *desert*]." Elliot has "Budha" over and over again at page 29. At page 33, "Túrán and Budha"; page 38, "The countries between Fámhal and Makrán, and Budha, and beyond it as far as the "borders of Multán, are all dependencies of Sind. The infidels who inhabit Sind are called Budha and "Mand"; and he adds, that "there was a class of Jats," from a passage adduced by Gildmeister from Ibn Ḥauḳal, "known by the name of *Nodha* in the neighbourhood of Multán," and yet, in translating Ibn Ḥauḳal, who has *Nudhah*, Elliot sticks to "Budha." Again, page 39, "He who travels from Mansúra to Budha must "go along the banks of the Mihrán, as far as the city of Sadústán [in the original text it is Sindú-stán]." At page 83, in the translation of Al-Idrísí, he has it more correctly—"a warlike race called *Nadha*"; and says, that the author mentions their excellent breed of camels. Abú-l-Faẓl says the Kalmáṭí country produced a fine breed of camels. A few lines under Elliot again says:—"From Mansúra to the confines of *Nadha* six days "[journey]. From the confines of *Nadha* to the city of Kír (Kíz) about ten days. From *Nadha* to Tíz, at "the extremity of Makrán, sixteen days. The town which the *Nadha* most frequent, is Kandáïl," his "Kandabel" of other places in the volume. At page 145, when mentioning "Budápúr and Siwistán," he [Elliot] says it is "no doubt the Budhpúr or *Budhiya* of page 160." At this place, in his translation, he has "the people of Búdhiya and the chief of Siwistán rose up to fight. . . . The Ránas of Búdhiya are descended "from Aú." At page 159 we have:—"In those days the ruler of the Búdhiya territory was Káka, son of "Kotal, a Samaní," etc. At page 163, quoting the letter of "Muhammad Kasim" (as he invariably calls Muḥammad, *the son of* Ḳásim, the conqueror of Sind, when he does not call him by his father's name of "Kásim" instead), he renders it:—"That part of the territory which is around Búdhiya, and is opposite "the fort of Baghrúr (Nírún), on the Mihrán, is taken."

In the Appendix to this volume, the "Budha" name is still continued, notwithstanding that the Iṣṭákhurí and Al-Idrísí gave the correct name, which the author has repeatedly translated "*Nadha*" and "*Núdha*" from them. Subsequently, he informs us that "all later authorities" (are they later authorities?) who use N for B in that word "*are of no value*," but that it closely corresponds with "the modern province [*sic*] of Kachh Gandava." He then actually proceeds to connect this *Nudhah* or *Nudhiyah*, because he has incorrectly rendered the word "Budha" and "Budhiya," with "the Kákar tract of Bori or *Búra*, forming part of the "Afghán province of Siwistán [there never was an Afghán province so called. Elliot, too, has been led "away by the maps I have referred to at page 554, and mistaken the Síw-istán province of Ṭhaṭhah or Sind, "for the Síwí district of the province of Multán], because, he sa ys, "Bahman is said to have founded a city "called Bahman-ábád *in the country of Budh*," and because "there is a place entered as Brahiman in Burnes' "map between Shál and Borí." This, too, is after stating, that, "in the Ayín-i-Akbarí the town of Budhyán "is mentioned as being on the northern frontier of Sirkár Thatta one hundred kos from Bandar Láhorí." At page 370, too, he has:—"We may fairly consider, in general terms, that Brahminábád [as he now writes "it], after being intermediately succeeded by the Arab capital Mansúra, is now represented by the modern "Haidarábád." Where Ḥaidar-ábád? Where the elevated plateau of Boṛa'h?

The Boṛa'h plateau of the Afghánistán, which is three hundred kos distant from his "Bandar Láhorí," is in "Kachh Gandava" perhaps? or "Haidarábád," possibly, according to the same logic, may be either in "the "Kákar tract of Borí or Búra," or in "Kachh Gandava"?

The site of Bahman-ábád, founded by Isfandyár, is in Lower Sind; and, according to the Gardaizí, it was subsequently called by the name of Manṣúríah. It was still well known when Abú-l-Faẓl wrote. The late Mr. A. F. Bellasis of the Bombay C. S., a few years since, brought it and its ruins prominently before the public, consequently, we know where it is, and where the so-called "Budh" is. Elliot appears to have forgotten, when he conveyed his "Budha" to the Boṛa'h, what he had translated previously at page 106 from a Sindí historian, namely, that "Bahman founded a city between the confines of the Hindús and the Turks, to "which he gave the name of *Kandábíl*, and in another place, which they call Budha [Nudhah], he founded a "city which he called Bahmanábád."

This attempt to turn Nudhah or Nudhiyah, miscalled "Budha" and "Búdhiya" into the Boṛa'h dara'h in the Afghánistán, was, apparently, for another purpose, which I shall presently have to notice, notwithstanding the theory of the "*Tomar*" family of the "Rája of Kanouj," and "Makrán and Budha," at the beginning of his note. All this is very suggestive, and only shows upon what foundation the names of people and places are changed from what the original authors said about them.

down to recent times, the territory dependent on Multán extended northwards as far as the district of the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán extends at present, but not to Bannú, nor beyond the foot of the mountains westwards); the towns dependent on Manṣúrah or Manṣúríah, the 'Arab capital of Sind, on the east and south; Túrán,* of which small territory Ḳuṣdár was the chief town, protected by a strong fortress, and the name of which town was subsequently applied to the territory itself, and Mukrán on the south, and south-west.

Nothing can be plainer than this description of Nudhah, which, of course, refers to the great, alluvial tract of country, as its name indicates, known as the Kachchh, or Kachchhí, in Hindí meaning "raw," "crude," "simple," "immature," "uncultivated "land or alluvium,† in which water was scarce, more or less brackish, and often "fetid."

Turning to the historians of Sind, we find that Chach, the son of Sílákh, the Bráhman, who ruled over that country after the death of Sáhí, son of Sihrás Rá'e, who was killed in battle in Mukrán when flying from the 'Arabs, having, in one of his expeditions northwards, fixed the boundaries between his territory and that of Kash-mír (which, in those days, extended considerably southwards into the present Panj-áb), moved southwards from his capital, Alor, towards Budná-púr and Síw-istán. He crossed the Mihrán at the village of Díháhat, which marked the boundary between Alor and the lands of the Sammah tribe, and from thence marched into Nudiyah, as the Sindí historians write Nudhah of the 'Arab chroniclers (and, doubtless, the Sindí mode of writing it is the most correct form), the Chief thereof being, at that time, Kotal, son of Bhandargú Bhagú, which is clearly a Hindú name. His capital was Náná-ráj (Elliot, in a note to his translation, alters it into Kákáráj), "but its inhabitants," says the historian, "call it Sawís." Chach captured the fort of Sawís, and the country (that is Nudiyah) was made tributary. This Sawís must not be mistaken for Síwí or Síbí; for it is plainly indicated that Chach marched *southwards* from Alor to Síw-istán or Síw-istán Ḥawelí, the present Sihwán, and from thence onwards towards the west and north-west, and not in the direction of Síwí, which has nothing whatever to do with the part in question. Pottinger says that the present Kalát of the Balúchís was called "Kalát-i-Sehwa," not *Síwís*, it must be remembered. What may be his authority for this does not appear; for I have never seen such a statement in any native author. When I come to the account of the Balúch tribes I must enter a little more fully into the ancient geography of Sind.

Bál-yús, previously referred to, is the ancient name of the Ḳandahár country, which Baihaḳí calls Wálastán, Wálistán, or Wálustán—for no vowel points are given—and always mentions along with it Bust and Ḳuṣdár, and of which more hereafter.

North of, and adjoining Túrán or Ḳuṣdár, and west of Nudhah (or Nudiyah, as the Sindís write it), in the map contained in the "Kitáb-i-Masálik wa Mamálik," is Kírkáwán, or Kírkánán, or Kírkámán,‡ for it is so written in three different MSS.,

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* The "Kitáb-i-Masálik wa Mamálik" says "Ṭúrán is a little district with many small villages and "hamlets belonging to it." Elliot, note 5, page 38, in his translation of "Ibn Haukal," says, "The printed "text says Túrán is a valley, with a city of the same name, in the centre of which is a citadel." In his text above, however, he has "Túrán is a town." What printed text he refers to I am unaware, but Ouseley's translation agrees with the work I have quoted above, and with the map therein contained.

† The territory of Bhúj is called Kachchh Bhúj because it is of a similar formation, a *kachchh* or *kachchhí*.

‡ Like that of Nudhah or Nudhiyah, the position of this tract of country has been clearly described by the author of the "Masálik wa Mamálik," and as clearly shown in the map appended thereto, as lying south of Nudhah or Nudhiyah, and between it and the sea-coast. He says, "Among the towns of Ṭúrán are "Kírkánán, Ḳuṣdár," etc., which in Elliot's version is "*Kánikánán*," "Kasdár," etc., and which he says "Gildemeister reads 'Kizkánán,' and 'Kazdár.'" At page 38, Elliot, in his translation, has, "Kasdár is a "city with dependent towns and villages. The Governor is Muín bin Ahmad, but the Khutba is read in the "name of the Khalífa only, and the place of his residence is at the *city* of Kabá-Kánán:" and in a note it is said "'Kízkánán,' Gildemeister." At page 39, it is Kabá Kánán again; and in another place it is said that "*Kasdar* is *the chief city of Túrán*," which remark is important, as will be presently shown.

In the translation of Al-Idrísí in the same work, page 77, "*Kírkáyán*" is described as "*a town;*" and in a foot note it is said, that, "in the Nubian Geographer's list it is *Kircaian*." At page 80 we are told that "Fírabúz is a town belonging to Makrán," and then, that Kír [which refers to Kích, the "Kedje" of the maps] is "*two days' journey distant from it.*" After that it is mentioned that "Darak is three days' journey "from Fírabúz," and that from thence to "Rásak" is "*three days' journey*," and all lying not far from the coast of Mukrán. Then we are told, that, "the territory of Rásak is divided into two districts, one called "Al Kharúj, the other *Kír-Káyán*. The sugar-cane is much cultivated. . . . . The people of Makrán "speak Persian. . . . . Túbaran (Túrán) is near Fahraj, which belongs to Kirmán. From hence to "Fardán, *four days' journey*. *Kírkáyán* lies *west* of Fardán on the road to Túbaran," which, he says, refers to Túrán, and the principal place in which is "Kasdár;" and, moreover, Túbarán is said to be "*ten days'*

and in this and other ways in some other geographies and histories—which is said to be *in* Sind, but near the frontiers of Khurásán, and separated by the lofty mountain ranges south of Shál (Kwaṭa'h) from the Bál-yús territory, which Afgháns still call

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"*journey* from Multán on the borders of Sind," that is, where the two boundaries meet, and to the frontier of the Multán territory nearest to Sind from Ḳuṣdár, which is the district of Bakhar and its dependencies. At page 128, it is said, that, "'Amrán, the son of Músá, marched to *Kíkán* against the *Jats*, whom he defeated "and subjugated. He built a city there which he called Al Baiza," etc. This was after 221 H. Aḥmad, son of Yaḥyá, known as Al-Bilázarí (*vul.* Biláduri), says *Kíkán* is in Sind near the frontiers of Khurásán, and that there are Jaṭs there.

With all this before him, and much more written by himself afterwards in his Appendix, Sir H. Elliot, or his Editor, at page 383, says, that this "Kirkánán, or Kírkáyán, or Kabá-Kánán, or Kízkánán, or Kaikáhán "[and in various other forms] *may be considered, under the present condition of Afghánistan, as including the* "*whole of the country of the Kákars.*" To this amazing statement he adds, that, "the only place which recalls "the name of the *old province* [the work he translates says it is *a town*] is *Káhán*, which was perhaps "included within its *south-eastern* frontier." Intent upon his "Kákar" theory, he has mistaken the modern Káhan of the Marís, for Káhán of Jahlá-wán of the Balúchistán, forty miles or more *west* of Ganj-áwah, and about fifty six miles north-east of Ḳuṣdár, of which it is described by him in his translation as a dependency, and which is just two hundred miles farther to the *south-west;* while the various authors whose works he has translated these extracts from, plainly indicate the whereabouts of "Kírkánán," etc., which is "a city of Túrán," which is also called "Kasdár."

In another place he says, that "*Kákarán*" and "*Kaikáhán*" [leaving out, or, rather, changing, all his other readings of the latter word] "would be no very violent and improbable metathesis for Kákar, from whom the powerful tribe of that name is descended," because "names change in the course of ages, especially in a low "state of civilization," but, whoever heard of a well known tract of country, moved "two hundred and fifty "miles" out of its right place in the course of ages? With all this, and much more of a similar kind, because E. Pococke, in his book, entitled "India in Greece," p. 48, after a similar fashion tries to connect "the "land of Hellas" with what he calls the "Hela mountains," he is told by Elliot that it is "an unfair con-"tortion, in order to suit the etymology: the real spelling being *Hála*, or more correctly, *Hára* [the correct "form is Hálá or Hárá, '*l*' and '*r*' being often interchangeable, especially in Sindi words, as Luṛhí and "Ruṛhí]; so that we have, unfortunately, nothing but the initial aspirate to support *the grand Hellenic* "*hypothesis*," but this is what he himself has done with respect to this Kakár hypothesis.

In his translation from Al-Idrísí at page 83, Elliot says, "*Kír-Káyán* is a district known by the name of "Aïl, inhabited by Musulmans and other people dependent on the *Nadhas* [his former and subsequent "'Budhas,' referred to in the previous note] of whom we have just spoken. . . . . The country is occu-"pied by a warlike race, called Nadha. It consists of a number of tribes scattered about between Túbarán "[his Túrán also], Makrán [is the 'Kákar country' in *Makrán?*], Multán, and Mansúra, like the Berber "nomads. The town which the Nadhas most frequent is Kandáïl [his *Kandábíl* in other places, which "he says is Gandava]. . . . . On Túbarán [described by him as also called 'Túrán' and 'Kasdár' in "other places], there are dependent—Mahyak, *Kír-Káyán*, etc. . . . Between Túbarán [on which his "so called Kákaṛ Afghán country of '*Kír-Káyán*' is dependent] and Mansúra there are vast deserts, and on "the north, towards Sijistán [which is very near the Kákaṛ country, truly], there are countries [tracts or "districts?] equally barren, and which are difficult of access"

This "Kirkánán," or "Kír-Káyán," etc., is the "Kíkán" of Al-Balázarí, who plainly indicates its whereabouts. In Elliot's own translation from that old writer, page 117, he says:—"Abú-l-Ash'as attacked and "conquered Núkán [there is no point to the first letter, so it may stand for '*b*,' or '*t*,' or '*y*,' or '*p*,' as well "as for '*n*'] and Kíkán. . . . . He captured Kusdár and took prisoners there."

It may be well to note that "the land of Kíkán" is where "Muhallab" (who is made to reach "Bannú" and "Láhor" at the same time that he reached this place, which I have shown the fallacy of in note *, page 314, of Section Fourth of these "Notes"), "encountered eighteen Turkí horsemen, riding crop-tailed horses," in 44 H. (644 A.D.). In another place (page 174), "*Budhiya*" (as Elliot again spells Nudhiya) and "*Kaikánán*" are mentioned as being in one direction; and, in the extracts from the "Chach-Nama" (page 138), it is said, that the dominions of "Síharas extended, on the east to the frontiers of Kashmír, on the *west* to Makrán, on the "south to the shores of the ocean and to Debal, and on the north [the north-west in reality] to the mountains of "Kardán or Karwán [the Koh-i-Ḳárán is meant, which runs down southwards from Ḳárán to Las Belah], and "to *Kaikánán*. . . . He (the Rájah) dwelt at the capital, Alor, and kept under his own rule Kardán, "and *Kaikánán* and Banarhas or Barhás." At page 307, Elliot has, in his extract from the Táríkh-i-Ma'ṣúmí:—"He (Shah Beg) took Kákán [which is Baihaḳí's Kai-Káhán, without doubt, and which he mentions along "with Ḳuṣdár and Mukrán] and Bághbán;" and, in a note, makes another great error in again mistaking the first for the comparatively *very modern* Marí town of "Káhan," and the other for Bhág on the Nárí river, saying, "Both these places are in the Sarkar of Síwí," which, as I have clearly shown, was not a *sarkár*, but only a *maḥáll* or district dependent on the *sarkár* of Bakhar of the Multán *ṣúbah*.

Under the title of "The Arabs in Sind," in the Appendix to the same volume, Elliot has, what is said to be, a quotation from the "Chach-Nama," namely, that, "in the country of *Sind* there is a high *mountain* [a moun-"tain range, rather] called *Kaikánán*. . . . The Kaikánís [called Turks by Al-Bálazarí] are the people of "the country."

At page 422, he says, respecting Tod's statement, that the generals of 'Alí made conquests in Sind, that it is "*an improbable statement;*" while, at the same time, on the very page before, he himself states, that, during the Khiláfat of 'Alí, at the close of the year 38 H. (658–59 A.D.), "Tághar bin Dá'ir was appointed to the "charge of the frontier of Hind," with an army, and that he marched at the head of his forces "by Bahraj and "Koh-Páya [the Koh-páyah is meant, *i.e.*, the skirt of the mountains]," and "reached the mountains [*mountain* "*range* in the original] of Kaikán and Kaikánán," which, just before, he said were *in Sind*, and defeated the inhabitants.

At page 424, again, it is stated that "Rashíd went to Makrán [from 'Iráḳ], and thence made a successful "inroad upon Kaikán." At page 425, "Sinán, after advancing to Kaikánán, met with great success, and "established his rule in several countries [districts?], and at last reached Budha [he was coming from the "south-west]; the 'Arabs were enriched with booty, for the whole country [district?] became a prey to their "devastations. They seized Kusdár, where they made many captives."

Khurásán. The same geographical work says that the chief town of Nudhah is Kandá'íl; and, in another place, that it is a considerable town in the *sahrá* or *bayábán*,* five *farsangs* or leagues from Kuṣdár (the city or town so called), and that Kírkáwán, Kírkánán, or Kírkámán, is another large town also in the *sahrá* or *bayábán*, just mentioned. Ibn Haukal (Ousely's) also says that Kírkánán is a town.

This last-named place, or the tract around it, was famous for its excellent breed of horses—the horses of this part of the Balúchistán are still famous—and its chief town was Al-Baiẓá, or "The Bright" or "White."† This clearly refers to the north-western part of the modern Jahlá-wán, and, probably, to part of Sará-wán, but I do not include the district immediately around and dependent on Kalát, nor Mastang, both of which territories formed part of the Bál-yús province, or modern Kandahár, down to comparatively modern days, but, the tract of country lying immediately south of the high ranges which form the southern boundary of Bál-yús in that direction. It seems to agree with, or to form a part of, the country styled "Haiakán," or country of the Balúchís, by the old English travellers mentioned by Purchas and Thevenot, respecting which tract of country I shall presently have more to say. In the Sanskrit language, *hai* signifies "a horse," which, in Hindí, is *haik*.

Having now somewhat unravelled, I hope, the geographical difficulties supposed to exist respecting the little *mahＡll* of Síwí dependent on the Bakhar *sarkár* of Multán, and shown that it never formed a part of, nor was included in, the extensive *sarkár* of Síw-istán of Thaṭhah or Sind, I must leave the historical account of the last-named territory for a separate notice, if space permits; for it is so much mixed up with the early geographical notices and histories of Kirmán, Mukrán, Kandahár, the Afghánistán, and the territory dependent on Multán, as well as with the early history of the Balúch, their descent, and movements, and of Hindú Ráj-púts, Jaṭs, and other tribes of Sind, as well as of their 'Arab and other conquerors, that it would not be well to separate them. Nevertheless, the subject is so vast as to preclude more than a brief *résumé* here, and, even that, I fear, will occupy a considerable space. For the present I must return to the subject of the Síwí *maḥáll* and other districts connected with it, the history of which is but little known, and even that little, such as it is, hitherto available by means of translations in English, has been distorted to make it fit the *sarkár* of Síw-istán of Sind which has been mistaken for it.

SÍWÍ OR SÍBÍ AS MENTIONED IN HISTORY.

Prior to, and at the time of, the rise of Islám, there existed an extensive Hindú kingdom on the Indus, which extended on the north as far as the then frontiers of the kingdom of Kash-mír (the ruler at this period was Bálá-dat, brother of Bikráma-dat), which then included a considerable portion of the present Panj-áb; on the north-east, to the frontiers of the state of Kinnauj; from Mukrán or Kích and Mukrán, and Karwán or Kardán (Koh-i-Kárán) and Kíkánán, also called Kírkánán, on the west; to the boundaries of the districts dependent on the *bandars* or ports of Díw (*vul.*, Dieu) and Súrat on the south-east; to the frontiers of Sijis-stán or Sigiz-stán, the southern boundary of the extensive territory anciently called Bál-yús and subsequently Kandahár, and along the outer skirts of the Koh-i-Siyah or great range of Mihtar Sulímán, known as the Koh-i-Surkh, Sor or Súr Ghar, Rátá Roh, and Rátá Pahár on the

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Now all the parts here mentioned, even by Elliot's own account, were border provinces of Sind on the west: they were, in fact, subject to Sind at the period in question. How then is Tod's statement, that the 'Arabs made conquests in Sind at the period referred to, "an improbable statement?" It appears to be so because it did not chime in with his own Kákar Bori or Búra hypothesis, whereby *western* Sind is transferred to the Afghánistán.

I could quote many more passages, but these will, I think, be sufficient to show that, through want of a little local knowledge, and partly because some map maker in former years—since the time that Elphinstone's map was compiled—placed the name "Sewestan" between two hundred and two hundred and fifty miles too far north, Sir H. Elliot, or his Editor, *upon the similarity of the simple initial letter of this word of various forms* in his work—Kaikánán, Kai Káyán, Kíkán, Kaikán, Kízkánán, Kabá-Kánán, Kirkáyán, and the like—built up his "*Kákar* hypothesis," while all the authors he quotes show very plainly where the tract in question lay.

* *See* preceding note.

† 'Amaran, son of Músá, son of Yaḥyá, the Barmakí, built a city (town?) in "Núkán," which is mentioned along with "*Kíkán*," referred to above, and called it Al-Baiẓá, signifying, in 'Arabic, "The Bright," or "The White," which, in another place, is clearly stated to be the chief town of *Kírkánán*. In one place, page 425, Elliot supposes "Núkán" to be "Búdha," the Nudhah of the 'Arabs, and Nudhiyah of the Sindís; and at page 465, he says, respecting the "seats of the Arab cantonments *in Sind*," that one was "*Baiza*," another "*Kuzdár*" (Kuṣdár), and another "Kandabel" (Kandá'íl).

north-west; and to the *bandar* or port of Díwal, and along the shores of the ocean on the south.*

The ruler of this extensive state at the period in question, according to Sindíán annals, was Sihras—not "Síharas"—Ŕá'e,† son of Díwájí, and his capital was the great and populous city of Aror or Alor, situated on the banks of the Hakṛá or Wahind. His kingdom was divided into four great provinces, each of which had a separate governor. One of these four great provinces was Síw-istán or Wícholo, dependent on, or subordinate to which, were Budh-púr and Jankán (possibly, Jingár), and extended to the skirts of the hills of Rúján and the skirts of the mountains of Mukrán. Bahman-ábád, said to have been founded by the Kai-áníán ruler of Í-rán, was one of its great cities, in another province of this kingdom, namely in Lár or Lower Sind, subsequently known as Ṭhaṭhah or Ṭhaṭṭah, after that city was founded.

During the rule of Sihras Rá'e, the 'Arabs subdued the territories of Fárs, Kirmán, and Sigiz-stán or Sijis-stán. At last, according to the Sindíán accounts, "a great army of the "Bádsháh of Ním-roz‡ invaded Kích and Mukrán from Fárs by way of Kirmán." There was no Bádsháh, however, in any of the parts in question at this period, but 'Arab officers called Amírs; and for an invader to go such a roundabout way as to march from Ním-roz or Sijis-stán through Fárs, and then through Kirmán, to reach Kích and Mukrán, when the frontier of Ním-roz had only to be crossed to reach them, is absurd, and shows that the Sindíán writers' ideas respecting the geography of these regions were somewhat hazy. From the capital of Ním-roz to the frontier of Mukrán was about two hundred and eighty miles; and by way of Fárs and Kirmán it was about eight hundred.

However, to continue the account contained in the histories of Sind before turning to the 'Arab writers. "When Sihras Rá'e became aware of this invasion, and that the "invaders had again retired, after plundering the country and making the people "captive, he assembled a great army, and marched to the frontiers of Kích and Mukrán, "after which he sent a defiant message to the Bádsháh of Ním-roz, who also prepared "for hostilities. A battle subsequently took place between them, which lasted from "early morning to mid-day, and ended in the complete overthrow of Sihras Rá'e and "his army. While the Rá'e was in the act of flying, an arrow struck him in the neck, "and he fell down dead on the spot. The victors plundered his camp, after which "they retired into their own territory again, while the remnant of the defeated Hindús "made for Alor; and Sáhsí,§ son of the late Sihras Rá'e, was raised to the sovereignty "in his father's place." Such is the Sindíán account, but now let us turn to the Í-rání and 'Arab writers who will give us light on the subject.

The territory of Mukrán had, for upwards of two centuries before the time these events took place, been dependent on Sind; for, according to the chronicles quoted by the Gardaizí in his history, when Shermah (the Shankal of others), Malik of Hind, gave his daughter in marriage to the disguised Bahrám-i-Gúr, the fourteenth sovereign of the Sasáníán dynasty, who came into Hind and took service with Shermah, he bestowed upon her, as her dowry, "the country of Sind, and the territory of "Mukrán." Bahrám-i-Gúr reigned from the year 404 A.D. to 427.

Sijis-stán, Sigiz-stán, or Ním-roz, was invaded by the 'Arabs in 23 H. (643–44 A.D.),‖ and its territory, towns, and cities, as far as the boundaries of Hind—that is to say, the territories of Sihras Rá'e—and the tract of country afterwards known as Ḳandahár were reduced, but Zaranj or Zarang, the capital of Sijis-stán or Sigiz-stán, which was an

* Towards the north-west his territory, no doubt, extended as far as the Koh-i-Surkh range, that is, the boundary of what is at present known as the Kachchh or Kachchhí, extending from the Indus to Ḍáḍhar; and as the district of Síwí, but not all its dependencies, may be called a part of this *kachchh*, although it is enclosed on three sides, north, west, and east, by hills, parts of the range above referred to, it was very probably included in Sihras Rá'e's dominions, although very difficult to guard. Hindús were not likely to penetrate very far into the difficult mountain tracts beyond Síwí with any intention of permanently holding them.

Abú-l-Fazl, in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, gives a similar account drawn from the old historians, but he describes the boundaries of Sihras Rá'e's territory, in fewer words, as extending east, as far as Kash-mír [then extended], west to Mukrán, north to the mountains [that is the mountains bounding Kachchh], and south to the shores of the ocean.

† Not to be mistaken for Síharas Rá'e, king of Hind, mentioned in the Chach Námah. Síharas seems to be a title or dynastic name, and not at all uncommon. This scarcely agrees with Ma'súdí's "Balhara," but can refer to no other ruler.

‡ There is a "Gazetteer of Sind" by Mr. A. W. Hughes, of the Bombay Uncovenanted Civil Service, in which he gives the "Ancient History of Sind." In that he has greatly improved upon this error, for he actually tells his readers that "Rae Siharas II. is reported to have been slain in battle while engaging the "army of *Nimroz, king of Persia*, whose troops had come on a *marauding excursion* to *Kachh* and Makrán"!

§ Abú-l-Fazl has Sá-í, others Sáhí: I prefer the above, which is doubtless meant for Sanskrit Sádh, meaning virtuous, good, righteous, etc.

‖ The year 23 H. began on the 18th November, 643 A.D.

exceedingly strong place, still defied the attempts of the 'Arabs, but, at last, it was delivered up.

'Umaro, bin Al-A'ás-at-Tamímí, was the leader to whom the ruler of Ním-roz delivered up Zaranj; and "after this," says the writer, "during the Khiláfat of " Mu'áwiyah, 'Abd-ullah, bin 'Abd-ullah-us-Salul, who had overrun Kirmán in 22 H. " (642–43 A.D.), detached a force under Hakam, bin 'Umaro-us-Sa'labí [some say " 'Umar, bin A'aí] against the territory of Mukrán,* which is a tract of country " extending from Kirmán and 'Ummán to Sind, and contains several cities [the word " may also be rendered 'towns'], among which is Futan or Putan ['*p*' and '*f*' " being interchangable] and Howásh. All these are contiguous to Mukrán, and " between it and 'Ummán is the ocean.† With this force [above mentioned] went " likewise Shiháb-ul-Muhárib [some say Shiháb, bin Háris], bin Shiháb; and Sahíl " [some have Sahl], bin A'dí, was subsequently despatched after the others [with a " reinforcement].

"Mukrán was then under the rule of a Malik‡ named Sa'ad [a Hindú name " vitiated: Sa'ad, in 'Arabic means 'fortunate,' 'august,' etc.], who sought help from " the Malik of Sind, the rule over Mukrán being dependent on Sind. In the language " of Sind they style their Malik, Zabníl [Ran Thel],§ in the same way that the " Malik of 'Ajam is styled 'Kisrá,' and the Malik of Rúm 'Kaisar.' This Malik " having assembled a great army with numerous elephants, proceeded in person at its " head to the assistance of Malik Sa'ad.‖

"The news of these preparations having reached Kirmán, 'Abd-ullah, bin 'Abd- " ullah, leaving a deputy in that country, marched at the head of his available troops " to the aid of the other 'Arab commanders previously despatched into Mukrán. " Having entered that territory, he found them encamped at some distance from the " armies of Zabníl [Ran Thel]; while Sa'ad had sent messengers into all the cities of " Sind demanding troops, and the Hindú forces were being daily augmented by fresh " arrivals of men from that country. 'Abd-ullah, bin 'Abd-ullah, who considered " delay to be dangerous, demanded of the other 'Arab leaders, saying, 'Why are " 'you thus posted at such a distance? Why delay until you get all the world " 'about you?' and he determined to attack the enemy forthwith. Therefore, as " soon as night set in, taking along with him his own troops, and those under Hakam, " bin 'Umaro-us-Sa'labí, and Shiháb-ul-Muhárib, bin Shiháb, he made a night attack " upon the army of Zábníl [Ran Thel], in which the latter was killed, and his troops " overthrown; and they took to flight pursued by the 'Arabs, who continued to slay " them until the day appeared. Vast booty was captured, including many elephants, " a great number of captives were taken, and the whole of Mukrán fell into the " hands of the victors. This event occurred towards the close of the year 23 H. " (about the end of October, 644 A.D.)."¶

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* Yáfa'í says 'Abd-ullah, son of 'Abd-ullah, despatched Hakam, son of 'Umaro-us-Sa'labí, Shiháb, son of Muhárib, son of Shiháb, and Sahl, son of A'dí, to subdue Mukrán, but does not mention the subsequent despatch of the latter.

† Yáfa'í says "From the territory of Kirmán to the land of Sind and 'Ummán, and between them, is a " country which they call Mukrán. It has several cities [or towns], and one is the city of Mukrán [that is " Kích, the chief city of the Mukrán country, just as Srí-Nagar of Kash-mír is called the city *of* Kash-mír], " another Tíz, and another Howásh."

‡ Some say a Bádsháh: there is little or no difference in the meaning here.

§ While this present work has been in progress I have endeavoured to settle satisfactorily, knowing how words become vitiated through the carelessness of scribes, what this word, written in several ways, could possibly be. It is written زنبيل زنبيل زنتبيل and in some other ways, and I have now found, beyond a doubt, that these are all meant to represent زنتبيل as a foreigner would write رن تهيل—a compound Hindí word, derived from رن—*ran*, "war," "battle," and تهيل—*thel*, the part. actv. of the verb تهيلنا—*thelná*, " to push," "to shove," "to thrust or move forward by pushing," signifying "the thruster or assailant in battle," or the like. It is a title given alike to the Hindú rulers of Kábul, or Kábul Sháhs, as well as to the ruler of Sind here mentioned. *See* page 62.

‖ This person was, without doubt, a vassal of Sind, and this shows how far the dominions dependent on Sind extended westwards at that period.

In an article on "Kej," as he spells Kích, MacGregor, in his "Central Asia" takes Leech to task for stating that Mukrán "was formerly a Hindú country." He says, "Leech, according to his fashion, rushes at the " conclusion [!] relating to the name of Kej, basing his theory on the very doubtful premises that Makrán was " formerly a Hindú country."

Leech was quite right, however, because he could read history in the original for himself, and consequently, did know something about it.

¶ Yáfa'í adds, that the sovereignty of the Mukrán territory appertained to the Malik of Sind; and that the ruler of Mukrán subordinate to him, despatched a messenger to the Malik of Sind to complain that the country had been invaded by the 'Arabs, who were plundering it, and slaying its inhabitants.

The Malik set out in person with troops and numerous elephants; "and this Malik of Sind," the author says, "in their language, is called Zabníl [Ran Thel], as in 'Ajam the Malik is called Kisrá;" consequently,

It is amusing to read the quaint and simple narration of the 'Arab writer respecting 'Abd-ullah's report of his success to the Khalífah, 'Umar, despatched along with a fifth of the spoil, and coupled with the request for permission to advance into Sind, and the Khalífah's reply. 'Abd-ullah asked for instructions respecting the captured elephants, saying, that if he slaughtered them, they were quite unfit for food, and he had no property wherewith to load them, and no bridles or halters by means of which they might be guided, so that they might be ridden; while, at the same time, they required a great quantity of food for their support. The Khalífah, from the bad accounts 'Abd-ullah's messenger gave of Mukrán, and its climate, and the nature of the country, saying that beyond that again was worse, wrote orders to Hakam, bin 'Umaro,* to have nothing to do with Sind, but to continue in Mukrán and not pass beyond it. With regard to the elephants, 'Umar directed him to send to the Maliks of those parts [some writers say to the Malik of Sind], and ask them whether the elephants were of any use to them, and, if so, to send the *dirams* and purchase them, and to share the proceeds among the troops. This was accordingly done, and a large sum was realized.

It may be said that all this seems to have little to do with the district of Síwí or Síbí. True: but I have first to show who this Hindú ruler was, because Mr. Duke, according to his "Report," has run away with the idea, but on what authority it would be difficult to say, except that when he wrote he was surrounded by Hindú Munshís and other subordinates, or that he took it from Pottinger and improved upon it, that *a* "*powerful Hindoo kingdom, known as Sewas Raj, existed in this part of the country* " [he is referring to '*Sewistan*,' as he calls it, which, as already shown, he has mistaken " for Síwí belonging to Multán, but Pottinger referred to *Kalát*] *as late as* 400 *years* " *ago*."† He also mixes up—quoting from *this work*, as he says, but in a manner contrary to what I have stated, as may be seen by a comparison of the two—the above Sihras Rá'e, killed twelve hundred and eighty-one years ago, with the adventurer called "Malik" Suhráb, a Musalmán of the Dúdá'í clan of the Hút Balúchís,‡ who left Mukrán and came to Multán in 874 H. (1259 A.D.), six hundred and twenty-five years ago, and eight hundred and fifty-one years after the death of the said Sihras Rá'e. Suhráb took service with Sulṭán Husain, the Langáh, who by stratagem had usurped, and was then ruling over, the territory dependent on Multán; and Suhráb, and others who had followed after him, were assigned lands in lieu of pay in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, a long way above Multán, between another Bakhar,§ a few miles south-east of the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán (called after Ismá'íl the son of this same Suhráb), and Dhan-koṭ opposite Kálá-Bágh.‖

The father of this Sulṭán Husain, was the head of the Langáhs, and named Rá'e Sihrah. This clan or tribe of Langáh was Hindú by descent, a branch of the Solánkí Ráj-púts, according to Tod, but native writers style them Jaṭs; and although styled Rá'e,¶ he was a Musalmán, the Langáhs having, long prior to this period, adopted the Musalmán faith. This Rá'e Sihrah is said by some to have held the *ḳaṣba'h* (small town) of Síwí or Síbí, with the lands dependent on it, but, other writers state, and I believe more correctly, that he held, not Síwí, but Lahrí,** thirty-four miles south-east of Síwí in the Kachchh or Kachchhí, which part was considered by

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Kábul Sháh is also a title, and by it the rulers of the territory of Kábul were known up to the year 367 H. (977–78 A.D.). In the battle which ensued Zabníl [Raṇ Ṭhel] was killed; and the description given to the Khalífah of Mukrán and Sind, decided him in not permitting the 'Arab troops to enter the latter country. This was in the year 22–23 H. (642–43 A.D.). *See* page 64.

* He was the commander of the troops first sent against Mukrán from Kirmán by 'Abd-ullah, son of 'Abd-ullah.

† In his "Report," page 2, he says, "Further discussion of the accurate definition of Sewistan in quite " ancient days would take up too much time and space, and I will therefore dismiss its older history," etc., etc. This dismissal is unfortunate for many reasons.

‡ There are numbers of the Hút tribe still dwelling in Mukrán. For an account of them, *see* page 4.

§ Bakhar or Bhakhar, the word is written both ways. *See* page 340.

‖ *See* note †, page 348 and page 452.

¶ The Hindú title of Rá'e appears to have been partly the cause of the existence of this "powerful Hindoo " kingdom," but numbers of the heads of Jaṭ tribes in the Panj-áb are still known by the designation of Rá'e, although their ancestors and tribes have adopted the Musalmán faith for some thousand years, such as the Khokhars of Piṇḍ-i-Dádan Khán, and the Gakhars, and the Khokhars of other parts, and others, some of whom are actually styled Rájah as well as Rá'e, thus, "Rájá Karím-Dád Khán," and "*Rájá Sulṭan Ahmad Khan.*" *See* Griffin's "Panjab Chiefs," and page 352. The designation of Rá'e for a Musalmán is, however, just about as applicable as "*Khan*" Bahádur for a Hindú or a Pársí, or the order of Christian Knighthood for an unbeliever.

** The Tuḥfat-i-Akbar Sháh-í calls him the Zamín-dar of Lahrí, and the Zubdat-ut-Tawáríkh calls him Badhan Khán, the Sindí [Jaṭ ?], the head of the tribe of Langáh and *zamin-dár* of Lahrí. Dow, in his version of Firishtah, turns the Langáhs into "Patans." He has, "In 838 a tribe of Patans called Langah rose in " rebellion in Multan." Firishtah does not make "Patans" of them in the original.

Abú-l-Fazl in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, and by Mir Ma'súm, the historian of Sind, to be dependent on the *mahall* or district of Síwí, and hence, in all probability, the discrepancy arose.

In the time of this Rá'e Sihrah, the Langáh, the disaffected inhabitants of Multán and its territory, being without a governor, consequent on the convulsed state of the Dihlí kingdom which followed the invasion of Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, set up as their ruler, much against his own wishes, the Shaikh, Yúsuf, the Kuraishí,* the attendant at the shrine of the Shaikh, Bahá-ul-Hakk wa ud-Dín, Zakaríyá, the Saint of Multán, and looked upon themselves as independent. The tract in which Rá'e Sihrah dwelt being part of the Bakhar province of Multán, he came thither with a number of his people and took service under Shaikh Yúsuf; and, to gain favour with him, gave him his daughter for his *haram*. After a time, considering the priest unfitted as a ruler, the Langáh determined to seize his person and appropriate Multán for himself; and this he was enabled to carry out under pretence of visiting his daughter, which he had previously been allowed to do. The account is too long for insertion here, but I shall relate it elsewhere.

This is the only incident out of which "a powerful Hindoo kingdom" can be possibly raised from the time of the conquest of Sind and Multán by the 'Arabs; and I venture to state that there is *not a single history or scrap of any record to show* that any Hindú kingdom whatever existed in any of the parts Mr. Duke refers to, subsequent to the 'Arab conquest. There certainly were some petty Hindú feudatories in Sind, subject to the Muhammadan rulers, of whom more hereafter, up to the time that Sultán Násir-ud-Dín, Kabá-jah, ruled over it, Multán, and Úchchh, but, when he was overthrown by his rival, Sultán Shams-ud-Dín, I-yal-timish, of Dihlí, in the middle of 624 H. (June, 1227 A.D.), and his commanders annexed all Sind as far as the port of Díbal,† even these ceased to exist, and are no more heard of. Úchchh was a petty Rájah-ship belonging to the Bhatí tribe,‡ but that stronghold was captured by Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, the Shansabání Tájzík ruler of Ghaznín in 571 H. (1175 A.D.), when that petty state likewise ceased to exist, but it and its dependencies did not extend west of the Indus.

These facts are known to those who have made the history of Hind and Sind, and the adjoining countries, their study, from the only authorities§ on the matter, the native chroniclers; and those who attempt to write history without a knowledge of the originals are certain to fall into grievous errors.

I will now show what history does say on the subject.

After the death of Sáhsí, successor of Sihras Rá'e, who was killed by the Musalmáns in Mukrán, Chach, the Bráhman, ruled over Sind for forty years, and, after him, his brother, Chandar, seven years, when Dáhir, son of Chach, succeeded, and entered into an accommodation with the 'Arab governor of Kirmán.

Sind was invaded by the 'Arabs in 92 H (710–11 A.D.), but the Jámi'-ut-Tawáríkh says in 96 H (714–15 A.D.). The invaders came from the side of Mukrán, and first assailed Díwal and Nírún-Kot, and, after that, gained possession of Síw-istán, and the fortresses of Salím, and Síw-istán, afterwards called Sihwán or Siwán. Some Hindú historians who wrote in Persian call it Shíw-istán as well as Síw-istán, after the Hindú deity Mahá-díw, and the early Muhammadan writers call it Sindú-stán.

Sind continued under the rule of the 'Arabs after its conquest by Muhammad, son of Kásim; and, subsequently, the Khalífah, Al-Mu'tamid, son of Al-Muwáffik, conferred the investiture of all Khurásán, Fárs, Isfahán, Sijis-stán, Kirmán, and Sind—Mukrán is not mentioned separately from Sind here—upon 'Umaro, son of Lais, the Suffárí, in 265 H. (878-79 A.D.), and there is no doubt that Sind came under his rule. Is it at all likely, with all the countries between the Tigris and the Indus under his

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In a "Report" submitted to the Bombay Government in 1854, by Captain F. G. Goldsmid, of the 37th Madras N. I., on the "Syuds of Roree and Bukkur," page 79, he styles these Langáh Jats *a dynasty of Afghan "Lunga* Kings."

* This Shaikh, I beg leave to observe, did not "*reign* seventeen years," neither does the Á'ín-i-Akbarí say so; neither was Rá'e Sihrah "*an Afghan chief of the Langa tribe,*" simply because the Langáhs were not Afgháns at all, but Jats. *See* the brief history of Multán and the Langáhs farther on, and Griffin's "Panjab "Chiefs," page 492.

† Díbal is often mistaken for Thathah, and even Abú-l-Fazl says so, only Thathah was not in existence in Kabá-jah's reign, and was not founded for some considerable period anterior, as will be shown farther on.

‡ The Bhatís, like the Zháríjahs, are Ráj-púts of the Yádú branch.

§ To trust implicitly to the statements of a single native historian would be almost as dangerous; for example, take Abú-l-Fazl's account of the reign of Akbar Bádsháh and that of 'Abd-ul-Kádír, the Budá'úní. It would be as dangerous as trusting to one European historian implicitly in the present day.

sway, that he would have allowed "a powerful Hindoo kingdom" to exist in their midst on the borders of Sind, Mukrán, and the Bál-yús territory, even if the 'Arabs had permitted it, when the extermination or conversion of infidels was enjoined as one of the chief tenets of the Muḥammadan religion?

Most of the territories held by the Ṣuffárís passed under the rule of the Sámánís; and, in 287 H. (900 A.D.), the Amír, Ismá'íl, son of Aḥmad, brought under his sway Kirmán, Sijis-stán, and some part of Hind, besides all Khurásán (which included Bál-yús), and added them to his other vast territories beyond the Jíḥún or Oxus. The "some part of Hind" here mentioned can only refer to the tracts on the Indus. At this same period the Búwíahs ruled over Kirmán and Mukrán, as well as over 'Irák and Fárs; and neither of these powerful dynasties, who shared most of Western and Central Asia between them, were at all likely to permit "a powerful Hindoo kingdom" to exist in their midst.

The Amír, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, on the decline of the Sámánís, the slave of whose governor of the Ghaznín territory he was,* in 366 or 367 H. (976 or 977 A.D.), annexed Bust (which included Bál-yús),† and made Ḳuṣdár, then held by an almost independent Musalmán governor, tributary to the Ghaznín state. Considering how the Amír, Sabuk-Tigín, acted towards the Rájah, Jai-pál, he, too, was not likely to have permitted a Hindú kingdom to exist between him and the Musalmáns of Sind.

His son, Sulṭán Maḥmúd-i-Ghází,‡ added Sind, as well as all the western parts of Hind, to the dominions possessed by his father, after having expelled the officials of the Khalífah, Al-Ḳádir B'illah, who held a feeble, or rather nominal, sway over Sind. Baihaḳí and the Jámi'-ut-Tawáríkh also state, that Sulṭán Maḥmúd, having disposed of the affair of the Í-lak Khán and the Turks, resolved to move against Ḳuṣdár, the ruler of which had become disaffected and withheld the tribute due. Leaving Ghaznín, after giving out some time before that he was going to Hirát, he reached Bust. From thence he advanced by forced marches, and suddenly appeared before Ḳuṣdár. The Wálí, whose name unfortunately is not given, although it was previously mentioned that he was a Musalmán, was taken completely by surprise, and submitted. He paid five times 100,000 *dirams* in money, the arrears of tribute; presented fifteen elephants as a *pesh-kash;* and was permitted to retain his territory as a vassal of Ghaznín, as before.

If we only consider his devastating invasions of India, and more particularly his march by Multán and Sind when he overturned the idols of Somnáṭh, destroyed their famous temple, and marched back again through Sind by way of Manṣúrah, we may be very certain that he would not have permitted "a powerful Hindoo kingdom" to exist in the very heart of his dominions.

Sulṭán Mas'úd, son of Maḥmúd-i-Ghází, besides the kingdom of Ghaznín and its dependencies, which included Zábulistán, Khurásán, Khwárazm, and Iṣfahán, held sway over "Kábul and Hind as far as Ḳinnauj, the country around Kálinjar, the "Multán territory, as far as Nahrwálah of Guzarát, Somnáṭh, the territory lying on "the sea coast of 'Ummán, Ḳuṣdár, and Sind as far as Síw-istán bordering on Kích "and Mukrán,"§ which latter he despatched a force to subdue in 422 H. (1031 A.D.).

Was he, who thought it his bounden duty, after recovering from a severe illness, to undertake a holy war against the Hindús of Hánsí, likely to tolerate "a powerful "Hindoo kingdom" in the midst of his Muḥammadan empire?

In 439 H. (1047–48 A.D.), during the reign of Sulṭán Shiháb-ud-Daulah, Maudúd, son of Sulṭán Mas'úd, Ḳuṣdár again rebelled, and the Amír, the Great Chamberlain, was despatched thither with troops. He reduced the refractory to submission, the tribute which had lately been withheld was paid, and continued to be remitted.|| In the following year, Abú-l-Ḥasan, the Seneschal of Ghaznín, was sent at the head of a force into Hind, against certain of the refractory in that quarter. He reached the fort of Máṭhí-lah (which was the chief place of the *maḥáll* of that name in the *sarkár* of Bakhar of the Multán *Ṣúbah*) and Bháṭah; and the *ḥákim* of that part, named Áhannín, took to flight.

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* Sabuk-Tigín was, in reality, the *mamlúk* or slave of one of the slave governors of Ghaznín for the Sámánís, but the word slave was not applied in a degraded sense. Some of the greatest sovereigns of the Dihlí kingdom, as well as of other Asiatic states, were manumitted slaves—Turks, often of noble birth, sold into slavery.

† The Afghánistán, which mountain tract I have described at page 464, was still independent, and its strength tended to keep it so down to modern times.

‡ There was no ruler called "*Muhammad* of Ghazni" in 1025, as stated in the "Gazetteer of Sind"; it is a mere error for Maḥmúd above referred to.

§ According to the Imám, Abú-l-Faẓl-i-Baihaḳí, the historian of his reign, and his contemporary.

|| Pottinger says that neither the troops of Maḥmúd nor Mas'úd ever entered the hill tracts, but kept to the level districts. Here is a proof to the contrary.

The Sulṭán, 'Abd-ur-Rashíd, who sat on the throne of Ghaznín for two years and a half, from the middle of 441 H. to near the close of 443 H. (1049 to 1052 A.D.), was the son of Maḥmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín. He was a good, mild, and amiable man, but an unfit sovereign at such a period. The Saljúḳs coveted his dominions; and Alb-Arsalán, the famous son of Ṭughril Beg, invaded them from the side of Tukháristán, while his uncles, Dá'úd and Beghú, moved from Sijis-stán and marched against Bust. Ṭughril, the *mamlúk* of Sulṭán 'Abd-ur-Rashíd, a most able leader, well acquainted with the tactics of the Saljúḳs, was sent against them. Having beaten off Alb-Arsalán, he pushed on against the others, overthrew Beghú, and pursued the invaders into Sijis-stán. On his return, seeing what a weak ruler 'Abd-ur-Rashíd was, he seized him, put him to death, and usurped the throne, but was only permitted to retain it for forty days. It was at this time that the Sumrahs of Lár or Lower Sind became disaffected, and assumed independence, which, however, was destined to continue but for a short period only.

We know that Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, the Shansabání Tájzík Sulṭán of the Ghaznín state, and afterwards of the whole Ghúríán empire, possessed himself of all the territories then held by the descendants of Sabuk-Tigín, and that in 587 H. (1191 A.D.) he added thereunto all which they had previously held sway over between Úchchh and Multán, and as far as Díwal on the sea coast. At this period, likewise, the Saljúḳs were in possession of Kirmán and that part of Mukrán nearest to it; and we may be certain that neither the Ghúrí nor the Saljúḳ ruler would have allowed a Hindú dynasty to be powerful near their frontiers.*

Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, his Turk slave, succeeded Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, in his Indian dominions at his death in 602 H. (1206 A.D.), but Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, another, and his favourite, Turkish slave, who had, a long time before, obtained his freedom, succeeded to the dominions of Ghaznín; and Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, another of the late Sulṭán's Turkish *mamlúks*, who, like Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, was Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz's son-in-law, held the government of Úchchh, Multán, and Sind, and farther east, as far as Kuhṛám, Sarsutí, and Tabarhindah. When Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, died in 607 H. (end of 1210 A.D.), Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, assumed the title of Sulṭán, and brought those territories named under his sway. Thus the dominions of the Ghúríán Sulṭáns became divided into four states—the fourth was in Central India, under Malik Bahá-ud-Dín, Ṭughril, another *mamlúk* of the Sulṭán—one of which was what I have just defined.

It is in the reign of this Sulṭán, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, one of whose strongholds was Úchchh, another Bakhar, and a third Síw-istán, that the 'Arabic chronicle, entitled the "Fath Námah," or "Chronicle of Victory," known to us from the translation as the "Chach Námah," was rendered into Persian, and dedicated to that Sulṭán's Wazír, the Ṣadr-i-Jahán and 'Ain-ul-Mulk, Ḥusain, son of Abí Bikr-al-Asha'rí; and it is in that chronicle that Síwí and its district is first mentioned, and is shown to be totally distinct from Síw-istán. There were in that reign seven petty Musalmán feudatories of Hindú descent, styled Ránahs, still tolerated in Sind, but they were not powerful

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* With the downfall of the Saljúḳ power, and the imprisonment of Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Sanjar, by the Ghuzz Turks, or Turk-máns, as they are also designated, all Khurásán lay at their feet; and they possessed themselves of it, and the Ghaznín kingdom and its dependencies, including great part of the province of Kábul, and all the Bál-yús or Ḳandahár territory as well. The Ghuzz held Ghaznín for twelve years, and some other parts, after which, in the year 596 H. (1199–1200 A.D.), after some severe battles, they were expelled by the Shansabání Tájzík Ghúrís, and several thousand Ghuzz families retired southwards into Kirmán, as the Nikúdarí Mughals did in after years. Arrived there, in 581 H. (1185–86 A.D.), they succeeded in obtaining possession of Kirmán, and part of Mukrán in 583 H. (1187–88 A.D); and three of their chiefs, 'Imád-ud-Dín, Dínár, who led them into Kirmán, and two others, ruled therein for a considerable time, their dynasty terminating in 607 H. 1210–11 A.D.). Their descendants continued there, and there they may still be found, following their nomadic customs. Malik Dínár is a favourite name in frequent use among them. The last of the Saljúḳ rulers of Kirmán and Mukrán, Muḥammad Sháh, died in 583 H. (1187–88 A.D.).

Malik Kowám-ud-Dín, the Zauzaní, made himself master of Kirmán and its dependencies on the part of the Khwárazm Sháh, having taken Bamm and Jíraft by storm, in Shawwál, the tenth month of 609 H. (1212–13 A.D.), and, soon after, entered Gawáshír. He likewise acquired possession of Kích and Mukrán. Buráḳ, the Ḥájib, the Ḳará-Khiṭá-í, during the irruption of the Mughals, possessed himself of these territories, and was a feudatory of those infidels, and his descendants for many generations continued in possession of it.

Alwand, son of Ḳará Iskandar, son of Ḳará Yúsuf, the Turk-mán, of the Ḳará Ḳunílú, some time after the death of his father, who was killed in battle in 841 H (1437–38 A.D.), held sway over Kirmán, and Kích and Mukrán, for one year, but again lost it.

It is much to be regretted that more is not generally known about the past history of these parts, and about the influx of several foreign tribes therein. Were such matters better known, we might have been spared the following, from one of MacGregor's authorities in the Third Part of his "Central Asia." "The term Kej "Makerán can scarcely be restricted to the province of Naṣír Khán, Bráhúí; for a century before his time "we find mention by Mandelelo of 'Getsche Maeguerona,' which must be the same word differently spelt.

by any means. One of them was Sinán-ud-Dín, Chatisar, a Sumrah, chief of Díwal or Díbal or Lár* (Ṭhaṭhah was not then founded), who held territory along the sea coast near the mouth of the Mihrán or Indus; and another was Wakiyá, the son of Pannún† Channún, in the district of Síwí, belonging to Bakhar of Multán.

I have previously mentioned that Kuṣdár, and all between to the province of Bál-yús or Kandahár, including Kalát-i-Nichárah, the present Kalát-i-Balúch, and Shál and Mastang, belonged to the Ghaznín state, and afterwards to the Shansabání Tájzík Ghúrís who subverted it, and those parts were afterwards held by their successors; while the mountain tracts west of the Koh-i-Kárán were subject to the rulers of Kirmán and its dependencies, which, after the downfall of the Búwíahs, had come under the sway of the Saljúks; and, at the period I am writing about, was ruled by the Khwárazmís, of which empire it, Kirmán, was a dependent kingdom. Soon after, it fell to the Kará Khiṭá-í feudatories of the Mughal sovereigns, the descendants of the Chingiz Khán; and, subsequently, with the rest of the Persian empire,‡ fell under the rule of the Ṣafawís, in whose possession it has ever since remained, with the exception of the short period during which Persia was conquered and held by the Afghán tribe of Ghalzí, and their confederates.

Much information respecting these tracts, extending from the Kandahár boundary southwards, will be found in the few brief extracts which I have taken from the histories of the rulers of Kirmán in another place in this work.

To return, however, to Multán, to which territory Síwí then appertained, and the rest of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Kabá-jah's dominions.

The greater part of the Ghaznín empire, after its annexation by the Khwárazm Sháh, subsequent to the murder of Sulṭán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, in prison, by command of his rival, I-yal-timish of Dihlí, was conferred by Sulṭán Muḥammad, the Khwárazm Sháh, upon his eldest son, Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní; but, after the defeat of that hero by the Mughal host on the banks of the Indus in 618 H. (1221 A.D.), and he had remained for some time in the Multán province of Sind,§ and had defeated Kabá-jah upon more than one occasion, he passed through Lower Sind by Díwal or Díbal into Mukrán, and from thence into Kirmán and Iṣfahán, which territories formed parts of his dominions as successor to his father.

In 621 H. (1224 A.D.), Multán was invaded by the Mughals, and successfully defended by Kabá-jah, but, in 623 H. (1226 A.D.), a body of the Khalj Turks, under Malik Khán, the Khalj—which body formed part of the Khwárazmí forces serving in the Ghaznín province of that state and parts adjacent—who, after the overthrow of their Sulṭán by the Mughals, and the subjugation of the whole state of Ghaznín, and

" *If intended* by Martiniere (A.D. 1735) on the word 'Kisch, petite province de Perse,' *it may* [!] *have* " *belonged to Persia before the days of Nadiri.*" In another place, the same writer says: "*In early times it is* " *not unlikely that Makran formed one of the satrapies of the great Persian empire*"; and, after wondering at the numbers of old Persian words in the language of the people, he winds up with, "I will now endeavour to " throw into somewhat connected form such accounts of the history of Makrán for the past *two centuries or so* " *as are still preserved in tradition.*" With such amount of information there appears to be no difficulty in identifying sites and tribes of the time of the Macedonian Alexander and of Herodotus. The "Masálik wa " Mamálik," would have furnished the writer with an account of Mukrán nearly a thousand years ago; and I may add that it formed an integral part of the Persian empire from the earliest times, with the exception mentioned above, down to the defeat of Sihras Rá'e by the 'Arabs; and that from that time, down to the time of Nádir Sháh, at least, Mukrán has ever been a dependency of the Persian empire, and under the sway of the Muḥamadan rulers thereof.

* Lár is the Sindí name for Lower Sind, Wícholo for Middle Sind, and Siro for Upper Sind.

† As the first half of his name is *Pan*, I hope no one will endeavour to turn this Hindú into a Parṉí (*vul.* Punnee and Pani) Afghán; for the Parṉís possessed Síwí in after years and some of them are still there, but they were not there at the period in question. The first syllable of Bráúhí is *Brá*, but they have not, as yet, I believe, been made Bráhmans of, notwithstanding the "Sehwa Rajah" at Kalát, and "the powerful " Hindoo kingdom."

‡ I do not mean the ancient empire, which was more extensive, but the Persian empire as it existed under the sway of the Ṣafawís.

§ It may be well to mention what Sind included at this period. It embraced the whole of the three *Sarkárs* and Do-ábahs of the Multán *Ṣúbah*, as described by Abú-l-Fazl, and all the territory comprised within the five *sarkárs* of the Ṭhaṭhah province; thus, it included all the southern half nearly of the present Panj-áb, extending on the west as far as the foot of the Koh-i-Surkh, the outer rampart, so to say, of the range of Mihtar Sulímán; all the present Baháwal-púr state, and all the east part of Sind as at present constituted, but, on the west of the Indus, it extended as far as the mountain range bounding the present Jahlá-wán on the west, including it and Laḥṣá (*vul.* Las) down to the sea. The Bíáh (*vul.* Bias) flowed in its old bed; the other Panj-áb rivers passed north and east of Multán, which was then situated in the same Do-ábah as Úchchh; the Hakṛá or Wahind, now, the lost river of the Indian desert, flowed in a south-westerly direction on the east of Baháwal-púr, and a little above Alor, the ancient capital of Sind, made a bend to the eastward, then south, and emptied itself into the ocean near about where Lak-paṭ Bandar now stands; and the Mihrán or Indus, from Bakhar downwards, kept a course more directly southwards. Such was the Sind territory contained within the kingdom of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud Dín, Kabá-jah. *See* also the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí (Translation)," pages 293 and 531.

Bál-yús or Ḳandahár had been overrun by them, had been obliged to turn their faces southwards, and had entered Sind. Their object very probably was, to endeavour to effect a junction with their sovereign, who, some time previously, as before stated, had entered the territories on the Indus, and had remained therein for about three years, but, at that time, had passed through Mukrán and Kirmán to Iṣfahán.* This body of Khalj Turks very probably came by Púshang and Síwí, or, possibly, by way of the Dara'h of the Bolán; and they appeared accordingly on the north-west frontier of Ḳabá-jah's territory, marched through it, and made themselves masters of Manṣúrah—or Manṣúríah, as it is more correctly called—and its district, east of the Míhrán. From this it is evident that they marched through the Síw-istán *sarkár* as I have described it elsewhere. The invaders were, however, shortly after attacked by Ḳabá-jah and defeated; and Malik Khán, the Khalj, their leader, was killed in the battle. Where it took place is not mentioned, but most probably it was before the walls of Manṣúríah.

Shortly after this, early in the following year, the author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, having to abandon his country on account of the infidel Mughals, likewise reached Sind, proceeded to Úchchh, and took service under Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah. Several of the Tájzík Ghúrí family also took shelter in his territory, and some of their descendants are still to be found in those parts.† But, soon after, in Rajab, 624 H. (July, 1227 A.D.), Ḳabá-jah was attacked by his rival, Sulṭán Shams-ud-Dín, I-yal-timish, who had been his brother-in-law's slave, and had married one of the latter's daughters—for Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, and Ḳabá-jah had married sisters—who marched upon Úchchh from Dihlí. Ḳabá-jah abandoned that stronghold, then completely invested except on the river side, to the care of a garrison, and retired to his fortress of Bakhar‡ by water, with directions to his Wazír—the same to whom the Chach-Námah is dedicated—to follow him with the treasures contained in Úchchh. After that place had fallen, I-yal-timish despatched his own Wazír, Muḥammad, Junaidí, and other leaders, against Bakhar; and, on the near approach of the enemy, Ḳabá-jah placed his treasures on board of boats on the Mihrán or Indus to retire farther down, to Síw-istán probably, but the vessel in which he himself embarked, being overladen, sank, and the unfortunate Ḳabá-jah was drowned, after he had been sovereign of all Sind and Multán for twenty-two years.§ He was the first independent Musalmán sovereign of that part.

The Wazír of Sulṭán I-yal-timish continued his advance farther into Sind after he had obtained possession of Bakhar; the whole country as far as Díwal or Díbal was taken possession of, and Sinán-ud-Dín, Chatísar,‖ the Sumrah chief of Díwal or Lár, submitted. The Táj-ul-Ma'áṣir, a work of authority written about 624 H. (1227 A.D.), says, that twelve celebrated fortresses, which had never before been acquired, were taken possession of, along with Síw-istán and Lúk, as far as the ocean, and that the authority of the Sulṭán was acknowledged over Ḳuṣdár and Mukrán.¶ Neither Ḳabá jah nor I-yal-timish, nor the Mughals, nor their feudatories in the Bál-yús or Ḳandahár territory, were at all likely to tolerate "a powerful Hindoo" kingdom on their respective frontiers.

One of the great Maliks of Sulṭán Raẓíyyat's reign, named Kabír Khán-i-Ayáz, the then feudatory of Úchchh and Sind, assumed sovereignty over those parts towards the

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* He had obtained possession of the fortress of Síw-istán, and left a garrison therein with Ḳabá-jah's previous governor, whom he constituted his deputy over Sindú-stán and its territory. He then moved into Lár or Lower Sind, captured Díwal, also called Díbal, and Damrílah, the Sumrah ruler of Díwal, who is styled a Ḥabash (Abyssinian), having embarked on ship-board, escaped. Soon after the departure of Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, however, Ḳabá-jah recovered possession of these parts again, which fact, probably, was unknown to the Khalj Malik when he turned his face towards Sind.

† One of them was the late Fatḥ Muḥammad Khán, Ghúrí, who was Wazír of Mír Rustam, the Tál-púr, the venerable Amír of Khair-púr, whose treatment Eastwick speaks of in his "Dry Leaves from Young Egypt" (pp. 287—291). Afterwards, as commander of the Baháwal-púr army, he, in concert with the late Sir Herbert (then Lieutenant) Edwardes, won the battle of Kinerí over the forces of the rebel Mulráj of Multán, in June, 1848.

‡ Also called Akar and Bakar, two fortresses on one island. From what I gather in history, the fortified town on the island, on which the present fortress was founded, was, in ancient times, much larger than at present. Who shall say what changes occurred at the time when the Bíah left its old bed, when the Sutlaj, as it now flows, made a bed for itself, and the Hakṛá or Wahind ceased to flow by Alor, and became the Lost River, and the tract through which it flowed a desert?

§ *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 544 and 614.

‖ He was the thirteenth chief of the Sumrahs, who were feudatories of the Musalmán sovereigns. He will be again referred to with reference to the Ghurchání Balúchís.

¶ This refers to the easternmost parts lying nearest to Sind, because, at this time, the western parts were under the rulers of Kirmán. Instead of Mukrán, the word is often written in the plural form—Mukránát, signifying "the Mukráns."

close of her stormy reign, in 637–38 H. (1239–1241 A.D.)—such was the disordered state of the Dihlí empire on that side, consequent on the Mughal inroads and proximity—but he died in 639 H. (1241–42 A.D.), in which year they sacked and depopulated Láhor, and continued to harass the whole western frontiers for many years after.

Malik Sanjar-i-Gaz-lak-Khán, one of the leaders who accompanied the Wazír of I-yal-timish, was left as governor of Úchchh, and the newly acquired territory of Sind; and, subsequently, in the reign of Sultán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh, who began his reign in 644 H (1246 A.D.), the Malik-ul-Kabír, Nuṣrat-ud-Dín, Sher Khán-i-Sunḳar, cousin of the Ulugh Khán, who afterwards succeeded to the Dihlí throne under the title of Sultán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, was made "Malik of Sind and Hind," which refers to the same territories as Sultán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah had ruled over. Subsequently, the government of this fief passed to Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Khashlú Khán, a Khifcháḳ Turk, a *mamlúk* of the late Sultán, I-yal-timish, who soon after rebelled against Maḥmúd Sháh, above mentioned, and assumed independence. He found the Mughals too powerful for him; for they then held all the present Panj-áb as far as the river Biáh, which then still flowed in its old bed; all Khurásán, including the Bál-yús or Ḳandahár territory to the foot of the mountains bounding Kachchhí on the north and north-west; while their feudatory, the Ḳará Khiṭá-í ruler of Kirmán, also possessed Mukrán as far as the frontiers of Sind, as previously described, in one direction, and as far as Sijis-stán and Bál-yús on the north and north-east. Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Khashlú Khán, consequently, found it necessary to submit to the yoke, and receive a Mughal Shaḥnah or Intendant.

It will be taken for granted, I imagine, that these rulers would not have permitted "a powerful Hindoo kingdom" to exist in the parts referred to by Mr. Duke, in fact, they possessed the very parts he refers to.

'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Khashlú Khán, held Multán, Úchchh, and Sind, subject to the Mughals, for several years, but, after 658 H. (1260 A.D.), all is blank in the history of these parts of Hind and Sind for about six years, of which no record is known to exist, consequently, the fate of this ruler is unknown.* At this time nearly the whole of the continent of Asia, excepting India east of the Bíáh, was in the possession of the Mughal infidels; and their *mings* or *hazárahs* were located about in different countries, but chiefly south and west of the Jíḥún or Oxus, an account of which forces, when I come to notice the people descended from them, I shall have something to say.†

Multán, Úchchh, and Sind, including all the more level tracts, as far up as the skirts of the Koh-i-Surkh, Ṛátá Roh, or Ṛátá Pahár, and farther downwards towards the south, to the skirts of the Koh-i-Kaḥtar or Kaḥtar range of Abú-l-Faẓl,‡ continued subject to the sovereigns of the Dihlí kingdom, more or less relaxed according to the strength or weakness of the government, and the harassing invasions of the Mughals from the westward, until 752 H. (1351 A.D.). Previous to this period Lár or Lower Sind had acquired nominal independence by the downfall of the Sumrahs and the rise of the Sammahs to power therein,§ whose chiefs and rulers were styled Jáms, respecting whom more will be mentioned in the account of the Balúch tribes. Soon after the Sammahs

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* From the time that the author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí closed his history, until the author of the Táríkh-i-Fíruz-Sháh-í commences his from a date six years later. Ẓiyá-ud-Dín, Baraní, its author, actually wrote it in 758 H (1357 A.D.), consequently, there is, really, a period of one hundred years between them, for which period there is no contemporary history known or available; hence the obscurity regarding many of the events of this period.

† In the year 697 H (1297–98 A.D.), in the third year of the reign of Sultán 'Alá-ud-Dín, the Khalj, of the same tribe of Turks as invaded Síw-istán in Sultán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah's reign, referred to at page 573, Síw-istán again was invaded by an army of Mughals, under the Nú-yán, Ṣaldí, and the fortress of Síw-istán (or Sihwáṇ) was taken by them. One of the great Maliks of Dihlí, Ẓafar Khán, the 'Áriẓ-i-Mamálik, or Muster-Master of the Empire, was despatched against them at the head of an army. He recaptured Síw-istán after overthrowing the Mughals, and Ṣaldí, his brother, and a great number of other prisoners, with their families, were carried off captives to Dihlí. From the fact of their families being mentioned, it is evident they were on the move looking out for a place wherein to settle.

‡ *See* page 558.

§ The times were favourable, and they availed themselves of the opportunity. The Mughal empire was in a distracted state, and rapidly breaking up; for the descendants of the Chingiz Khán, both in Ī-rán and Túrán, were fighting among themselves, and most of the petty feudatories were making, or had made, themselves independent. The Bál-yús territory, or Ḳandahár, had been for some time under the sway of the Maliks of the Tájzík Kurat dynasty, whose capital was Hirát, and who were vassals of the Mughals. At the period above mentioned, Malik Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Ḥusain, the Kurat, had also made himself independent, but his successors had soon to succumb to Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, then rising to power. Malik Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Pír 'Alí, the Kurat, surrendered Hirát into his hands in the first month of 783 H. (April, 1381 A.D.); and two years after, in 785 H. (1383 A.D.), Ḳandahár was occupied, and Kalát-i-Barlúk taken by storm, previous to which some of the Afghán tribes inhabiting that part of the range of Mihtar Sulímán south-west of Ḳandahár, after severe struggles, had been reduced to nominal submission.

acquired predominance in that part—about twenty years more or less—Ṭhaṭhah* was founded, *and not before;* but Díwal or Díbal, situated at the then mouth of the Indus,† which some people, Abú-l-Fazl included, *will mistake for* Ṭhaṭhah, and some modern writers for Karáchí, was known five hundred years or more before the date in question, and was one of the first places attacked by Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, when he invaded Sind.

The Jáms of the Sammah dynasty, who ruled altogether for a period of one hundred and eighty years, were more or less subject to the throne of Dihlí; but, during the disaffection and consequent disorder which arose in Hind previous to the invasion, in 801 H. (1398 A.D.), of the Dihlí kingdom, by Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, and which conduced to bring that invasion about, the Jáms of Lár or Lower Sind began to entertain the idea of rendering themselves independent. Consequently, when the Mírzá, Pír Muḥammad, son of Jahán-gír, son of Amír Tímúr, who from Ghaznín had penetrated into the Afghánistán, and had brought some of the Afghán tribes under nominal or temporary submission, passed the Indus, and seized upon Úchchh and Multán, and their dependencies, the then Jám, Fatḥ Khán, in the confusion which followed, was able to appropriate the Bakhar province of Multán, of which Síwí formed a district, as far north as the Kachchh of Ganj-ábah, as well as the whole province of Síw-istán or Wícholo, which two provinces then contained much the same districts and boundaries as are subsequently described by Abú-l-Fazl. Soon after this the Balúchís located in the province of Bakhar broke out into rebellion and had to be reduced.

The Jám, Niẓám-ud-Dín, also known as Jám Nandah, succeeded to the rule over Sind in 866 H. (1461–62 A.D.). He was contemporary with Ḥusain, the Langáh, son of Ráe Sihrah, the Zamín-dár of Lahrí, who had usurped the sovereignty over Multán, and assumed the title of Sulṭán Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín;‡ and it was during the respective reigns of these two rulers that Shujá' Beg, otherwise Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún Mughal, first detached a force against Síwí and its district in 916 H. (1510–11 A.D.).§ I must now, therefore, turn to the account of the capture of Síwí and conquest of Sind by the Arghún Mughals, having, I think, clearly shown, and indeed as every known history shows, that, from the time of the conquest of Sind and Multán by the 'Arabs more than eight centuries before, no Hindú kingdom whatever had existed west of the Indus; and that no "powerful Hindoo kingdom" existed at the period I have reached;‖ for if there had been one, it would certainly have allied itself to the Jáms of Sind against the Mughal invaders.

At the period when the Sammahs rose to power in Lower Sind, the throne of Dihlí was filled by Sulṭán Muḥammad Sháh, son of Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Ṭughluḳ Sháh, the same who is referred to by Ibn Baṭúṭah as being "originally a Turk from the hills in the district of Sindiah." Muḥammad Sháh moved into Sind against these Sammahs, and died on the banks of the Indus, near Ṭhaṭhah, in the first month of 752 H. (March, 1351 A.D.).

* Sometimes spelt Ṭaṭhah.

† When people speculate on the sites of cities, and other places in Sind and the Panj-áb, and particularly in Sind, and expect to find them in the same place after the lapse of twenty-five centuries, they should consider the nature of the country through which the Indus flows from Kálá-Bágh to the ocean. Its nature is such, especially from Miṭhan-Koṭ downward, that a slight obstruction raised in the bed of the river may, in a very short time, diverge the stream into another channel, and thereby ruin towns and villages, and, by the change, render what was just before a waste, a fruitful tract of country. As regards the lower deltas, where people expect to find places in the same situation on the Indus and near its mouths as they were ages ago, the following extract from Dr. Lord's "Memoir on the Plain of the Indus," may be useful. He says, "The "river discharges 300 cubic feet of mud in every second of time; or a quantity which *in seven months* would "suffice to form an island 42 miles long, 27 miles broad, and 40 feet deep; which [taking the depth of the sea "along the coast at about five fathoms], would consequently be elevated 10 feet above the surface of the water. "Any person who chooses to run out this calculation to hundreds and thousands of years will be able to "satisfy himself that much may be done by causes at present in action towards manufacturing deltas."

The situation of Díbal or Díwal, which was, after Ṭhaṭhah was founded, "the port *of* Ṭhaṭhah," is a point in question. At the time Ḳabá-jah reigned it was on the "sea coast," and Captain Christopher Newport, when he landed Sir Robert Shirley there in 1613–14, found it "in the mouth" of the Indus. Paynton, in his account of the voyage, says, "*We came to an anchor near the city of Diul, in the mouth of the river* "*Sinde*, in 24° 30′ N. LAT., and our varying at the same place 16° 45′." Ṭhaṭhah, it may be remarked, lies in 24° 51′ N. Lat.

‡ It was in 847 H. (1443–44 A.D.), towards the close of the stormy reign of Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, son of Muḥammad Sháh, son of Fírúz, one of the sons of the Sayyid, Khiẓr Khán, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty of Dihlí, and in which year that dynasty terminated, that all Hind became convulsed, and many governors of provinces, and tributaries, assumed independence and appropriated different territories. Among these usurpations was the setting up by the Multánís of the Shaikh, Yúsuf, the *Mutawallí* of the Shrine of the Shaikh, Bahá-ul-Ḥaḳḳ wa ud-Dín, Zakaríyá, the Saint of Multán, as their ruler. He was set aside by this Langáh Zamin-dár, as already mentioned. *See* page 4, and page 570, and note *.

§ The Tar-Khán Námah says in 917 H., but I prefer the statement of Mír Ma'ṣúm and others, and the dates of the movements of Bábar Bádsháh which led Sháh Beg Khán to Síwí.

Sháh Beg Khán was an Arghún, not a Tar-khán, as the "Gazetteer of Sind" informs us. The Tar-khán Mughals succeeded the Arghúns in Sind.

‖ Both the Sumrahs and Sammahs, the latter being Ráj-púts by descent, were Musalmáns; and all the former, and most of the latter, were subject to Muḥammadan sovereigns.

I must now, for a brief space, turn towards Bál-yús, or the territory dependent on, and afterwards called, Ḳandahár.

Like other parts of Khurásán which suffered so much from the devastations of the infidel Mughals, that, to this day, they have not recovered from their effects, the different tracts composing the Ghaznín kingdom continued in the occupation of various Mughal Nú-íns or Nú-yíns for some seventy years and more after the defeat of Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, the Khwárazm Sháh. From that side, holding too, as they did, great part of the north-western portion of the present Panj-áb, they were able to make constant raids upon the other tracts and districts on the Indus for great part of a century, and to afflict the frontiers of the Dihlí kingdom. Subsequently, on the establishment of the Kurat* dynasty, with Hirát as the capital, and which dynasty, on one side, was descended from the Shansabání Tájzík Ghúrís, who had held the sovereignty over Khurásán, Ghúr, Ghaznín, and Hindustán, the parts in question came under their rule, but the Kurat dynasty only existed by permission of the Mughals, and the rulers were under complete subjection to them.

The third Malik of this Kurat dynasty, Malik Rukn-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, in 680 H. (1281–82 A.D.), after investing it for about fourteen months, obtained possession of Ḳandahár† and its dependencies; and it continued in their possession until they had to succumb to Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, in 785 H. (1383 A.D.), at the close of which year‡ Ḳandahár was given up, and Ḳalát-i-Barlúk was taken by assault, and Kundúz, Buklán, Ghaznín, including Kábul, Zábul, and other tracts which had constituted the old Ghaznín kingdom, including Ḳandahár, as far as the frontier of Sind, were conferred by Tímúr upon his grandson, Pír Muḥammad. His acquirement of Úchchh and Multán has been already noticed. He did not enter the countries on the Indus by the Bolán Pass, and Síwí is not referred to. He came, in all probability, by the Sanghaṛ route, the most frequented Ḳáfila'h route in those days and for a long period after. Síwí was, however, soon after acquired by the Mughals, as I shall presently show.§ This was in 800 H. (1397 A.D.); and when Pír Muḥammad appeared before Multán, it was held by Sárang Khán, brother of Malú Khán, two powerful nobles of the Dihlí empire, who had usurped all the authority in the State.

When Pír Muḥammad died‖ in 809 H. (1406–7 A.D.), Sulṭán Sháh Rukh, who had succeeded to the empire of his father, Amír Tímúr, in 807 H, (1404–5 A.D.), conferred the territories which Pír Muḥammad had held, upon the latter's son, the young Mírzá Kaidú, in 810 H. (1407–8 A.D.),¶ with Amír, Bahlúl, the Barlás, of which tribe of Mughals, the next in rank to the family of the Chingiz Khán, Tímúr's family was the head, as his mentor and guide; and the city and fortress of Ḳandahár was the capital of his fief.

In 820 H. (1417, A.D.) disturbances broke out in the Ḳandahár province through the quarrels between two feudatories therein; one, the son of Saifal, the Ḳandahárí, the other, Malik Muḥammad. The Afghán tribes dwelling near the frontier of the province, and others, as far east as the valley of the Indus, seizing the opportunity, carried their raids into the Garm-sír, and brought dire calamities upon the inhabitants of those parts. All this was chiefly owing to the misgovernment of Mírzá Kaidú, who, himself, rebelled in 821 H. (1418 A.D.). He was soon after seized and confined within the fortress of Ikhtiyár-ud-Dín of Hirát, and his dynasty terminated.

Sulṭán Sháh Rukh now bestowed the government of "the whole of the territories of "Ḳandahár, Ghaznín, Kábul, the Afghánistan,** Sind, and some parts of Hind,††

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* Not "Kurt;" the word is written, with the vowel points, Kurat.

† This happened just five years before the death of Sulṭán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Balban, and about seventy years before the Sammahs acquired power in Sind, after depriving the Sumrahs of it.

‡ The dynasty was subverted two years before, when Hirát was surrendered, but the feudatory of Ḳandahár was left unmolested until the Afgháns near by had been reduced. *See* preceding note §, page 575.

§ That the Mírzá, Pír Muḥammad, held all the dependencies of Multán, except Síwí, we know from the fact that he possessed the fortress of Bakhar, and that he conferred a *pargana'h* on the Rúṛhí (*vul.* Rohrí) side of the Indus, in which Alor or Aror was situated, upon one of the Sayyids of Bakhar, named Abú-l-Laiṣ. These Sayyids were subsequently transferred altogether to the Rúṛhí side, and provided for there, when Sháh Beg Khán reconstructed the fortifications of Bakhar, and there their descendants still dwell.

‖ He was assassinated by one of his own followers, Pír 'Alí, Táz.

¶ Ḥáfiẓ Abrú says, the territories which his father had previously held, namely, Kábul, Ghaznín, Ḳandahár, as far as the banks of the river Sind, and the boundary of the Afghánistán, in 812 H. (1409–10 A.D.).

** Only that portion of it lying within the Ḳandahár province, in which the Taríns had dwelt for ages, was really under the sway of the house of Tímúr, all the rest was independent; but, in this same year, the Abdálí tribe had settled in lands in the Ḳandahár territory, as mentioned subsequently.

†† The Matla'-us-Sa'dain says, "and Sind, as far as the frontiers of Hind," at which time the Sayyid, Khiẓr Khán, ruled over Multán. "In 814 H. (1411–12 A.D.), the Ḳáẓí of Multán was despatched by Khiẓr Khán, "tendering allegiance to Sulṭán Sháh Rukh, and stating that the khuṭbah had been read, and the coin "stamped, in the Sulṭán's name, but, that the Mírzá, Kaidú, had been pressing him to read the khuṭbah in his

"upon his eldest son, the Mírzá, Báe-Sunkar, Bahádur," and despatched him to Kandahár to assume the government. Sind and Hind, just mentioned, refer to the north-west parts of the Panj-áb, and the Bakhar province of Multán; for, as yet, the Langáh tribe had not got possession of the last-named province, and Jám Tughluk* ruled over that part of Sind only, which constituted, in after times, the province of Thathah, as described by Abú-l-Fazl, including Wícholo or Síw-istán, which, in Akbar Bádsháh's time was a *sarkár* of the Thathah province, as already stated.

Subsequently, Mírzá Saiyúrgh-timish, another of Sultán Sháh Rukh's sons, was, in 823 H. (1420 A.D.), placed in charge of the government of these territories bordering on the Indus, which he held for a considerable time. He died, prematurely, in 830 H. (1426–27 A.D.),† leaving two sons, Mírzá Mas'úd,‡ and Mírzá Karáchár. They were left in possession of the fief, but Mírzá Mas'úd, as the eldest, was placed in charge of the government. Through his tyranny, however, the people were reduced to such straits that they had to seek redress from Sultán Sháh Rukh, and Mírzá Karáchár had also to seek that Sultán's protection; and the result was that Mas'úd was removed from the government. This was in 843 H. (1439-40 A.D.).

It was in the reign of this same monarch, who would never have tolerated "a "powerful Hindoo kingdom," within his own empire, that, about 821 H. (1418 A.D.), the Abdálí branch of the Tarín Pus'htúns or Afgháns came southwards from their old seats around the Ghar or Kasí Ghar,§ and obtained grants of land in the south-eastern parts of the Kandahár province, where they still dwell.

Sultán Sháh Rukh died in the last month of 850 H. (1447 A.D.), shortly before which time the Langhás had seized upon the territory of Multán.‖ The Sultán's grandson, the Mírzá, A'lá-ud-Daulah, son of Báe-Sunkar, Bahádur, who had died in 837 H. (1433-34 A.D.), assumed the throne. Great divisions then arose in the family of Amír Tímúr about the succession, which need not be referred to farther than to mention, briefly, what especially refers to Kandahár, Multán, and Sind, on the borders of which Mr. Duke's "powerful Hindoo kingdom" has been placed, that Mírzá 'Alá-ud-Daulah, was soon dethroned by a rival, and that civil strife continued, now one, now another, obtaining power for a brief period, which strife chiefly brought about the speedy downfall of the empire which Amír Tímúr had raised.¶

"name." Khizr Khán subsequently ascended the Dihlí throne in 817 H. (1414–15, A.D.), and died in 828 H. (1421, A.D.). In the preceding year he again sent an embassy to Sultán Sháh Rukh, and still acknowledged his supremacy. Khizr Khán never assumed the title of Sultán, but Masnad-i-'Álá, explained at page 347, which see.

The Khulásat-ul-Akhbár, under the events of the year 824 H., alludes to this last embassy despatched by Khizr Khán only a few months before his death. "Shortly after the Sultán's return to Hirát, after his defeat "of the Turk-máns in 'Irák-i-'Ajam, on the 19th Shawwál—the tenth month—the ambassadors of Khizr Khán, "the sovereign of Dihlí, arrived at Hirát with some curious and valuable presents from their master; and "among which, and not the least esteemed for its curiosity, was a *kargadan* or rhinoceros, which excited a "vast deal of curiosity, from its prodigious strength, and the impenetrability of its hide." These monsters were common in the Pes'háwar district in Bábar Bádsháh's time, and for many years after, and were also to be found in many of the swampy places near the banks of the Panj-áb rivers and the Indus.

Thomas, in his "Chronicle of the so-called Patán Kings of Delhi"—he, like some others, calls all "*Patáns*," whether Tájzík Ghúrís, Turk Mamlúks, Jats, Sayyids, or Afgháns—endeavours to show that all historians are wrong in this statement of Khizr Khán's acknowledging the suzerainty of Sultán Sháh Rukh, and reading the khutbah, and stamping coin in his name. I may say that the authorities are indisputable; for all writers, I believe, without a single exception, and whether historians dwelling in India or out of it, say the same. Thomas says Khizr Khán used the old dies of his predecessors for his coins, but while he gives specimens of the coins of others, I fail to find in his work a specimen of Khizr Khán's at all.

The proposed crowning of the Muscovite Czar at Samrkand with the crown of Tímúr ***may not*** be without some signification in the back ground.

* Tughluk is a Turkish name, and probably assumed by this Jám.

† He died at Ghaznín in the first month of 830 H. (November, 1426 A.D.).

‡ Also called Mírzá Sultán Mas'úd. The territories which he held are said to have included several places and districts of Hind and Sind. He is generally known to Indian writers as Sultán Ma'súd, Kábulí. He is mentioned by Bábar Bádsháh. *See* page 364.

§ *See* pages 465, 466.

‖ The authority of Sultán Sháh Rukh extended over the greater part of the ancient Persian monarchy, through the agency of his sons, nephews, or grandsons, throughout the vast territories included between the mountains of 'Irák-i-'Ajam and the Indus, west and east, the Kur, the Caspian Sea, and the Síhún in the north, and the province of Mukrán, and the 'Ummán, or the Sea of Arabia, on the south. It is, truly, very likely that "a powerful Hindoo kingdom" should exist in the midst of them.

¶ We may judge of the state of affairs when the Matla'-us-Sa'dain says, that, "In this year, 861 H. "(1456–57 A.D.), there were three different Sultáns who claimed to reign over Khurásán; there were their "three different armies, and there were three separate levies of taxes from the oppressed people. Tyranny "was the order of the day, and there was no one to hearken to their complaints, or give them redress. All "the great fortresses, too, were held independently by their different governors against all comers, and they "would not side with either party for a considerable time."

After Sulṭán Abú-Sa'íd, Bahádur Khán,* became, for a time, all-powerful over the empire of Tímúr, he, in the year 873 H. (1468–69 A.D.), conferred the territories bordering on the Indus, as far as the frontiers of Hind and the Afghánistán, namely, Kábul, Ghaznín, and their dependencies, upon his son, the Mírzá, Ulugh Beg,† who held them up to the time of his death, in 907 H. (1501 A.D.). These territories he conferred upon him shortly before he undertook the campaign against the Turk-máns, the result of which was the disaster at Ḳará-Bágh, in which Sulṭán Abú-Sa'íd lost his life in the seventh month of 873 H. (February, 1469 A.D.).

Another of Sulṭán Abú-Sa'íd's sons, Mírzá Sulṭán Murád, had for some years administered the government of Ḳandahár and the Garm-sír; and when the territory of 'Iráḳ-i-'Ajam had been added to Sulṭán Abú-Sa'íd's dominions, Mírzá Sulṭán Murád was proceeding into Kirmán, in conformity with his father's commands, when, while on the march, news of the disaster at Ḳará-Bágh reached him, and he faced about to return to the Garm-sír territory again. Before he could gain his destination, however, the hostile proceedings of Yúsuf, the Tar-Khán, one of the feudatories of the parts near by, compelled him to turn aside, and enter that part of Khurásán then under the sway of Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá, and claim his protection.

After many vicissitudes, Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá,‡ who was the grandson of 'Umar Shaikh Mírzá, son of Amír Tímúr, having got the better of most of his rivals, and acquired possession of Hirát in 873 H. (1469 A.D.), in the second month of 875 H. (July, 1470 A.D.), succeeded, at length, in establishing himself upon the throne of Khurásán. After this, its affairs became more settled, the country once more became prosperous and flourishing, and the downfall of the dynasty of Tímúr remained for a time in abeyance.

Previous to this, however, his last rival, Yádgár Náṣir Mírzá, having gained some temporary success in the previous year, some of the short-sighted among the princes and nobles deserted from Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá's army, and took different directions to await the upshot of events, and bide their own opportunity. Among these was the Mírzá, Muḥammad 'Umar, a great-grandson of Mírzá Muḥammad Sulṭán (the brother of Mírzá Pír Muḥammad), another of Tímúr's grandsons, who, with Yúsuf, the Tar-Khán, previously mentioned, and other officers, fled from the Sulṭán's camp in the Dasht of Sáḳalmán, in the last month of 874 H. (June, 1470 A.D.). They directed their steps towards the Garm-sír and Ḳandahár, and Niẓám-ud-Dín, Aḥmad, son of Amír Tawakkul, the Barlás, one of the great nobles of the late Sulṭán Abú-Sa'íd, who was governor of the province of Ḳandahár and its dependencies, and had not yet submitted to Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá, hearing of the arrival of Mírzá Muḥammad 'Umar in that part, sent and tendered allegiance to him. Mírzá Muḥammad 'Umar, accordingly, proceeded to Ḳandahár and assumed sovereignty, and began, very soon, to attack places in Khurásán farther west.

By this time, Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá, who had returned from Indá-khúd, and was investing Ḳá'ín, detached a force against him, and Muḥammad 'Umar retired to Ḳandahár again, and, having reached it, for some crime, he put the son of Amír Tawakkul, the Barlás, to death. Shortly after, Muḥammad 'Umar contrived to collect another force, and made a dash upon Faráh, whereupon Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá sent a force against him; an engagement ensued, and an arrow struck Muḥammad 'Umar, and killed him. Ḳandahár, upon this, came under the authority of Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá for the first time.

On a previous occasion, in 865 H. (1460–61 A.D.), while Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá, who had assumed the sovereign power as far back as 861 H. (1456–57 A.D.), was striving to gain the mastery in Khurásán, and was investing Hirát, then held for Sulṭán Abú-Sa'íd, Bahádur Khán, one of his principal supporters, the Amír Ḥasan, surnamed Shaikh Tímúr, deserted him, got safely into Hirát, and joined the other party. After the Ḳará-Bágh disaster, Amír Ḥasan, in great distress, presented himself before Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá, who was then in possession of Hirát and his cause prospering, who forgave the past, and restored him to favour. Now that the Ḳandahár province had fallen into his possession, he conferred it and its dependencies, together with Sijis-stán or Sigiz-stán, upon Amír Ḥasan, who assumed the government accordingly.

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* Sulṭán Abú-Sa'íd, Bahádur Khán, was the lineal ancestor of that branch of Tímúr's family who ruled at Dihlí down to recent times.

† This is the Ulugh Beg who expelled the Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ Afgháns from the territory of Kábul, and, at which time, the Dilazák Kaṛlární Afgháns were in possession of the greater part of what now constitutes the Pes'háwar district.

‡ His title was Mu'izz-ud-Dunyá wa ud-Dín, Mírzá Abú-l-Ghází, Sulṭán Ḥusain, Bahádur Khán, Ṣáḥib-i-Ḳirán-i-Ṣání.

The Amír, Shujá'-ud-Dín, Ẕú-n-Nún, of the Arghún family of the Mughals,* had formerly been in Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá's service, but had left it, and had entered that of Sulṭán Abú-Sa'íd, Bahádur Khán. After the disaster which befell that monarch at Ḳará-Bágh, where he was defeated by the Turk-máns, as before mentioned, and put to death, Amír Shujá'-ud-Dín, Ẕú-n-Nún, entered the service of Sulṭán Aḥmad, his son, ruler of Máwará-un-Nahr. In his service he continued for two or three years, when dissensions having arisen between the Arghún and Tar-Khán nobles, he left the service of Sulṭán Aḥmad, and again entered the service of Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá. On this occasion he was, after a short time, made governor of Ghúr and the Zamín-i-Dáwar in 876 H. (1471–72 A.D.). In 884 H. (1478–79 A.D.) he marched into the tracts occupied by the people of the Hazárahs and the Nikúdarís, and was successful against them. He was, after a time, made governor of Ḳandahár and its territory, and shortly after, Faráh and Sákhar-Túlak were likewise conferred upon him. Subsequently, Shál, Mastún—also written Mastang and Mastúng—Púshang, and Síwí, with their different dependencies, were also added to his fief. This is the first time that Síwí is mentioned in history in connection with the Ḳandahár government, although it certainly was subject to Ḳandahár about this period; and its annexation may have been in some way connected with the emigration of a goodly number of the Parní tribe from that part.

During the disorders and convulsions which arose through the invasions of the Úzbaks, and other enemies of the house of Tímúr, Amír Shujá'-ud-Dín, Ẕú-n-Nún, became, save in name, almost independent.† He assisted Mírzá Badí'-uz-Zamán against his father, Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá, several times, and that prince married his daughter.

Amír Shujá'-ud-Dín, Ẕú-n-Nún,‡ was killed in the battle which was fought by Mírzá Badí'-uz-Zamán, against Sháhí Beg Khán, or Shaibání Khán, as he is also called,§ the Úzbak Mughal sovereign, between Beláḳ-i-Maral and Rabáṭ-i-'Alí Sher, near Bádghais,‖ north of Hirát, in 913 H. (1507–8 A.D.).

Ẕú-n-Nún was the father of Sháh Beg Khán, who, like his father, was a feudatory of the house of Tímúr while the dynasty existed, and succeeded to his fiefs.¶

At the close of the year 910 H. (1504–5 A.D.), after acquiring Kábul, Bábar Bádsháh—I call him so here for convenience, but the title of Bádsháh was not assumed till near the end of 913 H.—made a raid on the Afgháns, reached Pes'háwar,

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* It is a mistake to suppose that the Arghúns are descended from the Chingiz Khán. They are the descendants of Amír Arghún, who, for thirty years, held the government of Í-rán Zamín, and died at Ṭús in 673 H. (1274–75 A.D.), some say in the following year. Bábar Bádsháh did not consider Sháh Beg's brother, Muḥammad Muḳím, the Arghún, a befitting match for the daughter of his uncle's son, Ulugh Beg; and his marrying her was one cause of Bábar Bádsháh's enmity towards the Arghún family. Had these Arghúns been descended from Arghún Khán, son of Abḳáe Khán, son of Hulákú Khán, grandson of the Chingiz Khán, they would have been superior in rank to Bábar himself, who was a Barlás, and descendant of Amír Tímúr. Another proof is, that Bábar and his descendants always styled the Arghúns, Beg instead of Khán, which they never would have done had the latter been of the family of the Chingiz, or Great Khán. *See* note ‡, next page.

† He was certainly not independent, as the Sindí history entitled the Tar-Khán Námah states from Elliot's translation (Vol. 1, p. 304); and the fact of his having been killed in the battle, fighting for his sovereign against the Úzbaks, is a sufficient confutation of the statement. Had he been independent, he could easily have made terms with the Úzbak Sulṭán, as his son, Sháh Beg Khán, subsequently, had to do, but, to his credit, he did not do so until the dynasty of Tímúr in Khurásán had fallen never again to rise; and, even then, only when Bábar Bádsháh deprived him of Ḳandahár. Sháh Beg Khán, too, was never placed on "*a throne*," as is mentioned in the same translation, for the same reason as stated above. Among the many errors in the translation referred to, such a well known place as Faráh is always turned into "*Kara.*"

‡ This is Mr. Duke's *Zalnun Beg*. He says, "Shah Beg's father was *Zalnun Beg, the Commander-in-"Chief* of the famous Sultan Hosein Mirza, Prince of Herat and Khorasan (1487 to 1506), *the last Prince of "the house of Timur in Central Asia;* his sons were displaced by *Oosbegs*, and *Shah Beg* [*sic*] *is stated to "have been killed whilst fighting their battles.*" So he has *killed the son in place of the father*, and "*all "the Princes of the house of Timur in Central Asia.*" Bábar Bádsháh, and a number of others his contemporaries, were not "of the house of Timur" perhaps?

Ẕú-n-Nún, I need scarcely mention, is a Musalmán title, also used as a man's name, and the words 'Arabic. *Ẕú* signifies "a lord" or "master," and in composition as "endowed with," "lord of," "possessed of," or the like, and *nún* means "a fish" It—Ẕú-n-nún—is the same name as the prophet Jonas is known by in the Ḳur'án, because he was swallowed by a fish. Why the Amír Shujá'-ud-Dín was so named does not appear, but it is not uncommon. Ẕú is constantly used in composition, as in Ẕú-l-Ḳadr, "powerful," Ẕú-l-Jálál, "glorious," etc.

§ His title is Abú-l-Fatḥ, Sulṭán Muḥammad, Shaibání Khán.

‖ The principal place in the territory, a dependency of Hirát, seized by the Muscovites since the above was written (July, 1885).

¶ On the death of Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá, at Bábá Iláhí near Bádghais, in 911 H. (1505–6 A.D.) his sons, Badí'-uz-Zamán Mírzá, and Muẕaffar Ḥusain Mírzá, assumed the joint sovereignty. The latter soon after died, and the survivor, within a short time, was deprived of the sovereignty by the Úzbaks, and the dynasty terminated in Khurásán.

and attacked Koháṭ, and the 'Ísá Khel Níázís and other Matís, including the Lodís, as related in the previous Section of these "Notes," page 359. He returned by the Dera'h-ját and the Sakhí Sarwar Pass, and by Tal—he does not blunder and call it "Thal"—and Tsoṭíálí. Two marches east of the last-named place, the Bádsháh says, "At the time of marching from this place, Fáẓil, the Kokal-"Tásh,* an officer of Sháh Beg, who was the Dárogha of Síwí, came after "twenty of his men, who had been out on patrol duty, and had been made prisoners "[by the Bádsháh's troops]. As there was no resentment between us [himself and "Sháh Beg Khán], the men were released, and their horses, arms, and accoutrements "were restored to them, with a dress of honour [to each]." This is the same Fáẓil who is mentioned after; and this corroboration by Bábar Bádsháh of what I have stated is valuable as to the so-called "powerful Hindoo kingdom" in these parts; and also shows that the statements of the historians of Sind, who mention "the descen-"dants of Púr-Dil, the Barlás Mughal," as being in possession of Síwí in 917 H. (1511 A.D.), mentioned farther on, are correct, and it is certain that the Púr-Dil above referred to must have been put in charge of Síwí *after* Fáẓil, and that his descendants had been allowed to retain it on the same terms.

In the year 917 H. (1511 A.D.) Sháh Beg Khán moved to Shál, the name it was alone known by at that period, where were stationed Mír Fáẓil, the Kokal-Tásh, and 'Abd-ul-'Alí, the Tar-Khán Mughal, feudatories subordinate to him as the governor of the Ḳandahár province. Arrived there, it was determined, after consultation, to resume the fief of Síwí, at that time held, with the territory dependent on it, not by the possessor of "a powerful Hindoo kingdom," but by the descendants of Sulṭán Púr-Dil, the Barlás Mughal above mentioned.† He was not a sovereign prince, as some, from the word Sulṭán, may imagine; for the word here is not used as a title, but is part of his name, and is sometimes affixed to Mughal names. He belonged to the tribe of which the house of Tímúr was the head, and Síwí was still a dependent fief of the Ḳandahár province at this period.

Hearing of this intended hostile movement, the descendants of Púr-Dil, the Barlás, whose names are not given, despatched an envoy, with presents, to Sháh Beg Khán's camp, deprecating hostility, and offering to submit to such terms as he might impose. These overtures were declined, however, and the envoy was dismissed with this unfavourable reply, and an advance upon Síwí was determined upon.

There were urgent reasons which compelled Sháh Beg Khán to act in this manner and resume that fief. Two powerful enemies were pressing upon his territory on either side, and no one remained to help him, now that the sovereignty of the house of Tímúr had sunk in Khurásán no more to rise. One was Sháh Isma'íl, the Ṣafawí, ruler of Í-rán, who, after overthrowing Sháhí Beg, otherwise Shaibání Khán, the Úzbak Sulṭán, near Marw, in Sha'bán, 916 H. (December, 1510 A.D.), had annexed great part of Khurásán to his dominions, and had now reached and occupied Hirát. The other enemy was Ẕahír-ud-Dín, Muḥammad Bábar Mírzá, who, having acquired Kábul and its dependencies in the fourth month of 910 H. (September, 1504, A.D.), was in alliance with the Ṣafawí monarch, and was preparing to assail Ḳandahár once more, Sháh Beg Khán observing at the same time to his supporters, that he was powerless to cope with both enemies.‡ The particulars respecting Muḥammad Bábar are as follow.

Muḥammad Bábar's first movement against Ḳandahár was at the very time that the Amír, Ẕú-n-Nún, was absent from his government and province, fighting, along with his sovereign, against the common enemy, the Úzbaks; and Bábar was only restrained from attacking it by the strong representations and remonstrances of Mírzá Badí'-uz-Zamán, son of Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá, who had previously married Ẕú-n-Nún's daughter, and had now succeeded his father lately deceased.

After his father had fallen in battle against the Úzbaks, and the downfall of the sovereignty of the house of Tímúr in Khurásán, Sháh Beg Khán, and Muḥammad Muḳím, sons of the late Amír, Ẕú-n-Nún, partly on account of Muḥammad Bábar's

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* Kokal-Tásh is a Mughal title, and is mentioned as early as the time of the Chingiz Khán.

† *See* page 579, note ‖, page 583, note ‡, page 588, and note *, page 592.

‡ In the page above I have mentioned, from his Tuzúk, that Bábar Bádsháh says he bore no enmity towards Sháh Beg Khán, but there was a far from friendly feeling. Mírzá Ulugh Beg, son of Sulṭán Abú-Sa'íd, who held Kábul and other territory adjoining, having died in 907 H. (1501–2 A.D.), Mírzá 'Abd-ur-Razzáḳ, his son, who was very young in years, succeeded. In the following year, Muḥammad Muḳím, brother of Sháh Beg Khán, from Ḳandahár, made a dash upon Kábul, seized him, ousted him from the government, and married his sister; and 'Abd-ur-Razzáḳ made his escape to the Afgháns. This Arghún match was not considered suitable; indeed, it was accounted an insult to the house of Tímúr; and, when Bábar Bádsháh first appeared before Kábul, Muḥammad Muḳím was in possession. He gave up the place, and, after a time, was permitted to return to his brother at Ḳandahár. Mírzá Ulugh Beg was Bábar's uncle's son.

hostile intentions, tendered their submission to the Úzbak conqueror, and agreed to stamp the coin with his name. Their offers were accepted; and Shaibání Khán confirmed them in the possession of Ḳandahár and its dependencies.

Shortly after this, in 913 H. (1507 A.D.), Muḥammad Bábar, thinking the time favourable, again marched upon Ḳandahár; and Sháh Beg Khán and his brother, supposing themselves strong enough, sallied forth, on his approach, to oppose him. They were repulsed, however, and, by Bábar's good generalship, they were cut off from regaining the shelter of the fortress again. Sháh Beg, upon this, retired to Shál, and Muḥammad Muḳím to the Zamín-i-Dáwar, and almost immediately after, the now weakened garrison had to capitulate.

Having obtained possession of Ḳandahár, Muḥammad Bábar installed his brother, Náṣir Mírzá, there; and, fearing an immediate advance of the Úzbaks upon the place, he hastened to retire, carrying away along with him the treasures of the Arghúns, and a deal of other booty.

Muḥammad Muḳím, brother of Sháh Beg Khán, in the meantime, had appealed for help to Shaibání Khán, whose vassals they now considered themselves; indeed they had no help for it. Shaibání Khán, who was in possession of Hirát, and not far off, hastened through the mountain tracts between that place and Ḳandahár, in which the wise men tell us there are no practicable roads, and suddenly appeared before that place. The city was at once given up, but the citadel was defended, and was therefore regularly invested. Shaibání Khán, however, had to hasten to Hirát, on account of some threatened danger in that quarter; so he admitted Náṣir Mírzá, who found he could only hold out a few days longer, to terms, he agreeing to surrender the place to Sháh Beg Khán, who, with his brother, was along with Shaibání Khán before the fortress. Thus the Arghúns acquired possession of Ḳandahár again; and Náṣir Mírzá beat a hasty retreat.*

Consequently, Sháh Beg Khán gave as his reason for turning his arms against Síwí and its territory (which was included in the fief held by his father), and Púr-Dil's descendants, the urgent necessity of providing for his family and followers, and their families, a place of shelter and security in case of having to abandon Ḳandahár and its territory, which, he feared, he should not be able much longer to hold. His chief officers quite agreed with his views; and it was determined to take possession of Síwí, at that time considered a situation of some strength, and its dependencies much more extensive than in later times. Sháh Beg Khán, therefore, moved against it, and it was surrendered to him without opposition. Some of the people of the dependent district around, Parní and other Afgháns of those parts no doubt, submitted to his authority, but others, along with the descendants of Púr-Dil, the Barlás, retired to Fatḥ-púr,† a populous fortified town belonging, so says the historian, to the people of the country—referring to the Samíjah and Ẕháríjah population; for the Balúchís were recent interlopers—and fifty kuroh to the southward of Síwí, but dependent on it, and near the frontier of Sind.

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* Not only Náṣir Mírzá abandoned Ḳandahár, but Muḥammad Bábar Mírzá also abandoned Kábul, when the news reached him of Sháhí Beg Khán's advance upon Ḳandahár; and Muḥammad Bábar had actually reached Nang-Nihár, in order to place the Indus between him and the Úzbak Sulṭán, when the news of his defeat and death reached him, and he at once faced about to return to Kábul. Sháhí Beg Khán was defeated by Sháh Ismá'íl, Ṣafawí, in 916 H. (1510 A.D.), near Marw, and was killed in the battle.

Bábar says, that, after Ẕú-n-Nún was killed, and Hirát had fallen into the hands of the Úzbaks, Sháh Beg Khán and his brother asked him to come to Ḳandahár, and that from thence, in conjunction, they should advance into Khurásán against the common enemy; but, when he reached Shahr-i-Ṣafá, he found the Arghúns hostile, and they denied having invited him to come to Ḳandahár. Continuing to advance, on his approach near to Ḳandahár, Sháh Beg Khán and Muḥammad Muḳím came out to oppose him, were defeated, and, by a manœuvre of Bábar's, were cut off from the fortress. Sháh Beg Khán on this retired to Shál, and Muḥammad Muḳím to the Zamín-i-Dáwar, and the place was surrendered on terms. All the treasures of the Arghún chiefs fell into his hands. He says, "I never had so much wealth before, and doubt whether so much was "ever seen." He only remained a short time, a day or thereabouts; for he knew that the Úzbaks would be upon him; and he did not even halt to divide the treasure till he reached Ḳará-Bágh. He arrived at Kábul in due course, and the wealth enabled him, he says, to appear in a style befitting a monarch, but he had only been five or six days at Kábul when news reached him that Sháhí Beg Khán, the Úzbak, had appeared before Ḳandahár, which his brother had soon after to surrender. Seeing, as he says, that the dominions of the house of Tímúr in Khurásán were lost beyond recovery, he held counsel with his nobles respecting the acquirement of some place of safety, of abandoning Kábul, and undertaking an expedition into Hindústán; and Kábul was made over to Mírzá 'Abd-ur-Razzáḳ, son of Ulugh Beg, on his departure.

It was in 613 H., after appropriating the treasures of the Arghúns, that the title of Muḥammad Bábar Mírzá was discontinued, and that of Bábar Bádsháh adopted.

† In the time of the Sayyid, Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar, who wrote in Akbar Bádsháh's reign, Fatḥ-púr, the former chief town of the *maḥáll*, was in ruins, but the remains of the fort and other buildings were still to be seen; and, I believe, they may still be seen. The situation of it was a few miles to the south of Ganj-ábah. It is, of course, a different place from that of the same name in the Multán *Ṣúba'h*.

The descendants of Púr-Dil, the Barlás, had along with them there "about 1,000 "Daulat Sháh-í horse, and the Barghalá'í or Barghadá'í, the Kozmá'í, Núrká'í, *and the "Balúch people, and other tribes, who assembled to the number of between 2,000 and "3,000 men." These were despatched to oppose the march southwards of Sháh Beg Khán and his small force, but, after a little exertion, he defeated them and put them to flight. Those who escaped then sought protection within the territory of Jám Niẓám-ud-Dín, *alias* Nandah, and Fatḥ-púr was also occupied. After this, Sháh Beg Khán returned to Síwí,† where he remained a short time, giving directions for repairing, adding to, and strengthening the defences of the place, and for laying out gardens; and then, leaving an efficient body of his followers to hold his new acquisition, he returned with the remainder of his force to Ḳandahár.‡

I need not enter into any farther account of Jám Niẓám-ud-Dín, *alias* Nandah, as a brief notice of his reign will be found in the account of the Balúchís in another place.

Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar, who, in after years, was placed in charge of Síwí and its district, after the Párṉí Afgháns had to surrender it in the third month of 1003 H. (December, 1594 A.D.), as related in its proper place farther on, gives an account of some of the remarkable features of the country round, which are valuable, and respecting some other matters, which partake of the wonderful, and may be taken for what they are worth. He says:—

"The fort of Síwí is situated at the skirt of a small mountain [range], and all the stones of which it is built are round and smooth [boulders]; and how much soever the ground around may be excavated, such like stones are brought to light. The little river which flows below [or under] Síwí has its source apparently from some sulphur springs,§ and every one who drinks of its water, save those who are accustomed to use it, who are not affected thereby, fall sick, and those who fall sick in consequence generally die from its effects. For this reason, Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán of Bakhar,‖ by way of precaution, in order to guard against this, used to send reliefs of his soldiers there every year, but most of the men perished. In the time of the Bádsháh [Akbar], a flood came and carried away those sulphur springs or suppressed them; for, how ever this may be, at the present time, this sickness is much lessened. This water, having flowed for a distance of fifty *kuroh*, collects in that tract which they call Nír-wáh or Níra-wáh, and is there used for irrigation purposes; and a portion which

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* I fail to identify these people, who are evidently not Balúchís, because Mír Ma'ṣúm adds "*and the Balúch* "*people*" after their names. This, and other passages, have been compared with three copies of his history, one of which is the transcript of a copy of the original draft of the author, and all the copies are alike. Those who endeavour to trace the "Dadicæ," the "Sattagydæ," the "Aparytæ," etc., etc., might try their skill on these, or on some of the many other races of people who dwelt in the parts around, and many of whom were settled therein before any Afgháns reached them, and not devote all their Hindú and Herodotus energies to the Afgháns alone.

† This is the supposed "*capital of the kingdom*" of the "lofty Bolak Rinds," which Mr. L. M. Dames, C.S., writes about in the "Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society" for 1880, which he says "Chákar, Rind, founded "with its capital Seví (Síbí)," and "who waged war with Humáú Chughutta." He afterwards adds, that "it "is probable that he [he refers to 'Sháh Beg,' whom he calls the 'son of *Zúlmún Beg*'] and not Chákar, "really built the old fort there."

Here, it will be perceived, a Rind Balúch "kingdom" has been set up, at the very same *time*, and in the very same *place*, as the "powerful Hindoo kingdom" is supposed to have flourished!

‡ Blochmann, who quotes from the Ma'áṣir-ul-Umará in his account of Akbar's *manṣab-dárs*, contained in that portion of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí which he has translated, states, that, after Sháh Beg Khán succeeded his father, "he took fort Sewe in 890 H. from Jám Nizámuddín, king of Sind." However, as Sháh Beg Khán did not succeed to his father's fief until 913 H., when the latter was killed in battle with the Úzbaks, the Ma'áṣir is either incorrect, or has been incorrectly quoted.

The statement of the Sayyid, Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar, who lived just after, has been given above. In another part of his history, under the reign of the Jám, Niẓám-ud-Dín, he says, that, towards the close of his reign—he gives no date, not even of his death—"the forces of Sháh Beg Khán came from Ḳandahár, not Sháh Beg "Khán himself, and ravaged the villages of Agroí, Chandú-kah, and Sandíchah, upon which the Jám de-"spatched a great army to repulse the Mughals, which force advanced until it reached a place known as "Jalú-gír, where a severe battle took place, in which the brother of Sháh Beg was killed and his forces "defeated, upon which they retired to Ḳandahár." He also says, that, "during the reign of the Jám, they did "not invade Sind again." This is what has been twisted into the capture of "fort Sewe," as Síwí is written in the translation referred to. The only brother of Sháh Beg Khán mentioned in history is Muḥammad Muḳím, who surrendered Kábul to Bábar Bádsháh in 910 H., and died some time after that, consequently, *if* so stated, the error of the Ma'áṣir is still greater.

§ These or similar sulphur springs still exist in the bed of the river, east of the Mián Kats, about thirty miles north of Síwí town and fort.

‖ This Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán is not a sovereign prince, as, from Elliot's Historians, one unacquainted with the subject would be led to suppose. As in the name of Sulṭán Púr-Dil, Barlás, it is part of his name. Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán was the son of Mír Fáẓil, the Ḳokal-Tásh, who was Dároghah of Síwí when Bábar Bádsháh proceeded from the Dera'h-ját by the Sakhí Sarwar Pass to Ghaznín and Kábul, mentioned at page 581, and was subsequently stationed at Shál. More respecting him and his son will be found farther on.

is not used for irrigation, falls into the *kol-áb* or lake of Manchhúr, which is near Sihwáṇ.

"Another of the wonders of this part is, that, to the north of Síwí, a *gunbaz* or dome appears, which, in the Sindí language they call '*márr o gher*;' but, when any one goes there, nothing is to be seen. It is said that Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán, on one occasion, assembled together between 2,000 and 3,000 people, and, hand in hand, they proceeded to the summit of that mountain [range, on which it appeared], and not a thing was to be seen, neither did they find any *gunbaz*. They say it is a talisman which the ancients have there devised, and that a treasure hoard is there buried. On one occasion, a Darwesh did find something there, after which, great numbers of persons went in hopes of discovering something, but found naught.

"In the *kaur zamín*, or tract consisting of low hills, hollows, and fissures, which is alike incapable of cultivation and uninhabitable, and where the mirage prevails [hence its name *kaur zamín*],* and in Chatar, which is one of the dependencies of Síwí, cotton stalks grow as tall as jujube trees [*Zizyphus jujuba*], in such wise, that people mount [on horseback] to pick the cotton. In every cotton tree are snakes up to a span in length, and [in number] from one to two hundred; and when people desire to pick the cotton they strike the trees with sticks, and so drive the snakes away. If a snake should bite any one, they [the people] at once make cuts in the place with a razor, and then cauterize it, and thus burn out the poison thereof, otherwise the person would die.†

"On the banks of that river, likewise, snakes are very numerous, very long and thin, and of those bitten by them few survive. The people of that tract of country, from the time of attaining to manhood, wear long, expansive drawers of untanned leather, that they may be protected from injury from these snakes. I, the author of this work, reached that part, and noticed that ground, at a time when they had irrigated some of their fields; and, when I urged my horse through them, at every pace several snakes were seen. I desired to dismount near the stream, as the weather was very hot, but, out of fear of these snakes, I went some distance away, and dismounted in the *dasht* (plain).‡ The river was probably named Nárí after these snakes.

"In the *dasht* of Síwí there used to be forts and inhabited places, but, they are gone to ruin, and now the *samúm* blows over that tract. There, in that tract likewise, between Síwí, Bakhar, and Síw-Sít-púr [in one MS. Sewít-púr or Sewet-púr], in a part which they call Bárkán, the horses are not inferior to those of 'I-ráḳ. The colt having been born of its mother, they spread pebbles [on the ground] all around; and the colt, until it is a year old, continues to be kept on this pebbly ground, so that, there is no necessity for shoeing,§ and thus, without shoes, they [afterwards] roam about the mountains.

"There is likewise a fraternity in the village of Chatar whom they call Sádát-i-Kaherí‖—Kaherí Sayyids; and the way this term was acquired is this. Kaher is the name of a [species of] tree¶ on one of which one of their ancestors mounted, and striking it with a whip, rode it along as if it were a horse."

These Kaherí Sayyids (who are not "Shekhs," neither are they called "Kaihírís," are well known to those who served in Upper Sind in former years) greatly increased after Mír Ma'ṣúm wrote, and now form a numerous community, so much so as to be dignified by the name of "a tribe." They used to be much more numerous than at present, before they were ousted from their possessions at Chatar, Púlají, and tracts immediately around, and driven out of the *dasht*, by the robber Búghṭís and other

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* Mal, about ten and a half miles eastwards of Mitrí, is in the *kaur zamín*.

† There are several passages from Mír Ma'ṣúm's work contained in Elliot's Historians, the translation, I believe, of the late Mr. J. Dowson, Professor at the Staff College. He translates this passage thus:—"In "*Kor-zamín* [thus making a proper name and a district of a noun and adjective, the meaning of which he "could scarcely have known] and Chhatur, which are districts of Síwí, cotton plants grow as large as trees "[the description of tree is left out], insomuch that men pick the cotton mounted. On each cotton plant there "are one or two hundred snakes of a span long [in another place under, referring to the same snakes, he says, "'*Már*.—The description seems perhaps more applicable to *leeches*.' They must have been fine ones.], so the "men are obliged to *brush* them off with sticks and drive them away before they can pluck the boles. If any "one is bitten by a snake, they immediately open the wound with a razor and *suck out* the poison, otherwise "death would supervene" (p. 237). What I have given above is the literal translation, word for word.

‡ This is the strip of desert separating the Síw-istán *sarkár* on the north from the *maḥálls* of Bakhar of Multán including Síwí. *See* note ‡, page 558.

§ *See* Elliot, Vol. 1, p. 238. There is not a word about their hoofs becoming "as hard as stone" in the original.

‖ Sádát is the plural form of Sayyid. Postans, in his "Report on Upper Sindh," in the Bengal Asiatic Journal, for 1843, turns them actually into "Khyberries"!

¶ The *kaher* tree is well known: it is the wild medlar, I believe.

Balúch interlopers, early in the present century. They had to take shelter in Baháwalpúr, in Sind, and in some of the southern parts of the Panj-áb; but, when General Sir Charles J. Napier, G.C.B., led the expedition into the hills against the Búghtís, in 1845, and seized their stronghold of Tarakí,* he caused the Kaherís to be restored to their lands, placed them under British protection, and entertained a number of their horsemen. Some of them are, I believe, still kept in pay, and have done good service from time to time.†

To resume Mír Ma'ṣúm's narrative again.

"Near to Ganj-ábah, which is one of the dependencies of Síwí, water gushes up and flows out, in such wise as to inundate a considerable extent of ground, and in this water there are fish.

"At the skirt of one of the mountains of Ganj-ábah, a sort of portico juts out, and there they have suspended an iron cage, and it is said that something has been deposited therein, but the hand of no one can reach it. If, in order to attempt to reach it from above, some one should be sent to cast a rope from the upper part of the mountain, it will be found to be still a long way from it, and the upper part of the mountain is smooth and seregated, while the place itself is at a considerable distance from the ground.‡

"The territory of Síwí and Ganj-ábah is thus situated. The koh [range] of Sít-púr, stretching along the banks of the great river§ [Indus], as far [down] as the village and lands of Kin, reaches as far as Síwí; and Bátah, which is one of the places dependent on Kandahár, lies between. From this place [Síwí], the territory, having assumed the shape of a complete semicircle, again approaches the banks of the river. This intermediate space is all *dasht* [plain or flat open country]; and the route leading to Kandahár runs through the midst of this *dasht*. The length of the territory, from the river to Síwí, is one hundred kuroh, and the breadth is sixty kuroh. Over the greater part of this tract the *samúm*‖ blows for a period of four months in the year, and the period during which it prevails is the hot season."¶

I now return to Sháh Beg Khán's further proceedings.

Soon after reaching Kandahár, Sháh Beg Khán despatched *pesh-kash* to Bábar Bádsháh, at Kábul, to hold him in play, while he set out in person to pay his obeisances to Sháh Ismá'íl at Hirát, preferring, apparently, to become a feudatory of the Ṣafawí monarch, rather than be subject to Bábar Bádsháh, who was a Mughal like himself. On his presenting himself at Hirát, he was thrown into confinement in the fortress of Zaffar, but, after a time, he succeeded in effecting his escape through the devotion of a faithful slave, the particulars respecting which will be related in another place.

This was the time that Bábar Bádsháh seized upon to move once more against Kandahár, but Sháh Beg Khán had, unknown to him, reached it, and was preparing for a vigorous defence. During the investment, Bábar Bádsháh was attacked by fever, and his troops also suffered greatly from the same cause, and he had to abandon the attempt.

After this affair, Sháh Beg Khán again proceeded to Síwí, and from thence despatched 1,000 horse, under Mírzá 'Ísá, the Tar-Khán Mughal, into the territory of Sind; and this was his first raid upon Jám Niẓám-ud-Dín's, *alias* Nandah's, dominions. In the last month of the year 920 H. (1514 A.D.), this force entered Káháṇ [Gháháṇ]

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* From Persian *tarkídan*, to cleave, to split, to crack, etc. The word is now vitiated into Tṛakí. *See* page 532.

† They were first taken into pay when Mr. Ross Bell was Political Agent in Upper Sind. Some recent writers on Sind call these Kaherís an "alien race;" and some say "the Balúchís consider them an alien race." Who the *aliens* are, these Sayyids or the Balúch robbers, will appear from the above notice by Mír Ma'ṣúm.

‡ In the volume of Elliot's Historians, before referred to, this passage has been thus rendered:—"Amongst "the hills of Ganjáva there is a lofty one from which hangs an iron cage, in which they say there is some-"thing placed, but it cannot be got at. If any one descends to it from above, by a rope, *it moves away*, and if "they attempt to reach it from beneath, *the summit rises to the stars and the earth recedes*" (Vol. 1, p. 238). What I have given in the text above is word for word with the original history.

§ In the same work, p. 238, the editor, Mr. J. Dowson, made an attempt to translate this passage, in which the Persian words "*áb*" and "*kashídah*," a noun and verb, seem to have puzzled him much, for he has added "river," and made a proper name of these two words, and thus we have, "*the river Abkashída*"! Kin, mentioned above, is also called Kin Koṭ, still a well known place on the Indus.

‖ What Europeans incorrectly call the "simmoom."

¶ It prevails just the same now, and I hope it will be remembered in case of attempting to move troops, in case of emergency, by the railway to Shál or Kwaṭa'h during the hot season, which an enemy from the north is sure to select for his operations.

and Bághbánán, as related in the first Section of these "Notes," and which places are totally different from Káhan of the Marís and Bhág on the Nárí river.*

As Sháh Beg Khán feared, Bábar Bádsháh again appeared before Ḳandahár the following year, 921 H. (1516 A.D.). The investment was carried on for some time, and mining had been resorted to, but famine arose in the camp of the assailants and sickness with it; and once more Bábar Bádsháh had to retire. To add to Sháh Beg Khán's misfortunes, however, disagreement arose between him and his son, Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, who left him, and sought the protection of Bábar Bádsháh, who again invaded the Ḳandahár territory in the following year. When he arrived before that stronghold and had completely invested it, the harvest had not been gathered in, and, consequently, Sháh Beg Khán's own forces, and the people within the walls, were in danger of famine should the investment be prolonged. Wearied, therefore, with constant invasions and attacks, and seeing that he would not be able to hold it much longer, Sháh Beg Khán proposed to Bábar Bádsháh, that, if he would then withdraw, he would give up Ḳandahár to him in the following year. These proposals were agreed to, and he withdrew; and in the following year, 923 H. (1517 A.D.), the keys were sent to him, and Sháh Beg Khán evacuated the place. He then retired to Shál, and strengthened the defences of that place, as well as those of Síwí; and, in their vicinity, in Púshang,† in all probability, he took up his quarters. There, for some time, he had great difficulty in supporting himself and followers, and much privation was endured; for, during the first season, he could give his troops assignments on nothing but turnips, carrots, and such like produce,‡ the cultivation of the lands having been neglected in consequence of the disturbed state of the country.

During this period Sháh Beg Khán made a raid upon Koṭ-i-Máchíán, and the outskirts of Chandú-kah; and, in the same year, 923 H. (1517 A.D.), while he was absent from Síwí on an expedition against Ẓihrí, about sixty miles west of Fatḥ-púr and Ganj-áwah, Daryá Khán, the slave, and adopted son, of Jám Niẓám-ud-Dín, *alias* Nandah, advanced out of Sind, with a considerable army, against Síwí. The few Arghúns and Hazárah people left to defend it, compelled the Sindís to retire, but, in effecting this, Abú-Muḥammad (Abú-Majíd, in one MS.) Mírzá (an Arghún ?) was killed.§

At the end of this same year the Jám died, and Jám Fírúz, his son, succeeded him. Sháh Beg Khán was now urged to undertake the conquest of Sind; and, in the

* Mír Ma'ṣúm says, in his history, that he heard from the lips of the Makhdúm, Ja'far, who was one of the chief ecclesiastics of Sind, that he heard from this same Mírzá 'Ísá, the Tar-Khán, that 1,000 of the camels captured on that occasion (the tract was famous of old for its camels) were taken from the wells and gardens which they worked. This part referred to by the Sindíán writers, which formed, in Abú-l-Faẓl's time, and in times long prior, one of the *pargana'hs* of Síw-istán, is still exceedingly fertile and well cultivated.

In a note to his translation of the "Tarkhán-Náma," Elliot, after writing the word "Kákán" in the text of his translation, instead of Káháṇ [Gáháṇ], proceeds to mistake this *pargana'h* for the town of Káhan of the Marís, although the correct names are differently spelt, and consequently, Bághwán, or Bághwánán, the other *pargana'h*, is removed some two hundred miles farther to the north-north-east, to suit Káhan of the Marís. He says in a footnote, page 307, "Both these places were in the *Sarkar* of Síwí. The former has since "become famous for its gallant defence by our troops." Síwí, however, as before stated, was not a *Sarkár* of Sind, but a *maḥáll* of the Bakhar *Sarkár* of the Multán *Ṣúbah*. A little *local* knowledge would have saved the writer from falling into this error, but a map, if consulted, would have shown that Káhan of the Marís could not possibly have been meant.

In his translation of this very "Tarkhán Náma," a few lines after the place to which this footnote is appended, where reference is made to Sháh Beg Khán's advance from Síwí in 924 H. (1518 A.D.), it is clearly shown where Káháṇ [Gáháṇ], and Bághbán or Bághwán lay; namely, that he moved from Síwí to Ganj-áwah and Fatḥ-púr, and then by the Lakhhí hills *southwards* into Sind, while Káhan of the Marís lies nearly *due east* from Síwí.

† Which his father had previously occupied when he expected an attack from Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá on the occasion of Amír Ẕú-n-Nún siding with the Sulṭán's son, Mírzá Badí'-uz-Zamán.

‡ Elliot, in his translation of the "Tarkhán-Náma" (page 308), says, "In such straits was he, that his "army was compelled during this period [two years are mentioned] *to subsist on nothing but carrots, turnips,* "*and other such vegetables,*" but the Tar-Khán Námah contains just what I have written above, and also the word *barát*, left out by Elliot, which signifies "*assignments on crops or produce in lieu of pay.*" It by no means follows that they *ate* the crops on which they had *barát* or assignments; and it is utterly absurd to suppose that soldiers, having horses too, should subsist for two whole years on "nothing but carrots, turnips, "and such like vegetables." They would at least have eaten their horses first, otherwise their riders must have been very "light" cavalry indeed by the time they came to invade Sind. What the historian means is, that the parts in which they were quartered were but poorly cultivated, owing to the disturbed state of affairs, and yielded but little revenue; and, as Bábar Bádsháh had become enriched by Sháh Beg Khán's treasure, carried off from Ḳandahár in 913 H. (1507–8 A.D.), the latter was impoverished for want of funds to pay his troops, and could only give them assignments on such crops as were under cultivation, respecting which they made their own arrangements with the cultivators.

§ This, probably is the affair referred to in note ‡, page 583.

following year, he assembled a small force for the purpose. Leaving garrisons in the forts of Síwí, Ganj-áwah, and Fatḥ-púr,* he moved southwards from the last named place, Mír Faẓil, the Kokal-Tásh† leading the advance, numbering but 240 cavalry. Bághbánán and Káhán [Gáhán] were reached,‡ which last named district was the fief of the late Jám's slave and adopted son, Daryá Khán, the leader of the Jám's forces; and moving from thence by the skirt of the Lakhhí range, Sháh Beg Khán, in due course, appeared before Ṭhaṭhah. At this period, the main stream of the Mihrán or Indus flowed on the *north* side of Ṭhaṭhah;§ and, in order to reach Ṭhaṭhah, Sháh Beg Khán had to cross it. A ford was found, and the passage was effected on the 11th of Muḥarram, some say the 15th, the first month of 926 H. (January, 1519 A.D.); and, by the 20th, Ṭhaṭhah had been captured and sacked. Jám Fírúz managed to escape, but he, soon after, gave himself up to Sháh Beg Khán, who treated him with kindness and generosity. It is possible that the latter did not consider himself able to occupy all Sind at the time, but, be that as it may, he allowed Jám Fírúz to remain in possession of Ṭhaṭhah and all Lower Sind from the Lakhhí range south, while all the rest of Sind, including the extensive province of Síw-istán, and the Bakhar province of Multán, great part of which the Jám, Niẓám-ud-Dín, had previously possessed himself of, but the Síwí *maḥáll* or district had many years before been in the possession of the rulers of the Kandahár province, as already stated. Sháh Beg Khán moved back from Ṭhaṭhah by Síw-istán, and possessed himself of that stronghold (Síw-istán Ḥawelí, the modern Síhwán). From thence he returned to Síwí and Shál, and, shortly after, made the stronghold of Bakhar his capital, fortifying it anew, the materials being taken from the fortress of Alor, the ancient capital of Sind, together with the materials taken from old buildings of the Turks‖ and Sammahs. Sháh Beg Khán died, when on the way to invade Guzarát, on the 2nd of Sha'bán, the eighth month, of 928 H. (end of July, 1522 A.D.).¶ His corpse was first interred at Bakhar, but, after three years, was removed to Makkah, and deposited in a fine tomb prepared for it there.**

When Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, the son and successor of Sháh Beg Khán, determined upon invading Multán, still held by the Langáhs, his first care was to provide against troubles among the different peoples, Arghúns, Nikúdarís, and Hazárahs, remaining behind in Síwí with their families, and for the protection of the parts dependent on it. At this period Kandahár still remained under the sway of Bábar Bádsháh, although little is said about it at this time, but, at the time of his death, it was the appanage, with Kábul, of his second son, Mírzá Kámrán. Accordingly, taking along with him a body of 1,000 cavalry, Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain moved from Bakhar for Síwí, and reached it in a week. Having provided for the safety of that part, and the fort, he set out on his return by Chatar and Lahrí, and made a raid upon the *Rind* and Magsí Balúchís, took a number of them captive, reduced them to submission, and the headmen presented themselves before him, and were admitted to certain terms. The chiefs accompanied him to Bakhar, the captives were released, and the terms ratified.

It was this same Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, who, when he fell out with his father in 921 H. (1515 A.D.), found an asylum for two years with Bábar Bádsháh, and at this time that he was about to invade Multán, that monarch was on his way to invade

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* *See* page 582, and note †.

† The same who is mentioned by Bábar Bádsháh as Dároghah of Síwí, and father of Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán, presently to be mentioned. *See* page 581.

‡ Here are sufficient proofs of the situation of these places, and that Bhág on the Nárí river, and Káhan of the Marís, could not possibly have been meant.

§ *Sic* in MSS., but a branch of the Mihrán must be meant, the same probably which still flows westwards towards Ghárah, and by the ruins of ancient Bambúrah. This branch, at the period in question, must have been very much larger than at present, from what is mentioned above.

‖ Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Kabá-jáh and his successors.

¶ Blochmann, quoting the same Ma'áṣir-ul-Umará, says, that Sháh Beg Khán, a short time before his death, in 930 H., invaded Multán. As he died in the seventh month of 928 H., as above mentioned, of which date there is not the shadow of a doubt, he could not have invaded Multán. In this quotation the father has been mistaken for the son, who did invade Multán in 931 H.

** Pottinger makes a very strange statement respecting Sháh Beg Khán, which is so glaring that I cannot help referring to it. He says, "*Shah Beg was obliged to evacuate Bakkar, to escape the Moghal troops,*" and that "*he was so dispirited that he committed suicide between Bakkar and Thattah.*" The memory of Sháh Beg Khán has thus been blackened, inadvertently, no doubt, through some passage in some history not being understood. There were no Mughal troops within hundreds of miles of Bakhar save *his own;* and Bakhar continued *without interruption* in the hands of his son and his successors until surrendered as related in the text above. He had reached and passed beyond Ṭhaṭhah on his way to invade Guzerát, when he was taken ill and died a natural death, as Mír Ma'ṣúm, and *every other author* who has written on the subject, states, and his corpse was taken back to Bakhar and interred; and, moreover, it is a rare occurrence for a Musalmán to commit suicide, and which Sháh Beg Khán certainly did not do, and he had no cause to do so.

Hindústán again. Mírzá Sháh Husain despatched an agent with *pesh-kash*, acknowledging his supremacy, after which, in the beginning of 931 H. (1524 A.D.), he began his march towards Multán, and chastised the refractory Balúchís by the way. An accommodation was entered into by the cession by the Langáh ruler of a considerable portion of territory to Mírzá Sháh Husain, but in the following year hostilities again broke out, and, at length, Multán fell, and with it the Langáh dynasty, in the middle of the fourth month of 933 H. (January, 1527 A.D.); and Mírzá Sháh Husain, having signified the same to Bábar Bádsháh, then on the throne of Dihlí,* the territory of Multán was assigned by the Bádsháh to his second son, Mírzá Kámrán.†

In 950 H. (1543–44 A.D.), Mírzá Sháh Husain bestowed the government of the district of Síwí upon Sultán Mahmúd Khán, son of Mír Fázil, the Kokal-Tásh, who died shortly before Sháh Beg Khán. This person, Sultán Mahmúd Khán, I beg leave to say, was not a sovereign prince, as some appear to imagine, who are unaware of the fact of the word "Sultán" being sometimes prefixed, and sometimes affixed, to Turk and Mughal names.‡ He had previously, when quite a boy, been placed in charge of the fort of Síwí. His mother was an Afghán of the Kásí tribe then dwelling in Shál and Mastúng, a woman of great energy, whom he was in the habit of consulting.§ Thus, at the period in question, as those who are acquainted with the Pus'htúns or Afgháns and their history very well know, the districts here

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* Bábar Bádsháh had obtained possession of the Dihlí throne in the seventh month of 932 H. (April, 1526, A.D.), and he died in the fifth month of 937 H. (December, 1531 A.D.).

† It will be well to notice here, that, on the death of his father, Humáyún Bádsháh confirmed Mírzá Kámrán, his brother, in the possession of Kábul and Kandahár. This was in 937 H. (1531 A.D.). Soon after Kámrán became aware of his father's death, he made over Kandahár and its province to his brother Mírzá 'Askarí, and suddenly made his way towards Hindústán, filled with more ambitious projects. He soon after possessed himself of the province of Láhor, which his too kind brother also allowed him to retain.

In 939 H. (1532–33 A.D.), Mírzá 'Askarí having been defeated by the Hazárah people on his way to Kábul, Kámrán took Kandahár from him, and made it over to the Khwájah, Kalán Beg, as governor of the province. Towards the end of 941 H. (1535 A.D.), Sám Mírzá, brother of Sháh Thamásib, Safawí, appeared before the fortress at the head of an army; but, after investing it for eight months, he was defeated near Kandahár, on the 1st of Sha'bán, 942 H. (January, 1536 A.D.), by Kámrán, who had come to its relief. Soon after, in the spring of the same year, Sháh Thamásib, himself, appeared before the walls at the head of his Kazil-Báshís, and the Khwájah, Kalán Beg, gave it up to him. He was disgraced for this by Kámrán, who, as soon as he could make the necessary preparations, set out for Kandahár. On his arrival he found that the Sháh, having left a strong garrison to defend that stronghold, had departed, but, after a siege of some duration, it was once more recovered; and from that time, until Humáyún Bádsháh advanced against it from Persia, aided by the Sháh's forces, Kandahár continued in the possession of Mírzá Kámrán, which events will be related farther on.

‡ The word "Sultán" here, and in several other places, does not refer to any sovereign prince, as some appear to have supposed. In early times this title was given by the Khalífahs to their great vassals, and the governors of provinces, and by some of the last Khalífahs to their household slaves, as well as to military leaders. Subsequently this title became applied to the descendants of the family of the Chingiz Khán, as Mírzá was applied to the descendants of Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán. Then the Safawís, who considered themselves spiritual as well as temporal sovereigns, bestowed the title of Sultán upon their disciples, slaves, and minor feudatories, and this they continued to do down to near the close of their dynasty, and even an Afghán chief, the head of the Tokhí Ghalzís, received this title from a Safawí ruler, as will hereafter appear. This title also used to be adopted by the princes of the house of 'Usmán, the 'Usmánlí (*vul.* Ottoman) Turks.

The different persons who appear in these pages with that title, with the exception of "Sultán" Mahmúd Khán, were Mughals, and the reason is obvious; why he was so named is not mentioned, but, at last, the word began to be applied, in conjunction with another word, as a man's name, the Sultán sometimes preceding, sometimes following the other word.

The Safawís subsequently used to bestow the Turkish title, Kulí, and Nádir, before he usurped the throne, was Thamásib Kulí Khán; and he gave the Latí or Kalhorah Jat of Sind, Khudá Yár, the title of Sháh Kulí Khán. *See* also "Tabakát-i-Násirí" (Translation), note 2, page 1235.

§ Sháh Husain Mírzá left him in charge of Bakhar during his Multán campaign.

One work, quoted by Blochmann, states, that he was Mír Ma'súm's foster brother, but, as the latter, who enters into all the particulars of his life, does not say so, the correctness of it may be doubted, more particularly if we consider that Sultán Mahmúd Khán died in 982 H., at the age of eighty-four, that Mír Ma'súm got his *jágír* from Akbar Bádsháh only in 999 H., that he was not an old man then by any means, and that he was made governor of Síwí four years afterwards, it is quite impossible he could have been Sultán Mahmúd Khán's foster brother, but his father may have been. His father, the Mír, Sayyid Safá-í, first came to Bakhar from Kandahár while the Khán was the feudatory of Bakhar, and was so well received by him that he determined to take up his residence in that part for good. He entered into a matrimonial connection with the Sayyids of Khábarút of Síw-istán, five miles west of Sihwán, now a mere hamlet, and there Mír Ma'súm and his other sons were born. How then could Mír Ma'súm possibly be the foster brother of the governor of Bakhar? After his father's death, Mír Ma'súm entered the service of Mullá Muhammad, dwelling at Kingrí, seventeen miles west-south-west of Bakhar, and with him commenced his studies. The Mullá became much attached to him, and under him he acquired his learning. I have no space for more particulars respecting Mír Ma'súm's life here, beyond mentioning that, for some years, he was the Paymaster-General at Kandahár.

Blochmann, in his account of him, after stating that he returned from an embassy to I-rán in 1015 H., says, just after, that he died in 1007 H. The dates here have been reversed.

mentioned were then, and had been for a considerable time, in the possession of the Kásís, but since that time they have been nearly all ousted from their possessions, like some other Afgháns of the neighbouring parts, by Balúch and Bráúhí interlopers.

Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán, during his government of Síwí and its dependencies, retook several forts in that neighbourhood from the Balúchís, which they had appropriated;* and he chastised the contumacious people of the hill tracts, or *kohistán*, and subjected them to his rule. Who these contumacious people were, is, unfortunately, not said, but, probably, Parní, Ņághar, Tarín, and other Afgháns, are referred to, and also some of the tribes formerly possessing these parts, before the spread of the Afgháns southwards. Subsequently, he held the government of the Bakhar district, and the fortress, and was there when Humáyún Bádsháh came into Sind, and during two years and a half in vain attempted to get possession of that stronghold.

The unfortunate monarch, having been obliged to retire from Hindústán, and again from Láhor, in the fifth month of 947 H. (October, 1540 A.D.), chiefly on account of the disloyalty of his own brothers—especially the ingrate Kámrán Mírzá,† who deserted him at the time that Sher Khán, the Afghán, was following him into the Panj-áb—thought it advisable to turn his face towards Sind, whose ruler, in the time of his prosperity and power, was his professedly loyal feudatory. He hoped to obtain assistance from Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, who, when he fell out with his own father, had found protection with Bábar Bádsháh, his father, and who had subsequently tendered allegiance to himself, and to have made another effort to retrieve his fortunes by invading Guzarát from Sind.‡

I must refer briefly to these matters in order to connect my historical account of Síwí and adjacent parts.

Humáyún Bádsháh appeared before Bakhar, and took up his quarters at Lúṛhí or Rúṛhí, "*l*" and "*r*" being interchangeable (*vul.* Rohṛí), in the ninth month of 947 H. (February, 1541 A.D.). He first endeavoured to induce Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán to give it up to him, and then tried force, but without effect. His followers, who were in a more or less disorganized state, and accompanied by their families, suffered from famine; for Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán was instructed by Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, on hearing of the coming of the Bádsháh, to lay all the country waste on either side of the Indus, from Bakhar down to Síw-istán. Having remained some two years and a half in Sind and the country east of the Indus, during the greater part of which time he was engaged in investing Bakhar, and having again reached Jún, on the Indus, after his unsuccessful attempt in Ráj-pútánah, the Bádsháh determined, as there remained no hope of making head in Sind or receiving any aid from its ruler, to leave it and proceed towards Ḳandahár. He set out from Jún accordingly, in the fourth month§ of 950 H. (August, 1543 A.D.), and now received some slight assistance from Sháh Ḥusain Beg—he always styled him Beg, never Mírzá‖—to get rid of him, and attended by only a small retinue, proceeded towards Shál, by way of Síwí. When he reached the latter place, he there found agents from Kámrán, his brother, on their way to Sind, to urge Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, who was in his interest, and whose daughter he subsequently married, not to give any aid to the Bádsháh. Síwí and its territory had been conferred upon Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán, in addition to Bakhar, a short time before in the same year; and so the agents of Kámrán Mírzá took shelter within its walls, and Humáyún Bádsháh was unable to obtain admittance.¶

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* When they first began to enter these parts, about the period of the downfall of the dynasty of the Jáms, and the convulsions which arose on the fall of the Tímúríah dynasty in Khurásán, almost immediately following it.

† Never styled "King Kamran" by any writer who knew what he was writing about, and, certainly, not by any native writer. Mírzá Kámrán was merely the vassal of his brother and sovereign.

‡ The author of the "Gazetteer of Sind," among other strange statements, says that "the (Mogal) Emperor "Humáyún, defeated by Sher Khán Súr *of Ghor*, in 1540, fled to Sind"!

§ One or two writers say in the sixth month.

‖ *See* note *, page 580.

¶ This is the time of Mr. M. L. Dames' "*Humáú Chughutta,*" but where is the "mighty Chákar Rind," who, he says, "*waged war*" with him, while some other recent Balúch historians tells us that he actually took the throne of Dihlí from "Humáú"? Where is this "godlike man," this "mighty Chákar Rind," who "*founded a kingdom with its capital Sevi* (*Síbí*)," that Mr. Dames tell us of, at whose call "forty thousand "men came, all descendants of the same ancestor, with armour upon their fore-arms; all with bows and quivers; "with silk scarves and overcoats, and red boots on their feet; with silver knives and daggers, and golden rings "on their hands"? Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán, the petty governor of Síwí, seems to have been able to chastise them very easily, just as Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain had previously done at the head of 1,000 horse, when he carried their chiefs away to Bakhar as prisoners.

As to the "mighty Chákar Rind," it is probable that Humáyún Bádsháh—the "*Humáú Chughutta*" of the

Shál, to which he now bent his course, was then in the possession of Jalál-ud-Dín Beg, who held it for Mírzá Kámrán; and the faithful Uzbak, Júji by name, who warned the Bádsháh of the treachery intended towards him, when his brother, 'Askarí Mírzá, the creature of Kámrán Mírzá, who held Kandahár for him,* and was then on his way to seize the Bádsháh's person, had been a *jágír-dár* in this part, in Mastúng, and had, in former years, been in the Bádsháh's service.

Humáyún Bádsháh, thus warned, had just time to escape towards Í-rán by the route called the Ráh-i-Chúl,† and the people dwelling therein Chúlís. On his return from Í-rán, in the first month of 952 H. (1545 A.D.), when distributing the fiefs dependent on the Kandahár province,‡ Shál was conferred upon Haidar Sultán;§ and all the Bádsháh's servants were provided for. Kábul was recovered, and Mírzá Kámrán driven out, in the ninth month of the same year.

Subsequently to this, in this same year, while the Bádsháh was still at Kábul, the Mír, Sayyid 'Alí, who was a Zamín-dár or landholder, who dwelt at Dogí or Dokí, "which is one of the dependencies of Hind," according to the statement of Abú-l-Fazl in the Akbar Náma'h,|| and was esteemed and venerated by the Afgháns of that part, and also by the Balúchís, presented himself. He was graciously received, and Dokí was conferred upon him. This would show plainly that Humáyún Bádsháh had it to give at this period. Shortly after this, Lawang, the Balúch, who was one of the chief men among the tribes of his people, also presented himself, along with his brethren; and the Bádsháh conferred upon him lands in the territory of Shál and Mastúng.¶

When, in the year 961 H. (1553 A.D.), the Tar-Khán and Arghún Mughals in Sind rebelled against Mírzá Sháh Husain, their sovereign, Sultán Mahmúd Khán, who was then at Síwí, moved against them with all the disposable forces of his fief, and overcame the insurgents. The Mughal power in Sind, however, had now become greatly weakened, and was hastening to its fall, and each of the feudatories and great Chiefs was eager to appropriate what he could.

After this outbreak had been suppressed, Mírzá Sháh Husain came to an accommodation with Mírzá 'Ísá, the Tar-Khán, the chief rebel, but, in the third month of 962 H. (February, 1554 A.D.), when the former died,** Sultán Mahmúd Khán seized upon the Bakhar territory as his share, and took possession of the Mátí-lah or Máthí-lah district,†† and assumed independence of the Tar-Kháns. Consequent upon this, the attention of Sultán Mahmúd Khán‡‡ was directed to the settlement of what

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writer above referred to—never heard even his name. It so happens, however, that during the whole of the time the Bádsháh was in Sind, and for a considerable period after, this Chákar the Rind was a petty feudatory in the Chin-hat Do-ábah, over a hundred miles north-east of Multán, and subject to the Afghán Amír then holding the government of the Panj-áb for Sultán Sher Sháh, the Sor or Súr Lodí. That Amír's name was Haibat Khán, of the Níází branch of the Lodís, who has already been prominently mentioned in these pages (346, 347), and who was entitled MASNAD-I-'ÁLÁ, Á'ZAM HUMÁYÚN, and this is the Humáyún under whose government the "mighty Chákar," the Rind Balúch, dwelt, and whose commands he obeyed; and which Afghán Amír those possessing but a very superficial knowledge of Indian history have so clearly mistaken for Muhammad Humáyún Bádsháh! When I come to the account of the Balúch tribes, I shall give some reliable information about Chákar the Rind.

* Another of the brothers, Hindál Mírzá, had been in possession of it a short time before. When he deserted Humáyún Bádsháh in Sind, and made towards Kandahár, its governor, Karájah Khán, admitted him, and the two kept possession until ousted by Kámrán Mírzá soon after, who placed 'Askarí Mírzá in charge of it once more.

† The route recently followed by the Indian portion of the Afghán Boundary Commission. Neither *chúl* nor *chúlí* are proper names. The first is the Persian for a desert waste, and the last dwellers in a *chúl*.

‡ The fortress held out until the sixth month of the same year.

§ Here is another Sultán, but not a sovereign prince.

|| But it was really a dependency of the Kandahár province, as he himself shows in his Á'ín-i-Akbarí. He means here, probably, that it belonged to Hind, since Kandahár was a province dependent on Hind or Hindústán when he wrote that work.

¶ This is the first time that Balúchís are mentioned in any history as having lands assigned to them in this part. They are still to be found there, in Mangachár, and are known as Lawangán or Lawangáo's, vulgarly styled "Langaos" by those who do not know the orthography of the name.

MacGregor, in his "Central Asia," quoting from others, says, that "the Langaos are said to have been "originally slaves of the Rinds, enfranchised by the famed Chákar, on the occasion of his daughter's nuptials." The above historical record, however, refutes most of the doings of the "famed Chákar."

** It was in the ninth month of this same year that Humáyún Bádsháh recovered his throne. He came from Nang-Nihár by a raft on the river of Kábul to Pes'háwar, and crossed the Indus on the 5th of Safar, the second month of 962 H. (January, 1554 A.D.), thirty-five days before Mírzá Sháh Husain died near Thathah. He was finally buried at Makkah near the grave of his father.

†† Mátí-lah, or Máthí-lah, was one of the *mahálls* of the Bakhar *sarkár* of the Multán *Súbah*. It is still well known, and forms, at present, part of the Collectorate of Shikár-púr.

‡‡ Elliott, in his translation of the "Tarkhán Náma," after styling him at first by his correct name of Sultán Mahmúd Khán, Bakharí, or of Bakhar, subsequently calls him "Sultán Mahmúd," leaving out the

we now call Upper Sind, and the people of Sind, Siro, lying on either side of the Indus around Bakhar, and especially on the east side constituting Máṭhí-lah; and thus his hold upon the more distant Síwí, and parts around it, became loosened.* While he was attending to the settlement of the tracts of the territory referred to, which had been desolated by the Balúchís and Samíjahs,† and endeavouring to restore them to prosperity again, he appears to have abandoned the Síwí territory altogether, as too distant to attend to. The consequence was, coupled with the weakness of the rulers of the Ḳandahár province for the time being, then held by Sháh‡ Muḥammad, the Ḳandahárí, as the deputy of the Khán-i-Khánán, Bairam Khán, whose fief it was, that the Balúchís began again to appropriate territory; and the Afghán tribes dwelling in the hill tracts to the north of Síwí appear to have followed their example, to prevent, in all probability, the Balúch interlopers from appropriating the parts lying nearest to themselves.

Humáyún Bádsháh died in the third month of 963 H. (February, 1556 A.D.), and his son, Jalál-ud-Dín, Muḥammad Akbar Bádsháh, who was born at Amar-Koṭ, in Sind, on Sunday, 5th Rajab, the seventh month of 949 H. (October, 1542), succeeded him.

Scarcely had the news of Humáyún Bádsháh's death reached Khurásán, than Bahádur Khán, brother of 'Alí Ḳulí, Khán-i-Zamán, who had been placed in charge of the Zamín-i-Dáwar at the same time that Sháh Muḥammad had been placed in charge of the Ḳandahár province, attempted to surprise that stronghold. As previously mentioned, Ḳandahár and its territory was, at this period, the fief of the renowned, but unfortunate, Bairam Khán, the Turk-mán, at this time the chief minister and guide of Akbar Bádsháh, whose tutor he had been from that Bádsháh's early childhood. When Bairam Khán set out from Ḳandahár to join Humáyún Bádsháh, on his late

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other word of his name, and evidently considered he was a sovereign prince from the word Sulṭán; for he afterwards calls him "the Sulṭán" several times.

* In his "Report" (page 2), Mr. Duke states that "Shah Beg's son succeeded him [but gives him no "name], and added Multan to his dominions, but his family was displaced by Mirza Isa, son of Abdul Ali "*Turkan*, whom Shah Beg had appointed Governor of Tatta. Mirza Isa disavowed allegiance to *Humayun*, "but in 1581 Akbar conquered Mirza *Jan* Beg, Mirza Isa's son, and *Sewistan* [mistaken for Síwí of Multán], "Sind, and Multan were incorporated into the Delhi Empire." In a footnote he adds, "Mr. Dames "mentions frequent contests between the Rinds and *Hamayun;* it is probable, therefore, that the Biluches "at first *helped* the Sind people in the struggle against *Babar's son*, who was endeavouring to recover his "father's throne and Sewi among other places [which, according to what he previously said, is *Sewistan*, of "course]; but the general concurrence of tradition is that the Rinds went with *Hamayun* to Delhi, and very "materially assisted him in taking that place; they probably attacked him when he was returning to Persia, "and helped him when he was advancing with an army from Persia."

MacGregor also says, "Mír Chákar went with Hamáún Sháh to Dehlí about 957 Hijri, or 1542 A.D."

This may be compared with the historical facts menticned in the text above. The writers appear to have been unaware that there are several histories giving minute details of all the transactions of this period, extracts from some of which have been translated in Elliot's "Indian Historians." I will merely mention here that Multán was given up to Akbar's grandfather *sixty-eight years before Sind was annexed;* Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, Sháh Beg Khán's son and successor, had no family to succeed him, and before he died, Mírzá 'Ísá, the Tar-Khán Mughal, not "*Turkan*," had rebelled against him, but was reduced.

When Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain died in 962 H. (1554 A.D), Mírzá 'Ísá, the Tar-Khán, and Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán divided their sovereign's territory between them, the latter retaining the Bakhar territory, as I have already described it (including *Síwí*), and the former retaining the provinces of Lár or Ṭhaṭhah, or Lower Sind, and Wícholo, Síw-istán (which is *not* Síwí), or Middle Sind. This, too, was *forty years before Akbar Bádsháh annexed Sind.*

There is not a scrap of evidence in history to show that Mírzá 'Ísá, the Tar-Khán, "disavowed allegiance "to *Humayun*," and the latter died within a few months of the former seizing upon the provinces of Síw-istán and Ṭhaṭhah. The Bádsháh in question never had any encounter with Rinds; they never attacked him on his way to Persia, nor assisted him when he "returned from Persia." Between Humáyún Bádsháh's return from Persia and his march to Dihlí was a period of *eleven years and a half;* he did not come through Sind, but by Kábul, Jalál-ábád, the river of Kábul, Pes'háwar, and Láhor, crossing the Indus at Níl-Áb, consequently no Rinds assisted him, neither did they accompany him to Dihlí. He never entered Sind after he left it when he retired towards Ḳandahár, and subsequently to Persia, and did not "struggle" to recover Síwí; and, finally, Akbar Bádsháh did not "conquer Mirza Jan Beg, Mírza Isa's son, and incorporate "Sewistan, Sind, and Multan into the Delhi Empire in 1581," simply because Multán was incorporated in 1526–27, and Siw-istán or Wícholo is Sind as well as Lár or Ṭhaṭhah, and these were given up, not in 1581, but in 1592–93, by Mírzá Jání Beg, son of Mírzá Muḥammad Báḳí, the Tar-Khán Mughal.

I have already shown, with reference to Chákar, the Rind, how the Afghán Amír, Haibat Khán, Níází, the A'ẓam Humáyún, the governor of the Panj-áb for Sulṭán Sher Sháh, has been mistaken for Humáyún Bádsháh. *See* note ¶, page 589.

† He had himself laid waste some of the most flourishing parts of Upper Sind along the Indus, by order of Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, when Humáyún Bádsháh was moving from the Panj-áb towards Sind; and those parts have not recovered their former flourishing condition to this day.

‡ The word Sháh here must not be taken for the title of a sovereign prince any more than Sulṭan. Abú-l-Faẓl sometimes styles him a Ḳandahárí and sometimes a Kalátí, that is, of the present Kalát-i-Ghalzí, which was in the Ḳandahár province, and of which place he was a native.

successful expedition and recovery of his throne, mainly through Bairam Khán's exertions, and effected a junction with him on the way, previous to his crossing the Indus in 962 H. (1554 A.D.), he left an officer of his own, named Sháh Muḥammad, the Ḳandahárí, the person referred to above, in charge of that stronghold.

Bahádur Khán's attempt at surprise having failed, he appeared before Ḳandahár at the head of a considerable force which he had collected from among all the mercenaries around. Sháh Muḥammad, the governor, knowing very well that assistance from Hindústán could only reach him after considerable delay—for Kábul was not then in Akbar Bádsháh's possession—and that he was fully occupied in establishing himself in Hindústán, resolved to apply for assistance, in getting rid of Bahádur Khán, to the Sháh, the ruler of Í-rán. His plea was, that a previous compact had existed between the late Bádsháh and the Sháh, that, as soon as Hindústán had been recovered, Ḳandahár should be restored; that he was now beset by a rebel, and that the Sháh should despatch a force to receive charge of it; and he solemnly pledged himself to give it up. A force of 3,000 Turk-mán *jágír-dár* troops was accordingly despatched from Sijis-stán, which fell unawares upon Bahádur Khán and his forces, overthrew, and routed them.* After this, the Sháh's officers signified their readiness to receive charge, but Sháh Muḥammad made excuses, thanked them for their aid, and sent them empty away. The Sháh was greatly enraged at this trick of Sháh Muḥammad, and resolved to reduce Ḳandahár; and Sháh Muḥammad, expecting to be invested, prepared as well as he was able for a vigorous defence. These events took place in 964 H. (1556–57 A.D.),† the first year of Akbar Bádsháh's reign.

The storm which Sháh Muḥammad expected soon burst upon him. He having broken the compact entered into, the Sháh appointed his brother's son, Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá, son of Bahrám Mírzá, Ḥusain Beg, Ichak Úghlí, the Istáljú, the *lálá*‡ or tutor and guardian of the young prince, and 'Alí Khalífah, the Shámlú, at the head of an army to capture Ḳandahár; and Sháh Muḥammad, Ḳandahárí, prepared to give them a warm reception. The investment lasted a long time, according to Abú-l-Faẓl, but when it commenced he does not think it necessary to mention. During a sally from the Darwázah-i-Nau, the *múrchál* of 'Alí Khálífah was entered, himself wounded, and a number of his men killed; and Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá, at length, raised the investment. The Sháh was very angry thereat, and again despatched him; and along with him went 'Alí Ḳulí Sulṭán, the Ḥákim of Shíráz, and 'Alí Khalífah, the Shámlú, at the head of a large force, with directions to possess himself of Ḳandahár by some means or other. 'Alí Ḳulí Sulṭán made great efforts to take it, but was killed during the operations; and, according to Abú-l-Faẓl, "the Ḳazil-Básh forces became dis-"organized; and Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá, who could neither retire nor effect anything, "passed his time in a state of distraction around the walls of the place." The result shows the contrary; while in the bombastic profusion of his words he lets the cat escape from the bag. He says—I shorten his account considerably—"In the mean-"time, Sháh Muḥammad, Ḳandáharí, represented to the Court the state of affairs, and "by Akbar Bádsháh's command,§ a reply was sent to him to the effect that the late "Bádsháh, his father, having previously promised that, as soon as Hindústán was "recovered, he would make over Ḳandahár to the Sháh, it was not right for him, "Sháh Muḥammad, to have entered into hostilities with the Í-rání forces, and have "brought matters to this pitch; that it was necessary that he should deliver up "Ḳandahár to the Sháh's officers, and, having made apology for what had passed, "should present himself at Court." Further, it was stated, that the friendship and good will of the Sháh was above all desirable, and his claim just, or words to that effect.

* Bahádur Khán, after this affair, did not hesitate to proceed to the presence of Akbar Bádsháh. He presented himself in his camp before Mán-Koṭ, when the Bádsháh was investing that stronghold, in which Sikandar, Súr, who had, at this time, assumed sovereignty, had shut himself up. Bahádur Khán is said to have been punished by the Bádsháh for his conduct, but, he performed such wonderful feats of gallantry before that place, that he was again taken into favour, and the province of Multán was conferred upon him as a fief. The reason why he was treated so leniently, and his brother, 'Alí Ḳulí, Khán-i-Zamán, who, as well as Bahádur, some years after, was guilty of rebellion, was, that they were the sons of Ḥaidar Sulṭán, Shaibání, the Úzbak, who, when Humáyún Bádsháh set out from the Court of Sháh Ṭhamásib, aided by a contingent of his troops, to recover his dominions, Ḥaidar Sulṭán, and his sons, accompanied the Bádsháh, and continued in his service. It was the remembrance of the father's services which saved Bahádur Khán on this occasion.

Mán-Koṭ was surrendered to Akbar Bádsháh in the ninth month of 964 H. (August, 1557 A.D.). *See* note *, page 326.

† The year commenced on the 3rd of November, 1556.

‡ Lálá is equivalent to the 'Arabic *atálíḳ*.

§ Akbar Bádsháh, at this period, had plenty to engage all his energies in other quarters than Ḳandahár.

Sháh Muḥammad, accordingly, delivered up Kandahár and its dependencies into the hands of the Prince, Sulṭán Husain Mírzá, and set out (along with the troops forming the garrison) for Hindústán, and on his arrival he was well received. These events happened in 966 H. (1558 A.D.), in the third year of Akbar Bádsháh's reign; and thus Kandahár and its territory passed again from the possession of Bábar's dynasty into the hands of the Ṣafawís,* under whose sway it continued for over thirty years, as will be presently related.

Besides the fall of Kandahár, in 964 H. (1558 A.D.),† Bahádur Khán, brother of 'Alí Kulí, Khán-i-Zamán, before mentioned, upon whom Akbar Bádsháh had conferred the province of Multán as his fief, was despatched from the Bádsháh's camp, where he had been in attendance since his Kandahár *escapade*, in order to proceed thither and take charge, as the Balúchís on the confines of the Multán province had rebelled, and he was directed to chastise them. He moved against the Balúchís accordingly, and encountered a numerous gathering of them, consisting of both horse and foot. After he had carried on hostilities against them for about a month, he became victorious over them.

Such is the substance of Abú-l-Faẓl's account; for he is the only one who mentions this affair, but, he is so fully lost in his tedious, parenthetical verbosity, that he does not consider it necessary to say to what tribe these Balúchís belonged, where they were located, and what caused the outbreak. The "powerful Hindoo kingdom," however, does not appear.

I must now return to Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán of Bakhar, and his affairs.

Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán seems to have tried to curry favour with, and endeavoured to please, both the ruler of Í-rán and the ruler of Hindústán. In 965 H. (1557 A.D.), he married the daughter of Sháh Bardí Beg, a kinsman of Akbar Bádsháh's chief minister, the Khán-i-Khánán, Bairam Khán, but whose fall was then near at hand;‡ and, in the same year, he received from the Ṣafawí monarch, Sháh Thamásib, the title of Khán, with a dress of honour, a turban or head-dress, a standard, and kettle-drums.§ In the same year he sent an agent to Akbar Bádsháh, why is not said; and, according to Mír Ma'ṣúm, who ought to know all about it, notwithstanding that there is no record of it in the Akbar Náma'h, says, "the territory of Úchchh, together with Jijh "or Jichh Wá'han and Bhaṭí Wá'han, on account of the turbulent conduct of the "Balúchís, were conferred upon him to hold as a fief from the government of "Hindústán." These two last were *maḥálls* belonging to the Multán *sarkár* in the Berún-i-Panj-Nad, or Extra Panj-Áb district of that *Ṣúbah*.‖

Quarrels arose between Sulṭan Maḥmúd Khán's people and the Khán of the Náhars (the Nághar tribe of Afgháns are, no doubt, referred to) about payment of revenue, consequently, in 966 H. (1558–59 A.D.), he determined to march against the Khán of the Náhars, and appeared before Síṭ-púr.¶ He invested the fort there for a period of two months, during which many Náhars were killed. At last, being reduced to great straits, through the interference of three of the priesthood,

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* In the last month of the preceding year, 965 H., Malik Sado, the progenitor of the Sadozís, or royal tribe of the Afgháns, was born in the Afghánistán east of Kandahár, where the Durránís are still located. In after years he obtained the title of Mír-i-Afghán from Sháh 'Abbás. His tribe sided with the Ḳazil-Báshís, generally, because they were well treated by the Ṣafawí rulers.

† This year commenced on the 13th October, 1558.

‡ When he found that Bairam Khán was coming towards Bakhar, relying on the relationship between them, and only intending to pass down the Indus to a port of embarcation, Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán, to show his gratitude towards him, ordered all the lands in his route to be desolated, so that, like Humáyún Bádsháh, whose faithful servant in all his misfortunes and vicissitudes Bairam Khán had been, he might not feel desirous of lengthening his stay in Sind. Finding what sort of reception he was likely to receive, the unfortunate nobleman turned off towards Paṭan of Guzarát, and there became the victim of the Afghán's dagger.

§ This was just before the Sháh acquired possession of Ḳandahár according to Mír Ma'ṣúm, but, according to Abú-l-Faẓl, it was just after. There is no doubt that the Ṣafawí monarch, who had acquired Ḳandahár and its territory the previous year, and Mukrán and parts adjacent, as far east as the then boundary of Síw-istán, they having long been subject to his dynasty and monarchy, was desirous of gaining over Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán, then independent, to his interests for some political purpose. Akbar Bádsháh, in all probability, endeavoured to do the same.

‖ Bhaṭí-Wá'han was a *maḥáll* of the Berún-i-Panj-Nad Do-Ábah district of the Multán *sarhár* of the Multán *Ṣubah*, and was inhabited by Loḍhí Ráj-púts; the other place mentioned is not contained among the names of the other sixteen of which Úchchh was one, but there is still a place so called. I hope these Ráj-púts will not purposely be mistaken for Lodí Afgháns.

¶ Síṭ-púr was one of the seventeen *maḥálls* constituting the district known as the Do-Ábah Berún-i-Panj-Nad, just referred to. Abú-l-Faẓl, in his Á'ín-i-Akbarí, mentions the inhabitants as Afgháns; and there were, according to that, *no others in the whole of the Berún-i-Panj-Nad district* of the Multán *Sarkár* of the Multán *Ṣúbah*. These Afgháns were rated as able to furnish no less than 200 horsemen and 2,000 foot for militia purposes. As no Náhars are mentioned by Abú-l-Faẓl, it is evident that the Nághar Afgháns are meant, an account of which tribe of Ghor-ghas'hts is given farther on.

the Náhar Khán came out on the ramparts of the fort, with a sword round his neck, and wrapped in a winding sheet, and, in humble terms, asked that his past acts might be overlooked, agreeing, at the same time, to pay four *lákhs* as a fine. This was accepted; and Sultán Maḥmúd Khán returned to Bakhar. In 969 H. (1561–62 A.D.), Ḥaḳḳ Bardí Beg, the agent of Sháh Thamásib, arrived at Bakhar, bringing a diadem, a ruby bracelet, embroidered girdle, a dress of honour, a canopy, a bow, a jewelled ornament for the turban, and other presents for Sultán Maḥmúd Khán; and he despatched *pesh-kash** in return for these, by the hands of an envoy of his own, the following year, 970 H. (1562–63 A.D.), and received from the Sháh the title of Khán-i- Kháán, through the same Ḥaḳḳ Bardí Beg.

In the year 972 H. (1564–65 A.D.), Sháh Thamásib, Ṣafawí, sent an envoy with presents to Akbar Bádsháh, but there is no mention of any other object.

Now it is a curious fact—and it shows the necessity in writing Oriental history, as well as any other, to consult *all* available writers for information (I do not refer here to translations however good), instead of trusting to the statements of a single author and translating them, or taking bits here and there from different authors for different epochs, without analyzing all†—that this petty chief of Bakhar, at the very same time, solicited the grant of this same title from Akbar Bádsháh, and tried to facilitate matters by sums of money to one of the nobles of his Court, but his request was refused. It is very evident from all this that Sháh Thamásib had some important object in view in thus attempting to secure the fealty of Sultán Maḥmúd Khán.

Abú-l-Faẓl relates, under the events of 974 H. (1566–67 A.D.), that, "Muḥammad "Báḳí,‡ son of Mírzá 'Ísá, the Tar-Khán Mughal, ruler of Sind, despatched an agent "to Akbar Bádsháh, tendering allegiance, and complaining, that Sultán Maḥmúd Khán, "of Bakhar, at the instigation of the Mírzás of Ḳandahár,§ contrary to all usage, and "without just cause, had marched troops against him, but they had been foiled and "dispersed; and he solicited that, as he was now a vassal of the State, orders should "be issued to Sultán Maḥmúd Khán to abstain from such acts. A *farmán* was "despatched accordingly, requesting the latter not to put his foot beyond his bounds, "and to withdraw his troops from the territory of Muḥammad Báḳí Khán."

In 980 H. (1572–73 A.D.), Sultán Maḥmúd Khán, observing the signs of the times, and the speedy downfall of the Tar-Khán rule in Sind, thought it advisable to endeavour to make terms with Akbar Bádsháh, who was then at Ajmír. He sent tendering his allegiance, and offering to send his daughter to the Bádsháh's *ḥaram*;‖ which offers were accepted, and Bakhar and its territory, hitherto held by him independently, was confirmed to him as a fief. He was now in his eighty-second year, and was afflicted with dropsy. At this time, to make matters worse, great part of his territory north-east of Bakhar, on the left bank of the Indus, was overrun by the adherents of Náhíd Bígam, daughter, by her first husband, of Máh Bígam, daughter of Mírzá Muḥammad Muḳím, brother of Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún, who had afterwards married the late Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, his son. After his death, she had again contracted matrimony with Mírzá 'Ísá, the Tar-Khán, father of Muḥammad Báḳí, who then ruled over Sind, including Thaṭhah and Síw-istán, and had been again left a widow, and was subsequently put to death by the same Muḥammad Báḳí, the Tar-Khán.¶ At last they invested Sultán Maḥmúd Khán within the fortress of Bakhar; and, during

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* Equivalent to acknowledging allegiance.

† The facts here narrated have never appeared in any English work before.

‡ Mír Ma'ṣúm always styles him Mírzá, but the Tar-Kháns are not entitled to be so styled. *See* note ‡, page 588.

§ These Mírzás will be mentioned presently.

‖ Abú-l-Faẓl says the daughter was for Prince Salím's *ḥaram*, and that he offered Bakhar and its dependencies as a *pesh-kash* to the prince. It was much the same thing, however, under a different name.

¶ These matters will be scarcely intelligible without giving some account of Náhíd Bígam. Many a novel has been founded on a much less romantic career; and the correctness of the axiom that truth is stranger than fiction is here fully proved.

Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, Arghún, ruler of Sind, son of Sháh Beg Khán, had married Máh Bígam, daughter of his paternal uncle, Mírzá Muḥammad Muḳím, who took Kábul from 'Abd-ur-Razzáḳ, son of Mírzá Ulugh Beg, and married the latter's daughter. Kábul, it will be remembered, was surrendered to Bábar Bádsháh by Muḥammad Muḳin in 910 H. (September, 1504 A.D.), and he was permitted to return to Ḳandahár. When Bábar Bádsháh obtained temporary possession of Ḳandahár in 913 H. (1507 A.D.), Máh Bígam, Muḥammad Muḳím's daughter, by the daughter of Ulugh Beg, then quite a child, fell into the hands of Bábar's troops, and was carried away a captive to Kábul. In course of time, Bábar married her to Muḥammad Ḳásim, the Kúkah, who was subsequently killed in battle with the Úzbaks, and saved the Bádsháh from captivity or death by declaring himself to be Bábar when they were both surrounded by the enemy. By him Máh Bígam had a daughter, named Náhíd Bígam.

When Sháh Beg Khán returned to Ḳandahár after securing possession of Síwí, as already related, and was on a tour of inspection in the Zamín-i-Dáwar and the Garm-Sír, on reaching her Aul (camp), the mother of Máh Bígam, Bíbí Ẓaríf Khátún by name, clothed in sackcloth, and with ashes sprinkled on her head, presented herself

the investment, early in the seventh month of 982 H. (November, 1574 A.D.) he died, at the age of eighty-four. After his decease, the defenders of Bakhar, who would not give it up to Náhíd Bígam's party, agreed, that it should be given up on the arrival of a person deputed by the Bádsháh to receive charge of it; and, in that same year, it was delivered up to Mír Gísú, the officer despatched for that purpose.* In the following year, the Mír, Sayyid Muḥammad, the Mír-i-'Adl, was appointed governor of Bakhar and its dependent territory,† and he arrived and assumed his duties in the ninth month of the same year.

At this period Síwí and parts around were in the possession of the Parní tribe of Ghor-ghas'ht Pŭs'htúns or Afgháns. They probably acquired possession of that fort and its dependencies soon after Ḳandahár was given up to the Ṣafawís, and when the Arghún power in Sind and Shál and Mastúng began to decay and shortly after terminated, and the Tar-Kháns succeeded in Sind. Some of the hill country to the northward of it had been for several generations past in their possession, and that of other Ghor-ghas'hts, their kinsmen, and it is confirmed by what follows.

In 984 H. (1576–77 A.D.), the year after his reaching Bakhar, the Mír, Sayyid Muḥammad, despatched a force, under his son, the Mír, Sayyid Abú-l-Faẓl, against Síwí, then, and as in after times, when the elaborate revenue system of Akbar Bádsháh was adopted throughout his empire, a *maḥáll* of the Bakhar province. The only particulars given respecting this expedition is by Mír Ma'ṣúm, and they are very meagre. He says,—"The people of Man-kachh of the Kárkar or Gárgar *pargana'h* "had become hostile because some changes had been made in revenue assessment which "they considered unjust, and the Mír's subordinates were severe in exacting it. The

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before him, and besought him to obtain her daughter's release out of the hands of Bábar Bádsháh. A plan was arranged, the details of which, though of great interest, are too long for insertion here; and those appointed to carry it out, succeeded in bringing her away on coming out from the bath, whither she had gone as part of the scheme, brought her out of Kábul, and effected her escape in safety to Ḳandahár through the Hazárah country. She was unable, however, to bring along with her her child, then a year and a half old, and had to leave her behind. The husband of her captivity, Muḥammad Ḳásim, was killed by the Ūzbaks, as before stated, a year after her escape; and a short time subsequently, Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, Sháh Beg Khán's son, her cousin, contracted matrimony with her. After his death, she married his successor, Mírzá 'Ísá, the Tar-Khán; and when he died in 974 H. (1566–67 A.D.), greater disorders than before broke out in Sind.

In 976 H. (1568–69 A.D.), Mírzá Muḥammad Báḳí, son of Mírzá 'Ísá, succeeded; and he had arranged that his daughter, Sindí Bígam, should be received among the ladies of Akbar Bádsháh's *ḥaram*. After the death of Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, Náhíd Bígam, the baby who had been left behind at Kábul when her mother escaped, and now a grown-up woman and a mother, obtained permission from Akbar Bádsháh—she had been kept a captive, so to say, by Bábar, Humáyún, and Akbar up to this time—to pay a visit to her widowed mother, Máh Bígam, whom she had not seen since she was eighteen months old; and she proceeded to Ṭhaṭhah accordingly. Náhíd Bígam had married long before this, but with whom is not stated, and had a grown-up daughter of her own, named Rá'jíah Bigam, who had been married to Mírzá Nijábat Khán, but had been divorced from him.

Arrived at Ṭhaṭhah, Mírzá Muḥammad Báḳí, son of Máh Bígam's third husband, contracted a great friendship for Náhíd Bígam during her stay at Ṭhaṭhah, and married her daughter, Rá'jíah Bigam; but, during the disturbances which arose in Sind after Muḥammad Báḳí's succession, he was attacked at night by a rival, while on board his vessels with his followers on the Indus. He managed to escape, but Rá'jíah Bígam, his wife, the daughter of Náhíd Bígam, was killed. About a year after this, the latter expressed her desire of returning to Hindústán; and Muḥammad Báḳí determined to despatch his daughter, previously referred to, to the Bádsháh's Court under her charge. In the meantime, however, Náhíd Bígam's mother, Máh Bígam, Muḥammad Báḳí's step-mother, who was ambitious of ruling, headed the forces of her party against him, but they were defeated, and she was thrown into confinement, and was starved to death in prison. Náhíd Bígam, her daughter, succeeded in making her escape to Bakhar, where Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán, who was hostile to the Tar-Kháns, assured her, that, if she would only bring him a *farmán* from the Bádsháh to act for her, he would amply revenge her upon Muḥammad Báḳí; and she set out for Hindústán, where, being a widow, she married in 978 H. (1570–71 A.D.), Muḥibb 'Alí Khán, the son of Mír 'Alí Khalífah, who had been in Bábar's service, and is called "the pillar of his state." In the meantime Muḥammad Báḳí had sent his daughter to the Court, but she was not accepted, and returned to Ṭhaṭhah; and Náhíd Bígam, having obtained the required *farmán*, set out for Bakhar accompanied by her husband, Muḥibb 'Alí Khán, and Mujáhid Khán, his son by a former wife, upon whom, in expectation of their being able to aid her better thereby, the *maḥálls* of Fatḥ-púr and Kuhror were conferred as *jagírs*. On the way to Bakhar they were joined by several Arghúns and their followers, who had just been expelled therefrom by Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán, consequently, when they arrived near Rúṛhí, and Náhíd Bígam intimated that she came provided with the required *farmán*, he refused all aid, and treated them as enemies. On this they proceeded to invest him within the fortress. He had now become very old, and afflicted with dropsy; and the upshot of the affair has been related in the text above.

The Ma'áṣir-ul-Umará makes a terrible hash of the life of Muḥibb 'Alí Khán, and all the persons mentioned.

* At this time Mujáhid Khán, son of Muḥibb 'Alí Khán, husband of Náhíd Bígam, was investing the fort of Ganj-áwah, which belonged to Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán of Bakhar, as part of his territory, and a dependency of Síwí, while his father Muḥibb 'Alí Khán was investing Bakhar.

† The author of the "Gazetteer of Sind" assures us (page 31) that it was "the Mogul Emperor Jahángir "who adopted the prudent plan of appointing special lieutenants to govern the outer districts of his empire." His father, Akbar Bádsháh, never did so perhaps?

" followers of the Mír, Sayyid Abú-l-Faẓl, entered [for shelter seemingly] the small fort " which is situated between Kand or Gand and Bijarán;* and the Man-kachh people " poured their arrows upon the fugitives thus invested, took the fort, and numbers of the " Mír's men were killed. Those impious fellows [the Man-kachh people] cast the bodies " of both Musalmáns and infidels [Hindús] all together, into a well within the place, and " levelled it with the ground. The Mír, Sayyid Muḥammad, was much put out at this, " and he recalled his men from Síwí, and directed them to retaliate on the Kárkarí or " Gárgarí people; and, after a little endeavour, the Man-kachh people were expelled " from that part and took to flight. Shortly after this, Sayyid Abú-l-Faẓl, son of the " Mir, Sayyid Muḥammad, withdrew his men and returned to Bakhar." This is all he says on the subject; but the fort here referred to cannot be that of Síwí itself, because that was taken. He must refer to another—he says, indeed, that it was a small fort—in which a detachment from the Sayyid's forces took shelter, and were caught in a trap. Abú-l-Faẓl, the historian, under the events of this and the few succeeding years, makes no mention of Síwí; and the only work in which it is mentioned, besides Mír Ma'ṣúm's history, is in the history by Faiẓí, the Sahrindí, a contemporary writer. All he says—for his history is briefly written—is this:—" In 984 H., the fortress of Síwí " was taken. The circumstances are as follows. The Mír, Sayyid Muḥammad-i-'Adl, " who had been nominated to the government of the Bakhar territory, despatched " the Mír, Sayyid Abú-l-Faẓl, and others of his sons, against Síwí, and they succeeded, " in a short time, in taking it. This line gives the date of its capture:—'*The taking* " '*of Síwí, and the valour of the Parnís.*' "

It is very evident from this that the Parnís made a brave defence; and, not long after, they again possessed themselves of it.†

It must be remembered that, at this time, neither Kandahár nor any territory west of the Indus, excepting the dependencies of Multán and Bakhar, which extended to the foot of the mountains of the Koh-i-Surkh, Sor Ghar, or Rátá Pahár, and no more, belonged to Akbar Bádsháh. The dates of their passing under his sway will be presently related.

To return to the affairs of Bakhar. Shortly after the withdrawal of his forces from Síwí, in the eighth month of 984 H. (November, 1576 A.D.), the Sayyid, Muḥammad, died, and his son, the Sayyid, Abú-l-Faẓl, assumed the government of the territory. In the following year, 985 H. (1577 A.D.), the head-men of the Kárkarí or Gárgarí people‡ were seized, and one or two of them were crushed to death by being cast under the feet of an elephant.

It is related in the Akbar Náma'h, under the events of the same year, that, " in the " month of Spandár-muz—February—a well appointed force, under the leadership of " Mírzá Yúsúf Khán, and other warriors, was despatched into the Balúchistán,§ because " the head-men of the *ulús* of that part, by reason of their innate ferocity of disposition, " and inverted fortune, had become contumacious." Instructions were given to " try the " effect of mild measures at first, and, if they were not sufficient, to have recourse to

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* Some extracts from Mír Ma'ṣúm's history have been translated in Elliot's " Historians of India," by the Editor, I believe, but he has made sad havoc of this passage (vol. 1, page 243), which compare.

The first word here is rather uncertain; for, in one copy of the history of Mír Ma'ṣúm, it is as above; in a second, Kanfúd; and, in a third, without points, but, with this exception, it is like the word above. The Balúch interlopers have so changed the former names of scores of places since their arrival in these parts, that recognition becomes difficult. We still have a *kotal* called the Kotal-i-Bijar or Bijarán, a few miles to the northwards of Káhan of the Marís. Man-kachh here mentioned is, probably, what is called " Mian Kach " in the maps, the Míán Kats of Afgháns.

† In his " Report " (page 6), Mr. Duke states there had been *no chance for them* (the Parnis) *to occupy a position of any great importance* in any part of Sewistan [he means Siwí, for which he has mistaken it] before the year of Nadir Shah's death, 1747; an inspection of their pedigree roll and Ahmad Shah's sunnuds confirms this view." Here, however, we find Síwí taken from them, and they, the Parnís, occupying a very prominent position, *one hundred and seventy-one years before Nádir Shah's assassination*; and thus history confutes Mr. Duke's view, as will the history of the Parní tribe farther on. *See* also note ‡, page 602.

‡ Not the proper name of a people, but the people of the Kárkar or Kárkarí or Gárgarí *pargana'h*, just previously mentioned. It formed part of the *jágír* of Mír Ma'súm, as related farther on, at page 601. As before stated, these words may be Gárgarí and Gárgar, as well as Kárkarí and Kárkar, from the mode of writing *k* and *g* in Persian.

§ " The Balúchistán," here mentioned, can refer only to such parts as were inhabited by them, situated within the limits of the Multán *Ṣúbah*, including the Bakhar *sarkár*, for reasons presently to be stated.

It will be noticed that Abú-l-Faẓl uses the word " Balúchistán " here, as others did even before his time, but, the " Péshín " Gazetteer assures us, that, " the Baluch tribes being best known to Nádir Shah, that " monarch *bestowed their name* on the country," *only*, neither Nádir Sháh nor his historians say so. *See* also page 599.

"the sword." Under the events of the year following, at which time Akbar Bádsháh was in the Panj-áb, it is stated, that "Hájí Khán, Chhutah,* and the rest of the chief "men of the Balúchistán, in a very humble and crestfallen condition, presented them- "selves, and, as had been previously stipulated, their past misdeeds were forgiven." Then, in his usual tediously verbose and periphrastic style, Abú-l-Fazl gives no particulars, mystifies the matter, and conceals the truth in a multitude of words. All that can be gathered is, that, after remaining in attendance for some time, Hájí Khán, and the rest of the heads of the Balúchís, seized the opportunity, when the Bádsháh was crossing the Sutlaj at Rahím-ábád, to fly. The Kunwar, Mán Singh, Zain Khán, the Kokal-Tásh, and Áṣaf Khán, were despatched in pursuit, but the Balúchís could not be overtaken.

According to the Akbar Náma'h, it was after these events, in 986 H. (1578–79 A.D.), during the Bádsháh's expedition into Málwah, that the news of the death of the Sayyid, Muḥammad, the Mír-i-'Adl, was received, and that the Khwájah Sará'e (eunuch) I'timád Khán, was despatched as governor to Bakhar. This was really to supersede the Mír, Sayyid Abú-l-Fazl, the late governor's son. I'timád Khán was soon removed on account of disagreements with the soldiery serving under him, some of whom fled to Kandahár. According to the same work, Fatḥ Khán, another officer, was sent from the Court to replace him in the same year. No other particulars are given.

Mír Ma'ṣúm, who was a native of Bakhar, and at this very time in the Bádsháh's service, says, that I'timád Khán was killed by his own followers, who were unable any longer to endure his tyranny and ill treatment, in 986 H. (1578 A.D.), and, that the *jágír* of the Bakhar *sarkár* was assigned in copartnership between Fatḥ Khán, Bahádur, and Rájah Parmanand, a kinsman of Rájah Todar Mal.† Two years after, the Rájah returned to the Court, and Fatḥ Khán, soon after, also wended his way thither, and obtained the sole charge of the Bakhar territory. Subsequently—unfortunately, no date is given, but from what follows, it appears to have happened in the beginning of 993 H. (1585 A.D.)—Shiháb Khán, the Wakíl or Deputy of Fatḥ Khán, but a man of no experience, led a force against the small fort of Kin on the Indus,‡ belonging to the Náhars (Nághars), and held by their chief, Ibráhím Khán. A fight took place, in which Shiháb Khán was defeated by them and killed in the action. Fatḥ Khán, Bahádur, was forthwith superseded and recalled from Bakhar.§

I must now turn to some of the other still more important events of this year, bearing also on the subject of Bakhar and Síwí, and parts around. It was in this year that the province of Kábul and its dependencies came under the sway of Akbar Bádsháh for the first time, by the death of his half brother, Muḥammad Ḥakím

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* These are the people, or some of the same tribe, who are now located in Laḥsá (*vul.* Las), and who claim descent from the Sumrahs of Sind, who were overthrown by the Sammahs.

† It was the usual practice during the reign of Akbar Bádsháh to send a Hindú along with a Musalmán in the command of troops, or, like in the case here mentioned, to govern a province, the one to act as a buffer to the other, or to watch each other. The effect of such joint commands is apparent in the case of Zain Khán in the retreat from Suwát when saddled with Rájah Bír-Baṛ, as narrated at page 260.

‡ A few miles south-west of Ruján. *See* page 585.

§ Mr. A. W. Hughes, in his "Gazetteer of Sind," informs us, that, "Rohri has a large number of "Muhammadan places of worship, but the chief among them are two *mazjids* [masjids] of some antiquity; one "known as the 'Jami Mazjid,' was built in H. 992 (A.D. 1564) by Fatéh Khán, a lieutenant of the Mogul "Emperor Akbar. . . . . The other, the 'Idgah Mazjid,' was erected in H. 1002 (A.D. 1593) by one "Mír Musan Shah." "Mír Musan Shah" was, of course, the famous Mír Ma'ṣúm, or Mír Ma'ṣúm Sháh, for he was a Sayyid, the historian, poet, warrior, and grandee of the Mughal empire. He was the founder of many buildings still in existence, and was buried at Sakhar, where his tomb may still be seen.

As Fatḥ Khán, Bahádur, was only made joint governor of the Bakhar district in 986 H. (1578 A.D.), and was recalled in the beginning of 993 H. (1585 A.D.) he could scarcely have built the Jámi' Masjid, in 1564. If he did build it, it must have been many years after the date given. There was a Jámi' Masjid, or Great Masjid, at Bakhar, where the prayer called the *khuṭbah* is read on Fridays for the reigning sovereign, ages before the period in question.

Mr. Hughes also states, that the "War Mubárak, a building about 25 feet square, situate north of the town [of Bakhar?], was erected about H. 952 (A.D. 1545) by Mír Muhammad, the then reigning Kalhora "prince," etc., etc. This is not correct. Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, the Arghún, reigned as sole sovereign over the whole of Sind from Úchchh to the sea, and from Jasal-mír to the Kahṭar range (including the Bakhar *sarkár* of Multán from 933 H.), from 928 H. to 962 H. (1521–22 to 1554–55 A.D.), or, in other words, for *ten years subsequent to* 1545, when this "Kalhora prince" is said to have reigned. But I may be allowed to mention, that, according to the history of Sind and the Mughal empire, it was *not until one hundred and fifty-six years after* 1545, *that the first of the Laṭián, the mendicant Darweshes or Kalhorahs, obtained their first farmán,—which did not make him a "reigning prince,"—namely in* 1701 *A.D.*, in the reign of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír Bádsháh. *See* the account of the Kalhorahs farther on. *See* also page 595, third paragraph.

Mírzá, who had held them independent of his brother. At this time, likewise, such parts of the extensive tract of country, then as now, known under the general name of the Balúchistán, as were not included in the dependencies of Kandahár on the south, in the Bakhar *sarkár* of Multán, and the Berún-i-Panj-Nad Do-ábah of the *Súbah* of Multán on the east, and the *sarkár* of Síw-istán of Thathah or Sind on the west, were subject to the Safawí rulers of Í-rán, of which Kandahár, too, was then a province. This tract continued subject to the rulers of Í-rán or Persia down to the time of the conquest of that empire by the Ghalzí Afgháns, when the Balúchís began to encroach. These tribes were again brought under complete dependence by Sháh Husain, the Ghalzí, for a time, and subsequently by Nádir Sháh, but, after his time, they again began to encroach towards the south and west, while Ahmad Sháh, Durrání, the Afghán monarch, conferred certain territory on the east, in feudal tenure only, on his vassal, the Bráúhí chief of Kalát, and from the stipulations of that tenure, the Bráúhí chief, for the time being, has never been released. The weakness of the Afghán rulers and government, afflicted with constant changes and convulsions, alone prevented the enforcement of the terms in modern days.*

The serious mistake made by *all* English writers I may say, is, in supposing Akbar Bádsháh to have succeeded to, and to have ruled over, all the territories west of the Indus, including Pes'háwar, Bangas'h, Kábul, Ghaznín, and Kandahár, on his accession at the death of his father, but such was not the case. It was only now, in 993 H. (1584 A.D.) that the first four were acquired, for the latter was still in the possession of the Safawís.† It was on the news being received of the death of his half brother, and that all Zábulistán was convulsed from one end to the other, that Akbar Bádsháh gave directions for preparations to be made for annexing those territories to his dominions; and this was *the thirtieth year of his reign.* The Kunwar, Mán Singh, and the Rájah, Baghwán-Dás, and their forces, from the Panj-áb, were despatched to Kábul to take possession of it, and the Bádsháh himself proceeded into the Panj-áb to be near at hand in case of need.

English writers also manage to confuse the Sháh Beg Khán, Arghún, who subdued Sind, who died in 928 H. (July, 1522 A.D.), with Sháh Beg Khán, Kábulí, who was Mírzá Muhammad Hakím's governor of Pes'háwar, who fled from thence to Kábul when Mán Singh crossed the Indus. This last-mentioned Sháh Beg was an Arghún too, but of a different family. His father's name was Ibráhím Beg.

In the last month of the same year, 993 H. (November, 1585 A.D.), the young sons, and the daughter of Nisá Bígam, the sister of the late Mírzá, Muhammad Hakím, reached the Bádsháh's presence at Ráwal Pindí;‡ on the 11th of the following month, the first of 994 H. (end of December, 1585 A.D.), the latter reached Atak Banáras on his way to Kábul; and, on the 5th of Azur (November) of the same year, Mán Singh entered Kábul.

It was at this period that the Bádsháh began to send his forces against the Afgháns north of the river of Kábul, who were never subject to his brother, and the disaster related at page 261 followed; also against the Ros'hánís, *alias* Tárikís, who were now becoming troublesome and dangerous; and he also turned his thoughts to the conquest of Kash-mír. All these matters should be considered here as showing the state of affairs at this period—just four hundred years ago, the period up to which "a "powerful Hindoo kingdom" is said to have existed west of the Indus.

I now return to the subject of the Bakhar territory, of which Síwí was still a district, although then in the possession of the Parnís.

When the news of the defeat of Fath Khán's Deputy by the Náhirs (Nághars) at Kin was received at the Court, orders were issued for removing him, and Muhammad Sádik Khán was appointed. Soon after reaching Bakhar, however, in the third month of 994 H. (March, 1586 A.D.), he was directed to assume the command of an expedition against the territory of Mírzá Jání, the Tar-Khán Mughal, the ruler of Sind; and, setting out in the last month of the same year, he moved towards Síw-istán. Some of his troops

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* The excuse on the part of the Bráúhí chiefs has been "that the Bárakzís were rebels, and subverters of "the Sadozís, that their compact was with the latter, and not with rebels and robbers." This excuse seems valid enough. There is no doubt, however, that the Bárakzís would have enforced the terms if they could.

† *See* page 593.

‡ Elliot, in his criticisms on Pococke's "*India in Greece*," in noticing that writer's assumption that there is a connection between *Pindus* and *Pind*, as in the name of "Pind Dadun Khan," says (Vol. I., page 379), that "Pind is a common word in the Upper Panjáb, signifying simply a village," in which he is quite correct, but he falls into as great an error as the author of "India in Greece," when he tells us, that, "the word 'Pind,' "indeed, *has only lately been introduced into the Panjáb.*" How comes it then that we have it *here*, in Akbar Bádsháh's time, some three hundred years ago, and that it is mentioned long before this period?

had previous to this, advanced as far as Pátar, or Pátr, and encountered some of Jání Beg's forces, and had gained some advantage over them.

It was in this same year, according to the Akbar Náma'h, while the Bádsháh was at Atak, that the Balúch chiefs, namely, Ghází Khán, Húth (Hút),* Bahár Khán, Nusrat Khán, Ibráhím (Nághar Afghán ?), and others, were admitted to make their obeisance. When the Bádsháh's troops entered their country, after some hostilities, these chiefs thought it advisable to submit, and now they presented themselves. Where these hostilities took place is not mentioned; such particulars, according to the author of the Akbar Náma'h, is of much less consequence than the indulgence of his fulsome verbosity. Akbar Bádsháh left Atak for Láhor in the third month of the year above mentioned, and, in that same year, Mán Singh was made the first Súbah-dár of the Kábul province. Zain Khán, the Kokal-Tásh, succeeded him there in 995 H. (1586 A.D.).

Mír Ma'súm states in his history, that, in 996 H. (1587 A.D.), Sherwiyah Sultán,† while governor of the province of Bakhar, despatched his son, Muhammad Husain Beg, to recover possession of Síwí from the Afgháns, which must have been lost to Bakhar from the time the Mír, Sayyid Muhammad, the Mír-i-'Adl, withdrew his son and his troops therefrom, as already mentioned.‡ They having assembled in considerable force, a pitched battle ensued. The van of Husain Beg's force was composed of Bulidhí§ Balúchís, who broke on the first onset. The Afgháns then attacked the main body, overthrew it, and inflicted great loss. The remainder of the defeated force took to flight, but the greater number of them, through the excessive heat, perished of thirst. After this disaster Sherwiyah Sultán was removed, much to the delight of the inhabitants of the Bakhar territory, as he was very tyrannical; and in 998 H. (1589–90 A.D.), Mírzá Muhammad-i-Záhid was appointed governor.

It was shortly after this, and while the Bádsháh was still at Láhor, that Mírzá Jání Beg, the Tar-Khán, ruler of Sind, who considered himself independent, did not think fit to tender submission to the Bádsháh, as some of his predecessors had done, and, in consequence, the Khán-i-Khánán, 'Abd-ur-Rahím, son of the famous Bairam Khán, "was despatched in the year 999 H. (1590–91 A.D.) for the subjugation of Sind and "the Balúchistán."‖ The Súbah of Multán and territory of Bakhar had previously been conferred upon him for the purpose of carrying out this measure. Abú-l-Fazl tells us that, at this time, the Balúch chiefs dwelling on the confines of Multán (in the Berún-i-Panj-Nad Do-ábah, up to the skirt of the mountains) came and presented

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* Supposed to be the founder of the Dera'h of Ghází Khán. That place was not founded before his time, but there were others before and after him who bore the same name. *See* page 4 for a brief account of this tribe of Balúchís, also note *, page 612.

† "Shiroya" Sultán, as in Elliot, is not correct. Here, too, is another "Sultán," but not a sovereign. *See* note ‡, page 588.

‡ *See* page 596.

§ In Elliot's work, this part of Mír Ma'súm's history is translated by Mr. Dowson, who has left out the name of this Balúch tribe. Pottinger, styles them *Booledé*, and calls them a sub-division of the Rind Balúchís, but MacGregor, quoting Pottinger as his authority, turns Pottinger's name into *Bolédis* at page 242 of Part III. of his "Central Asia," and says they are Rinds, but, at page 73 of the same book, he calls the *Bolédis*, "a tribe of Arab extraction," but, "long enough settled in Eastern Makran to be regarded as "*Bilóch*, or according to Pottinger, *Bráhúí*." In another place (page 75), he gives what is presumed to be Pottinger's list of the Bráúhí tribes, and forthwith the spelling of all Pottinger's names is changed for what he apparently considers a better system. Pottinger, as I have stated above, calls his "*Booledés*" Rinds, but, in his list of the *Brahooeé*, as he spells the word, he has a division called *Kejun Booladee*, which MacGregor mistakes for his *Booledé Rinds*, and thus makes out Pottinger to have "Booledés" both among Rinds and Bráúhís.

From the real spelling of the word it will be seen that both are wrong in their modes of writing, there being *no long vowel* in the word except the last.

Masson also mentions a Rind tribe, which he styles *Búladaí*, as "living at Wari north of Lárkhâna, in "Sind."

They are the same tribe as are now known in Upper Sind as "Boordees," and the tract in which they dwell "Boordee-ka." I have before mentioned that "*l*" and "*r*" are interchangeable in these parts, hence their correct name is as above, or Buridhí, with "*r*" for "*l*," not "Boordee."

At the period referred to in the text above, the inhabitants of the Jamsher *mahâll* of the Berún-i-Panj-Nad Do-ábah of the Multán *sarkár* of the Multán *Súbah*, were Bholedí and Narúe Balúchís, who were rated as liable to furnish between them 150 horsemen and 2,000 foot for militia purposes. They were employed as such on the occasion of this defeat. There were no other places in the whole *Súbah* inhabited by these Balúch tribes. Abú-l-Fazl spells the first word as I have given it in the text above in his Akbar Náma'h, but, in different copies of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, it is written Bholedí, Bhuledí, and Búlhidí. The other name is not spelt "*Nárúís*," as in MacGregor's work, and they were not peculiar to "Upper Makran." They came into the Multán territory, in all probability, soon after Malik Suhráb, the Dudá'í Hút, came into those parts from Mukrán. *See* note §, page 4.

‖ The above are the exact words of the text, but, in Elliot, the editor translates them "to take Thatta and "bring the Bulúchís under control."

themselves, and entered into terms with the Khán-i-Khánán, when on his way to Bakhar, where the army was concentrated.

It was at this very time that the Sayyid, Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar, author of one of the histories I have been quoting here, and who had now passed twenty years in the Bádsháh's service, "absent," as he says, "from his mother and his home," returned to take up his future residence in his native place, the districts of Dar-Belah, Kárkarí or Gárgarí, and Chandú-kah, having been assigned to him as a *jágír*;* and he reached Bakhar from Láhor in the second month of 999 H. (November, 1590 A.D.).

In the first month of the following year, 1000 H. (October, 1591 A.D.), Mírzá Jání Beg, the Tar-Khán, ruler of Sind, was defeated in battle, and his territory annexed; and he became enrolled among the *manṣabdárs* of the empire. Intrigues had been carrying on for some time past for the possession of Ḳandahár, and it was intended to have despatched the Khán-i-Khánán thither; afterwards the Sháh-zádah, Dányál, was nominated for the purpose, but the proposal was never carried out, and Ḳandahár was soon after acquired without any difficulty.

It is a general supposition, from all that has lately been urged on the subject, that, from the time of Bábar Bádsháh down to the time of Nádir Sháh, the Afshár Turk-mán, the sovereigns of India always looked upon Ḳandahár as the very key of that empire, and had always, during that period, guarded it with the most jealous care.† I have already stated how the Ṣafawí ruler obtained possession of that stronghold and province in 966 H. (1558 A.D.), from Akbar Bádsháh at the beginning of his reign.

After the surrender of Ḳandahár into the hands of the Prince, Sulṭán Husain Mírzá, as related at page 593, he continued to hold possession of it until his death in the reign of Sháh Ismá'íl, Ṣafawí, who ruled over Í-rán during part of 984 and 985 H. (1576–77 A.D.), leaving five sons, the eldest of whom was put to death by the bloodthirsty Ismá'íl, who, during his short reign of eighteen months, put a number of princes to death. The four remaining sons were Muẓaffar Husain Mírzá, Rustam Mírzá, Sulṭán Abú-Sa'íd Mírzá, and Sanjar Mírzá, the three last being by another mother.

When the Sháh, Sulṭán‡ Muḥammad, son of Sháh Thamásib, ascended the throne of Í-rán in 985 H. (1577 A.D.), he assigned the Ḳandahár province as a fief, as before, to Muẓaffar Husain Mírzá, the eldest son of the late Sulṭán Husain Mírzá, and gave the Zamín-i-Dáwar and the Garm-sír to Rustam Mírzá, with whom the two others were to dwell and be provided for. The two elder brothers were, however, constantly engaged in hostilities against each other, each having tried to possess himself of Sijis-stán. Muẓaffar Husain Mírzá, subsequently, allied himself by marriage to its ruler, and had on two or three occasions to fly from Ḳandahár; sometimes because his minister was too powerful for him; at others, through the hostility of others, including his brother, Rustam Mírzá, but he was as often solicited to return to it again; and the ruler of Sijis-stán aided him in his distresses. Rustam Mírzá, finding he could

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* A *jágír* or rent-free grant in each of these, not the whole of them; for these were three of the richest *maḥálls* almost, especially Chandú-kah, of the Bakhar *sarkár* of Multán, of which Síwí was also one, as previously shown at page 561. Their revenue amounted to nearly one third of the whole *sarkár*. In Elliot's "India" it is stated in one place that "Akbar bestowed on him three *villages* in Jágír": in another it is "*parganahs*."

† As Ḳandahár only came into the possession of the rulers of Hindústán through the conquest of the latter country by Bábar Bádsháh, its possession must be accounted from that period. He obtained possession of it from Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún, in 923 H. (1517 A.D.), but he did not become sovereign of Hindústán until the seventh month of 932 H. (29th April, 1526 A.D.). At his death in the fifth month of 937 H. (26th December, 1530 A.D.), after it had been retained for four years and seven months, it was again lost to Hindústán, because it passed into the possession of Mírzá Kámrán, who, although, nominally, the vassal of his brother, Humáyún Bádsháh, was really his worst enemy. From the time Humáyún Bádsháh took it from Mírzá Kámrán's supporters in the sixth month of 952 H. (3rd September, 1545 A.D.), it continued in his possession, but he was not then ruler of Hindústán, and did not become so again until the ninth month of 962 H. (23rd July, 1555 A.D.). From that time until Sháh Muḥammad, the Ḳandahárí, had to surrender it to the Ḳazil-Báshís by Akbar Bádsháh's order, in the winter of 966 H. (December, 1559 A.D.), was a period of four years and five months. Akbar Bádsháh gained possession of it, by treachery it may be termed, in Rajab, 1003 H. (April, 1595 A.D.), but, in the seventh month of 1031 H. (August, 1622 A.D.), after it had been held for a period of twenty-eight years and one month, it was again taken from Jahán-gír Bádsháh. This was the longest time Ḳandahár continued subject to Hindústán. 'Alí Mardán Khán, the Persian Governor, betrayed it once more to the Mughals in Shawwál, 1047 H. (March, 1638 A.D.), and again it was lost, and for good, in Ṣafar, 1059 H. (February, 1649 A.D.), after it had been held for just fifteen years and seven months. Consequently, *the total period which Ḳandahár, twice acquired by treachery, continued in the possession of the rulers of Hindústán, was fifty-two years and eight months.* The Mughals never acquired it by fair fight, except when Humáyún Bádsháh took it from Kámrán's supporters, aided by a Ḳazil-Básh army, but the Ḳazil-Báshís always took it from the Mughal rulers of Hindústán by force of arms.

‡ Here again, Sulṭán is part of the Sháh's name, as it is of Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá, mentioned above, the feudatory of Ḳandahár, but it does not constitute the latter a sovereign prince, because he was not one, but a vassal, nor was his youngest son, Sulṭán Abú-Sa'íd Mírzá. *See* note ‖, page 583, note ‡, page 588, and note †, page 599.

neither obtain a footing in Sijis-stán, nor obtain possession of Kandahár, subsequently retired to the Court of Akbar Bádsháh, as will now be related.

It had been represented to the Bádsháh that the Mírzá, Muzaffar Husain, Safawí, who held Kandahár as a fief from the Sháh of Í-rán, was on bad terms with that ruler, and that, in consequence, an army was to be despatched against him. Further, that the Wálí of Túrán had collected a large force of Úzbaks, which was ready to pounce upon that territory likewise. Consequent upon this, the Khán-i-Khánán, Mírzá 'Abd-ur-Rahím, was removed from Jún-púr, and, instead of it, the territories of Multán and Bakhar, forming the *Súba'h* of Multán, were assigned to him as his fief; and he was nominated to lead, from thence, a numerous army towards Kandahár. Intrigues had been going on before this to induce Muzaffar Husain Mírzá to seek his safety in India, through Kará Beg, the Turk-mán—an old officer who had been in the service of his father, but had deserted the son, and proceeded to the presence of Akbar Bádsháh, at whose Court he had now attained the office of Kúsh-Bigí—and by the Turk merchants of Kandahár, whose minds were alone occupied with money making and obtaining the fabrics of Hindústán without risk or difficulty.*

The Khán-i-Khánán's instructions were, to move towards Kandahár through the Balúchistán, and if the Balúchís submitted, and agreed to pay allegiance to the Bádsháh's government, he might take (some of) them along with him on this expedition, otherwise he was to chastise them as their contumaciousness deserved. The Khán-i-Khánán in due course reached that part, and for some time he pitched his camp in the country between Multán and Bakhar,† in order to equip his forces and provide all things necessary for the campaign. At this time Rustam Mírzá, brother of Muzaffar Husain Mírzá, who had held the territories of Zamín-i-Dáwar and the Garm-sír as his appanage, and who, as I have previously mentioned, was constantly in open hostility towards his brother, and sought to gain possession of Kandahár as well, had been recently defeated in his attempts, resolved to retire into Hindústán, and take up his residence therein. Akbar Bádsháh was at Láhor at the time, and command was issued to all the frontier officials and others to receive him with every mark of respect and attention. In the first month of 1002 H. (September–October, 1593 A.D.), he arrived at the Court with his family and dependents, the great nobles having been despatched one stage from Láhor to receive him, and his four sons and kinsmen who accompanied him. He was presented with a sumptuous dress of honour, raised to the rank of commander of 5,000 horse, a *kror* of *tangahs* was disbursed to him, and Multán was assigned to him as a fief.‡ His brother, Sultán Abú-Sa'íd Mírzá, soon after arrived, and he was followed by Sanjar Mírzá, the other brother.

In the meantime, the Khán-i-Khánán, instead of marching to Kandahár, was occupied in subduing Sind, which it was deemed advisable to annex before undertaking another expedition.§ In the interim, however, Muzaffar Husain Mírzá, what with the disaffection of his people, the destructive inroads of the Úzbaks, and no hope of aid from Í-rán, and finding the reception his brother Rustam Mírzá had received, had lately signified his desire of giving up Kandahár and retiring into Hindústán. He therefore requested that an officer might be deputed to receive charge of the fortress and province; and Sháh Beg, the Kábulí,‖ who had previously been in

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* 'Álam-Ára'í-i-'Abbásí.

† The Berún-i-Panj-Nad Do-ábah is here referred to, and the Balúchistán, the parts adjacent, between that and Síwí, then in the possession of the Parní Afgháns, who had repossessed themselves of it, as will be presently shown.

‡ The Khulásat-ut-Tawáríkh says, "the *Súbah* of Multán, which produced more revenue than the whole "Kandahár territory and the Balúchistán, were assigned to him as his fief." The Balúchistán here referred to indicates the tracts on the Indus possessed by the Húts, Marlánís, and others, noticed at page 2 of this work, which were dependent on Multán.

§ The reason of this was, in all probability, lest the Kazil-Báshís might attempt to enter Sind, with a friendly ruler in possession, while the troops from Hindústán were occupied before Kandahár. *See* page 594.

With reference to the conquest and annexation of Sind by the Khán-i-Khánán, Mírzá 'Abd-ur-Rahím, I have to point out an error in the "Gazetteer of Sind," which cannot fail to mislead. Under the head of "*Umarkot*," page 869, I find the following: "*It was through this town that Akbar, when emperor, marched* "*in A.D.* 1591 *to conquer Sind*—an expedition which, as history relates, was successful."

I beg to observe that, from the first month of his life, Akbar Bádsháh was never at Amar-Kot, where he first saw the light; and from the first year of his life *he never set foot in Sind*, as every history that has ever been written shows.

‖ This is the same noble who is referred to as having resigned active service twenty-three years afterwards, in note ‡, page 391. He had been governor of the Pes'háwar district and of Bangas'h for Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's half brother. *See* also page 598.

Mírzá Muḥammad Hakím's service, and was now one of the great feudatories of the empire, and governor of the province of Kábul, at the head of a force of 10,000 men, was ordered to cross the frontier and march to Ḳandahár and take charge thereof. On the 28th of Rajab, the seventh month of 1003 H. (April, 1595 A.D.), the *khutbah* was read, and the coin stamped, in the Bádsháh's name. On the 8th of Sha'bán, 1003 H. (May, 1595 A.D.), the news reached the Court at Láhor, that Sháh Beg Khán had received charge, and that Muẕaffar Ḥusain Mírzá was on his way to Hindústán; and in Ẕí-Ḥijjah, the last month of the same year—August—he presented himself, and received a most gracious reception. "Thus," says the historian, "was "a populous country added to the empire without any hostilities whatever; the "Úzbaks ceased from their inroads;* and the Hazárah people, the Afgháns, and other "dwellers in that part, were properly punished."†

I must now return to Síwí once more. Faiẕí, the Sahrindí, says, under the events of the year 1003 H. (1594–95 A.D.), that, "in the fourth month (January, 1595 A.D.), "a report was received from the Amírs sent against Síwí, that brave deeds had been "done, and that it had been taken." The particulars, however, as Faiẕí does not "contribute any, are from another source, and are as follow:—

"The fort of Síwí, which is a strong place, is a dependency of Ḳandahár,‡ and, in "former times, was held by the rulers of Bakhar, but, for a long time past, it had been "in the possession of the Parní Afgháns. The Sayyid, Bahá-ud-Dín, Bukhárí, the "then feudatory of Úchchh; Bakht-yár Beg, the feudatory of the *Sarkár*, of Síw-istán;§ "Mír Abú-l-Ḳásim, the Jágír-dár of Bakhar; Mír Ma'ṣúm, the Bakharí; and other "feudatories of the province of Multán, with their levies, received orders to march upon "it. They were directed to get possession of it peaceably, if possible, by entering into "some arrangement with the Parnís, but, if they would not listen to advice, they were "to be punished, and the place taken from them by force. On the 23rd of the month "of Day (December), the force set out on this enterprise; and the Zamín-dárs of Gand-"áwah, such as Daryá Khán, and Dá'úd,‖ made their submission to the Bádsháh's "authority. On the 3rd of Spandár-muẕ (February), the force reached the fort of "Síwí, and 5,000 men came out to oppose it, but they were defeated and retired within "the place, which was then invested. After it had been closely invested for some days,

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Blochmann, in his translation of part of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, mistook him for Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún ruler of Ḳandahár. He was an Arghún, too, but of a totally different family. *See* page 598.

The 'Álam-Ará'í-i-'Abbásí states, that, 'Abd-ullah Khán, the Úzbak ruler, on getting intelligence of Muẕaffar Ḥusain Mírzá's intentions, offered to guarantee him from all molestation in future if he would not make over Ḳandahár to the Bábarí dynasty, but that the Mírzá would not give ear to it, and, that, in the year 1002 H. (1593 A.D.) he gave it up to Sháh Beg, Kábulí, who was deputed to receive charge. It is also stated therein, and the particulars given, of the Ḳaẕil-Báshís soon after re-capturing the fortress of Bust, and recovering the whole of the Garm-sír, and holding it in spite of all Sháh Beg's efforts to the contrary.

The same work states that Muẕaffar Ḥusain Mírzá, who used to be styled "the Ḳandahárí Mírzá in India," regretted that he had been cajoled into giving up his country for the sake of repose in Hind, which he hated, and that he died of a broken heart in 1008 H. (1599–1600 A.D.), his sons, however, remained there.

A good specimen of history compiling, even by a native author, is contained in Kháfí Khán's "Muntakhab-ul-Lubáb." He makes Rustam Mírzá "Ḥákim of Ḳandahár;" says the event took place in 1004 H.; and *leaves out* Muẕaffar Ḥusain Mírzá entirely! The Maulawís of Calcutta, who edited the printed text of that work, while noticing that the Budá'úní and Firishtah give the date as 1002 H., do not find out that, in this play of Hamlet, the Prince of Denmark is nowhere to be found! The same editors in their index to the text make no difference whatever between Ḳandahár in Khurásán and Ḳandahár in the Dakhan: both come under one head in all cases with them.

The same blunder, however, as regards Rustam Mírzá is made by Firishtah—in the original I mean, not a translation—and Muẕaffar Ḥusain Mírzá, the actual holder of Ḳandahár, is not even named!

* Abú-l-Faẕl, immediately after making this statement, in the account of events which followed, says, that "the Úzbaks entered the Ḳandahár territory and seized the fort of Tírín." He leaves out all mention of the Ḳaẕil-Báshís capturing Bust and holding it.

† The unfortunate Afgháns always come in for "punishment," no matter what dynasty it may have been, from the time of Maḥmúd of Ghaznín to this hour, and yet it is expected that they should be as meek as lambs.

‡ Here the Parní Afgháns are again in possession of Síwí, *more than a century and a half before the time of Nádir Sháh*. *See* Mr. Duke's "Report," pages 118, 119.

Abú-l-Faẕl here means, that it was a dependency *at that period*. Síwí, it will be remembered, had been taken from the Parní Afgháns in 984 H. (1576–77 A.D.), after a gallant resistance, but how soon after they recovered it again Abú-l-Faẕl did not think it necessary to say. Had a victory to be recorded, however small, that would have been quite a different thing. It is very evident that the Parnís repossessed themselves of it soon after Muẕaffar Ḥusain Mírzá succeeded his father as the feudatory of the Ḳandahár province; and it is possible that he was unable to bring it under his complete control up to this period, or, that the cession of Síwí and its dependencies was preliminary to the betrayal of Ḳandahár likewise—which was given up a few months after—and that the Parnís did not desire to be again delivered over to the rulers of Hindústán. *See* note †, page 596.

§ Here is another proof that Síw-istán was not Síwí, and *vice versâ*.

‖ Who these were does not appear, but they may have been, and probably were, Balúchís.

"the defenders agreed to capitulate, and the keys were delivered up. Through this "success, the country as far as Kandahár [the boundaries of the province are meant], "and Kích and Mukrán* came into the possession of the servants of the state."

This is all Abú-l-Fazl says upon the subject, but Faizí, the Sahrindí, says "a number "of the enemy were slain," and that "a deal of booty was captured in that fortress. The "Bádsháh appointed Mír Ma'ṣúm, the Bakharí, to the charge of that place,† who was "one of the bravest of his time, and who distinguished himself upon this occasion."

About this time we find Borízí‡ Parnís in the Dakhan, in the service of the Sulṭáns of Bíjá-púr, which rulers were Shí'ahs like the Ṣafawís, and on the most friendly terms with them, consequently, they were certain of receiving a good reception there from having resisted the Sháh's enemies, and their own, in defending Síwí against the Mughals. I shall have something more to say on this subject farther on.

Sháh Beg Khán, the Kábulí, became the first Hákim or governor of Kandahár after its betrayal by Muẓaffar Husain Mírzá. In 1004 H. (1595–96 A.D.), provisions had to be despatched to Kandahár from Multán and Sind, as everything was so dear there, that the troops were very hard pressed. Abú-l-Fazl also mentions, under the events of the same year, "the punishment of the Kákar tribe of Afghans." He says:—"They had "been a constant source of annoyance to God's people,§ and were in the habit of "plundering on the route to Kandahár. In the first place, Sháh Beg Khán marched "to chastise them, and had some encounters with them, and defeated them. Some "were killed, many had to go into exile, and some became loyal subjects." Where these events took place and how, the writer has left to the imagination of his readers.

In 1006 H. (1597 A.D.), just two years or thereabouts after the fall of Síwí, and three after the betrayal of Kandahár, Sháh 'Abbás, the Ṣafawí, who succeeded to the throne of Í-rán on the 6th of the last month of 995 H. (30th November, 1587 A.D.), made Sado, the progenitor of the Sadozí branch of the Abdális, the head of his tribe, and gave him the title of Mír-i-Afághinah. This enabled Mír Sado to free his tribe from the predominance of the Ghalzís.‖ He assumed the seat of authority in the last month of the same year, upon which, a Bárakzí, jealous of his favour with the Sháh, went to the presence of Sháh Beg Khán, the governor of Kandahár for the Tímúríahs of Dihlí, for the purpose of intriguing against him, but he was very coldly received. These facts tend to show the state of the Afghán tribes in the neighbourhood of Kandahár at this period. It is curious, but nevertheless true, that, although the Í-ránís were Shí'ahs, and the Afgháns strict Sunnís, they always seem to have got on better with them than with the Hindústánís,¶ down to within a few years of the outbreak of the Hotak Ghalzís under the Hájí, Mír Wais.

Taking advantage of the disturbed state of Hindústán just after the accession of Jahán-gír Bádsháh, the Ḳazil-Báshís made a dash upon Kandahár from Hirát, and invested it on three sides. Sháh Beg Khán, nothing daunted, held his own bravely, and continually harassed the enemy by sallies from the place. A strong force was at once despatched by the Bádsháh, under Mírzá Ghází, the Tar-Khán, to his aid,

* The Hindú Rájahs of "the Sehwa Ráj" of Pottinger, and others who copy from him, who had "ruled "for many centuries over Kalat," notwithstanding. Kalát, at this time was a district of the Kandahár province.

† Mír Ma'ṣúm here mentioned is the author I have been quoting, but, strange to say, he closes his history with the annexation of Sind to the empire, consequently, this affair is not mentioned, otherwise some interesting particulars might have been given. What he says about Síwí and its vicinity, which he relates immediately after its being taken possession of by Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún, I have already recorded.

It will be remembered that three years or so previous to this, Mír Ma'ṣúm had received a portion of three *maḥálls* of the Bakhar *sarkár* as a fief. He is no other than the person styled "Mír Musan Shah," in the Sind Gazetteer. *See* note §, page 597, and page 600.

‡ They are not called "Barozai."

§ Not being, themselves, "God's people," perhaps, but "unspeakable" Afgháns, and so they had to receive "punishment." No matter what the government, "chastised" they must be. Some of this tribe dwelling nearest to the Parnís were nominally subject to Kandahár, that is, they paid some acknowledgment for the lands they cultivated within the Kandahár boundary; and they, like the Parnís, may not have been very much charmed at the change of rulers.

‖ In 1006 H. (1589 A.D.) Sado was chosen chief of his tribe, which was then most numerous around Kandahár. Sháh Beg Khán, Kábulí, who was then governor of the province for Akbar Bádsháh, intimated the Bádsháh's approval of that election; for, at this period, there were no less than twelve thousand Abdálí families settled around and in the province eastwards and northwards.

Sado and his tribesmen are said to have done good service for Sháh 'Abbás during the investment of Kandahár in 1032 H., mentioned farther on; and, according to the 'Álam-Árá'í-i-'Abbásí, the Sháh "conferred "upon him the title of Sulṭán, which he used to confer upon his Murids, Fidwís, and Ghuláms." *See* note ‡, page 600.

¶ Under the Ṣafawí rulers they were never subjected to the degradation, to them, of having Hindús and Balúchís put in authority over them.

but he had succeeded in driving off his assailants before the troops arrived. He had been raised to the rank of commander of 5,000 horse on Jahán-gír Bádsháh's accession to the throne.

As Sháh Beg Khán had been governor for the last eleven or twelve years, the Bádsháh now nominated Takhtah Beg, Kábulí, who then received the title of Sar-dár Khán, to relieve him.

In the following year, Jahán-gír Bádsháh proceeded to Kábul, as related at page 67; and while there, he says, he determined to appoint Sháh Beg Khán to the command of a force sufficient to protect the province of Kábul, and Ghaznín, against all comers. Sháh Beg Khán, accordingly, set out to join him from Hindústán at the head of a well appointed force; and before the Bádsháh had reached Ḍhákah, on his return from Kábul, Sháh Beg Khán joined him. "On the 3rd of Rajab (November, "1607 A.D.)," he says, in his Autobiography, "I appointed Sháh Beg Khán viceroy "of the whole *sarkár* of Kábul, Tí-ráh, Bangas'h, Suwát, and Bájawr, with the entire "control over the Afgháns of those parts, and assigned those territories to him in "*jágír*, with the title of Khán-i-Daurán ['The Khán of the Age']." Ḳandahár, of course, was a separate *sarkár*,* and was not included under his command, and this the Bádsháh immediately after conferred upon Mírzá Ghází, the Tar-Khán, son of Mírzá Jání Beg, the last independent ruler of Ṭhaṭhah and Síw-istán, as a reward for his good services in command of the troops lately set for the relief of Ḳandahár. The Bádsháh adds, that he had already conferred upon him all the Ṭhaṭhah territory as a *jágír*, and now added part of Multán—the Bakhar *sarkár*—with authority over Ḳandahár, it then being the frontier province of Hind, because he was located on the frontier. Takhtah Beg appears to have been his deputy at Ḳandahár, where he died in 1018 H. (1607–8 A.D.).†

It was partly the underhand way in which Ḳandahár had been acquired, as just before related, that determined the Ṣafawí ruler to attempt to recover it, which Sháh 'Abbás succeeded in effecting in the seventh month of the year 1031 H. (August, 1622 A.D.), during the reign of Akbar Bádsháh's son and successor, Núr-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, Jahán-gír Bádsháh; and although the latter's son and successor, Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh—through whose rebellious conduct towards his father, and disobedience of his orders,‡ when Ḳandahár was first threatened by the Ḳazil-Báshís, contributed to the fall of that place on the occasion in question—did again obtain possession of it, through the treachery of the Ṣafawí governor, 'Alí Mardán Khán, it was, shortly after, lost for good, as already related at page 21.

After Sháh 'Abbás had thus recovered Ḳandahár and its territory, which included precisely the same districts as are mentioned in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, but, with the addition of Síwí, "the Maliks of the Afgháns, the Mírs of the Hazárah people, and "the Headmen of the Balúchís, submitted to their old masters, the Ḳazil-Báshís, once "more;" and "the Sar-dár-ship over the Afgháns in the mountains, that is, such as "had been before subject to the Ḳandahár governors, as far as the frontiers of "Púshang, or Fúshanj—the first is the Tájzík or Í-rání form of writing the word,§ "and the other the 'Arabic form. It had nothing to do with 'Fo' or 'Budha,' and "is not written '*Péshín*,' which latter word means *the afternoon* only—which, "from remote times, had been hereditary in his family, was conferred upon Sher "Khán,‖ son of Ḥasan Khán, son of 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir, the Tarín," respecting whom it will be necessary to enter into a few details.

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* It is called a *sarkár*, but it was entirely separate from the *ṣúbah* of Kábul, and the province had a Ḥákim or governor of its own, as long as it continued subject to Hind, which was not very long.

† Mírzá Ghází, the Tar-Khán, according to Jahán-gír Bádsháh's Autobiography, died in 1021 H. (1612 A.D.). According to most accounts he also died at Ḳandahár. The Ma'áṣir says he died in 1018 H. (1609–10 A.D.). Waisí, the Úzbak, who received the title of Bahádur Khán, was appointed his successor over the Ḳandahár province.

‡ He actually went as far as Ṭhaṭhah, and endeavoured to take it out of the hands of the governor, his object being to open communication with the Sháh, with whom he had kept up friendly relations for some years past, and retiring into the Sháh's dominions; and this, too, not long after Ḳandahár had been lost.

If ever a man sowed the storm and reaped the whirlwind it was Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh.

§ This is turned into "*Péshín*" in our maps and Gazetteers.

‖ On the 11th of Sha'bán, the eighth month of 1031 H., a few days after the fall of Ḳandahár into the hands of Sháh 'Abbás.

The 'Álam-Ará'í-i-'Abbásí says, that "Sher Khán had, for a long time previously, been serving the "government; hence this mark of favour was conferred upon him."

It may be well to repeat here, that the Abdális, otherwise Durránís, are one of the three branches of the Tarín tribe. The Abdál is said to have been contemporary with Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghaznín, and Malik Zírak, the progenitor of the Popalzís, of which the Sadozís are a branch, the Bárakzís, and Alákozís, with Sulṭán Sháh Rukh, son of Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, in whose time the Abdális came down from the Ghar or Kasí Ghar, mistaken for "Ghor," and settled within the boundaries of the Ḳandahár province, in 821 H. (1418 A.D.).

The 'Álam-Árá'í-i-'Abbásí also states, that Sher Khán, Tarín, the Ḥákim of Púshang, presented himself at

Hasan Khán, the Tarín, the father, not getting on with Sháh Beg Khán, the Kábulí, who was made governor of Kandahár after Muzaffar Husain Mírzá had been induced to give it up to Akbar Bádsháh, he retired into Í-rán; and in that country, Sher Khán, his son, grew up. Subsequently, when Sháh 'Abbás, the Safawí, towards the close of Jahán-gír Bádsháh's reign (in 1031 H., 1622 A.D.) again gained possession of Kandahár,* the monarch conferred upon Sher Khán, the Tarín, the government over the different Afghán tribes and clans of Fúshanj and its dependencies, and despatched him into that part. There he acquired absolute authority.†

The authors of the Bádsháh Náma'h, who wrote *after* Kandahár had been lost for ever to the Mughal sovereigns of Hindústán, taking the cue from their patrons, who hated the Afghán race, at whose hands the Mughals had suffered so many overthrows, a few of which I have recorded in these pages, describe Sher Khán's subsequent proceedings as exceedingly reprehensible, but the conduct of 'Alí Mardán Khán, the traitor, who betrayed his sovereign's fortress and territory again to Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, is highly commendable. They say :—

"After the death of Sháh 'Abbás in the fifth month of 1038 H. (January, 1629 A.D.), through the self-conceit and seditious spirit inherent in the nature of this contumacious race [the Afgháns], and out of jealousy of Sháh Safí's regard for 'Alí Mardán Khán, son of Ganj 'Alí Khán, the Zík,‡ who had held the government of Kandahár from the late Sháh, which had now been conferred on him, his son, who was held in great honour and greatly trusted by his sovereign [but, as the sequel shows, all was misplaced], Sher Khán did not bend the head of obedience and submission to him in such manner as was befitting. Moreover, through his violence and oppression, attributes inherent in this vile race, travellers between 'Irák and Hindústán were unable to pass to and fro at ease and unmolested.

"'Alí Mardán Khán had been waiting for an opportunity to uproot him entirely; and in the year just past,§ that is, in 1040 H. (1630–31 A.D.), Sher Khán, in hopes of plundering the property of the wardens of the frontier on the outskirts of Síwí‖ and Ganj-ábah, collected together a body of Afgháns of the *kohistán* or mountain tracts dependent on Fúshanj. Leaving only a small force within the fort of Fúshanj to guard his family and property, he set out on his expedition. Seizing the opportunity, 'Alí Mardán Khán took with him a body of 3,000 horse of his own Kazil-Básh contingent troops, and 1,000 horse furnished by the Zamín-dárs around Kandahár, made a forced march, and early one morning appeared before the fort of Fúshanj, and captured it [by surprise]. All the treasure, jewels, clothing, and furniture, together with a great number of horses, which, by means of his tyranny and plundering propensities, Sher Khán had acquired and kept within that fort, were captured, and likewise his family; and the whole were sent off [under escort] to Kandahár, while 'Alí Mardán Khán [with the bulk of his force] remained at Fúshanj.

"On hearing of the ruin of his house and honour, Sher Khán, like one demented, returned with all speed [and apparently without taking due precautions]; and 'Alí Mardán Khán, with great celerity, actually occupied a point on the road by which he had to come. They encountered each other within two or three kuroh of Fúshanj, and a hot engagement ensued. As there were a number of Afgháns along with Sher Khán, they made a determined stand, and the van of 'Alí Mardán Khán's Kazil-Báshís was broken.¶ Seeing this, he hastened to their aid with the main body; and

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Court in 1037 H. (1627–28 A.D.), and continued in attendance for some time at Kazwín. He received a dress of honour and presents, and was dismissed on his return; and the Sháh enjoined upon him the necessity of providing for the safety of the routes leading towards Hindústán, the care of travellers and merchants, and the punishment of rebels. This was just about eight years *after* Messrs. Steel and Crowther came from Láhor and Multán, by Púshang, to Kandahár, as related at page 546.

* The authors of the Bádsháh Náma'h, who wrote in the following reign, say, that Kandahár was given up in the seventh month of the following year—1032 H., but this is a mistake, I think. All others agree as to the date I have given above.

It was on the occasion of the Sháh's returning to Hirát from Kandahár, after obtaining possession of that stronghold, that he proceeded through Ghúr to Hirát, which, "the masters of the subject" assure us, contains no practicable routes, but they are very much mistaken, and as we may find to our cost. I shall give some account of these routes in the concluding portion of this work. *See* also page 582.

† *See* also note *, page 270, which differs a little from this account, is less detailed, and not quite so correct respecting Sher Khán's antecedents as this is, which is taken from an author better acquainted with the details. *See* also the 'Álam-Árá'í-i-'Abbásí.

‡ The Ziks are a tribe of the Kurds then located in the Gilúiyah range. The editor of the Calcutta Printed Text of this work has "Ganj 'Alí Khán, *Úzbak*." The Í-rání writers style his son, 'Alí Mardán Beg.

§ He was writing the events of 1041 H. when relating the above.

‖ At this time Síwí had become entirely separated from Bakhar, and permanently attached to Kandahár, and continued so down to recent times.

¶ The forces of 'Alí Mardán Khán appear to have been vastly superior in point of numbers.

although a bullet struck him in the heel, he kept the matter secret, and standing his ground [with much superior forces !], completely overthrew the enemy.

"Sher Khán retired to Dokí and Chotíálí [Tsoṭíálí], and endeavoured to retrieve his fortunes, but without success; and he saw no other remedy open to him than to seek the shelter and protection of the Bádsháh [Sháh-i-Jahán]. From the Dokí district he despatched a petition to the Bádsháh, stating his distressing case, and expressing his humility, and desire to be admitted into his service, at the same time soliciting permission to present himself to Aḥmad Beg Khán, who was then governor of Multán [the Ṣúba'h] as the Deputy of the Ṣúbah-dár, the Yamín-ud-Daulah [Áṣaf Khán], and requesting him to forward his petition. His request was graciously acceded to, and a *farmán* to that effect was issued.

"He presented himself at Court, and was received with many marks of favour, on the 2nd of Ramaẓán (the ninth month) of 1041 H. (April, 1632 A.D.), and submitted a horse as a *pesh-kash*. He received a dress of honour, the personal rank of commander of 2,000 horse, and command of 1,000 horse, a gift of 20,000 *rúpís*, and a fief was also conferred upon him on the Pánj-áb frontier."* 'Alí Mardán Khán betrayed Kandahár into the hands of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh just six years after this, in Shawwál, 1047 H. (March, 1638 A.D.). Sher Khán, some years after, for some reason or other, was deprived of a part of his rank and fief, but, in the last month of 1052 H. (February—March, 1643 A.D.), there is a record of his having been restored to the whole again. He died in the following year.

The final capture of Kandahár by the Kazil-Báshís, and the fruitless efforts made by Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh for its recovery, have been already noticed at page 21.

Having thus traced down the history of the little district of Síwí and parts adjacent, and shown that Síwí never formed part of Síw-istán, was never so called, and, up to the time I write this, had been for more than four hundred years in the possession of the Parní tribe of Afgháns, I may sum up the result in a few words, that, from the time of the conquest of Sind by the 'Arabs in 93 H. (711–12 A.D.), the whole of the various tracts of country, extending from Kandahár to Sind and the ocean, and from the Indus to Kirmán and Sijis-stan, without any exception whatever, have been in the possession of, and ruled by, Musalmán sovereigns alone, and that no "powerful Hindoo "kingdom," of the Sewa or any other family, has existed in these parts since that period.

I desired to keep all mention of what is now become known as the Western Balúchistán, and of Balúch chiefs, out of this notice of Síwí and adjacent parts as much as possible, but, as an attempt has been made to connect the family of the Bráúhí chief of Kalát with this "Hindoo kingdom," I find I cannot well help bringing in a brief notice of Kalát and its chiefs here.

The downfall of the Durrání monarchy, the incessant changes in the government, outbreaks, and convulsions, which, for over a century, have continued to prevail in the territories which formed the Durrání kingdom, have enabled the Afgháns of the most southern portion of the Afghánistán to acquire a greater degree of independence than they previously possessed, and enabled tribes of Balúch interlopers to filch territory from their weaker neighbours.

The Hút, Marlání, Kúlánchí, or Kúláchí, Nutkání, Bulidhí, Narúe, and other tribes of the Balúch, who were settled on the Indus for some centuries before the name of Bráúhí was heard of, and between whom and the Balúchís there is neither blood nor tribal connection, have been already noticed in Section First of this work. Of the Hút, Bulidhí, and Kúlánchí tribes numbers still dwell in their ancient seats in Mukrán;

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* This does not show that his character was quite so black as the authors painted it at the commencement of their account; and he certainly did not betray his sovereign's stronghold to his enemy. Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh evidently wished to retain him in his service, to judge from the gracious reception he accorded him.

The Ma'áṣir-ul-Umará states, that Sher Khán, the Tarín, died of a broken heart, in the flower of his age, about the thirteenth year of the reign, having been calumniated and falsely accused, by those jealous of him, of plotting with the Sháh of Í-rán, his former sovereign, to recover Kandahár for him. This was the second year after 'Alí Mardán Khán had betrayed it, and he, or his creatures, evidently, had a hand in thus traducing Sher Khán, the mortal enemy of 'Alí Mardán Khán. They got him (Sher Khán) suspended from his rank and *jágír*; and he was kept under arrest at Akbar-ábád with the sum of 1,000 *rúpís* monthly for his support. All his proofs of innocence and blamelessness were of no avail; the conspirators, who worked in secret behind the scenes, had determined upon his ruin at any cost. Such is the substance of what the Ma'áṣir states.

As the authors of the Bádsháh Náma'h were in the Bádsháh's service along with Sher Khán, the Tarín, and, to judge from what they have stated above, would certainly not have concealed anything they could have produced against him, their statements are more to be depended upon than those of the author of the Ma'áṣir, who wrote his account more than a hundred years after, and who must have confused events.

According to the Bádsháh Náma'h, Sher Khán was restored to his rank and the position he had previously held, in the last month of 1052 H. (February—March, 1643 A.D.), and died two years after. His name is given in the same work as holding the rank of commander of 2,000 horse up to the day of his death.

but I have now to do only with the rulers of Kalát-i-Nichárah, which always formed a dependency of Ḳandahár, and with the petty Balúch chiefs who held small districts in the Balúchistán, subject to Persia or to Hindústán, but which place (Kalát) has now been made the capital of "the powerful Hindoo kingdom."

In endeavouring to make Pottinger's and Masson's statements respecting the Balúchís and Bráúhís agree with his own, Mr. Duke (*see* his "Report," p. 2) connects Malik Suhráb, the Dúdá'í Balúch of the tribe of Hút, mentioned by me, with his "Hindoo Rajas of the Sewa family." Suhráb was a Musalmán, as his tribe had been for generations before him.

Masson says "there is no written record," respecting these "Bráhúís," that "tradition and national songs are the only sources of information," that "the testi-"mony they yield is necessarily *obscure* and *exaggerated*," and that "*there are no* "*means of ascertaining the dates of these changes*."

Masson commences his account of the Kalát rulers just before the invasion of Hindústán by Nádir Sháh, the Afshár Turk-mán, for many years prior to which period the affairs of Persia may be said to have been in a state of chaos, and those of Hindú-stán not much better. He says:—"Immediately before the invasion of Nádir the "authority of the empire [he refers to the Dihlí empire] was little respected in its "remote provinces, and the several petty chiefs of Síwí, Sind, and Kalát [this last, "however, had not been subject to the Dihlí sovereigns from the time Ḳandahár was "wrested from them for good in 1059 H. (1649 A.D.); and the first had been, for a "long period, more or less nominally dependent on Ḳandahár], affected independence, "and waged mutual war. . . . . About this time, or the commencement of the "eighteenth century [not at the commencement, certainly, but early in], the Khân "of Kalât and of the Bráúhís was Abdúllah Khán, an enterprising chieftain," etc., etc.

I shall go a little farther back than the time of 'Abd-ullah Khán for my account, which is not taken from songs or tradition, but from written records; and beyond which, for any account of these Kalátí Bráúhís it would be difficult to go, because they had but little or no history before 'Abd-ullah Khán's time to be recorded.

Before I enter into any details, it may be taken for granted, that, the rulers of a powerful Muḥammadan empire such as the Ṣafawí monarchs still were before Sháh Sulímán died, and the sovereignty was assigned to the meek and imbecile Sháh Husain, would never have permitted petty Balúch chiefs to be independent of them, any more than the Bádsháhs of Hindústán allowed the Balúch tribes, who, at least, were Musalmáns, of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah and the Dera'h-ját to be independent of them, and that the rulers of neither empire would have permitted "a powerful Hindoo "kingdom" to exist upon the very point where their frontiers met.*

The truth is with regard to Persia and India—it was ever so, and will ever be, with all states—that, as the power of those two monarchies, from internal disorder and decay, began to grow weak, their nobles and people totally unpatriotic, and their power, in consequence, to crumble away, the Balúch chiefs, like other petty feudatories, seizing the opportunity, began to appropriate to themselves the districts they had been allowed to hold subject to those governments, and to withhold payment of tribute or revenue; and the governments being unable at the time to enforce their submission, the rebels imagined themselves independent, and began to give themselves airs accordingly.

This 'Abd-ullah Khán, who is the first of whom the writers I have mentioned give any account, was evidently one of such, but at that same period that they mention him only as a ruler of the Balúchistán, and for a considerable period prior to his time, there were several other Balúch chiefs holding other parts of the same tract of country included in that name, in its north-west corner alone, as I shall now proceed to show.

Another matter may be prominently noticed here, and that is, that all historians call the people Balúch, and the word Bráúhí, or Bar-áhúí and Barhoí, as it is also written, is not used until after the time of Nádir Sháh; and further, that the latter people claim Ḳuṣdár† as their ancient country, while Kalát-i-Nichárah‡ and its

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* Nor would "the mighty Chákar Rind" have been allowed "to establish a kingdom with *Seví* (Síbí) as "its capital." *See* note †, page 583.

† Which was also called Ṭúrán. Ḳuṣdár, the chief town, also gave its name to the district, which was thus called Ḳuṣdár as well as Ṭúrán.

‡ In his "Report," Mr. Duke writes it "*Kalati-Banjara*," and says it was so called because "Banjara "means a grain seller or *bunniah*," and adds, that, "now-a-days the Biluch tribes call all Hindoos Bakhals or

district—then a strong fortress built of mud (bricks)—during the time that Ḳandahár was under the sway of Akbar Bádsháh, and, certainly, for a long period before and after, his time, down to the end of the last century, was an integral part of the Ḳandahár province. The people of and around that place in Akbar Bádsháh's reign, but scarcely the garrison of the fort, were, according to Abú-l-Faẓl, Balúchís, who were subject to the governors of that province, and were rated at 500 horsemen and 500 foot for militia purposes. There were very few Balúchís dwelling in the province of Ḳandahár at this period.

Mír Wais, the Hotakí Ghalzí chief, who gained possession of Ḳandahár and its territory in 1120 H. (1708–9 A.D.), and ruled over it for several years, died in 1132 H. (January, 1720 A.D.), leaving two sons, Maḥmúd and Ḥusain, but he was succeeded by his brother, 'Abd-ul-'Azíz.* He was a man of no energy, and more fitted for the life of a recluse than a ruler, and, therefore, being considered incapable of ruling efficiently, was, in the course of two months, set aside, and the eldest son of Mír Wais, Mír Maḥmúd, with the approval of the tribe, was raised to the chieftainship and sovereignty. 'Abd-ul-'Azíz died in confinement, and the Persians say Mír Maḥmúd murdered him, but there is no proof of it; quite the contrary.† Sháh Maḥmúd, as the Ghalzís styled him, soon after his elevation to power, entered into hostilities with Asad-ullah Khán, Sadozí, the head of the Abdálís, who ruled over Hirát and its territory, a hostile feeling having long existed between the two tribes,‡ and defeated Asad-ullah in battle, in which the latter was killed. Sháh Maḥmúd represented to the Persian Court that he had entered into hostilities with the Abdálís out of loyalty to the government, and offered to advance against Hirát, if the Sháh's forces would also invade Khurásán. The Í-rání Umará who then directed affairs, simple and incapable, having fallen into this trap, caused a *farmán* to be issued by Sháh Ḥusain, Ṣafawí, conferring on Maḥmúd the sovereignty over Ḳandahár, subject to Persia (which he possessed already, and which the Persians were unable to deprive him of), with the title of Ḥusain Ḳulí Khán.§ The Afghán, however, prefer to style him Sháh Maḥmúd only.

Subsequently, under pretence of further hostilities against the Abdálís, Sháh Maḥmúd moved into Sijis-stán; and Shahdád|| Khán, a Balúch chief, familiarly styled Shahdlú, taking example, seemingly, from the proceedings of the Ghalzí ruler, invaded Kirmán, and appeared before Bamm. The inhabitants evacuated the place, and sought aid from Sháh Maḥmúd then in Sijis-stán. He marched thither, at the head of a small force, in 1133 H. (1720–21 A.D.), and proposed to seize upon that territory for himself. After being absent from Ḳandahár for about nine months carrying out this design, he had to return in all haste through the outbreak of the Tájzíks of

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"grocers," and he *supposes* that "Kalati-Banjara was a term of contempt used by Mahomedans with reference "to this town on account of its *Hindoo rulers*."

The name of this place was not Kalát-i-Biriṇj-árá, nor Kalati Banjara. It is not called "Kalati-*Banjara*" in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, but Ḳalát-i-Níchárah or Nichárah. The word is written in the original قلاتِ نیچاره, and قلاتِ نچاره, but, in some MSS., the last word is sometimes written نحاره, without any points; and sometimes the three points of the چ are placed a little before the ح, and the point of ن a little to the left of its proper place; hence the word then looks like بنخاره or even بنجاره, but the word meaning a conveyor of grain is written very differently, and cannot be mistaken for the above by one who can read the Persian characters, as it is written برنجاري with "*r*" for the second letter; the Hindí word is بنجارا.

Kalát is the original word, which in Tájzík or Persian means, "a fort," or "a large village on the top of a "hill or mound," but, for a long period of time, it has been written with ق instead of ك, as above. There is also an 'Arabic word, Ḳala't, of much the same meaning. The reason why this place is called Kalát *of* the Nichárah or Níchárah is, that about fourteen miles to the south-eastwards of it, and in the same fertile valley, is the *ḳaṣba'h* or bázár town of the Nichárah, which formerly was of more importance than it is at present. It was so called after a *tribe* of that name, which Pottinger has down in his list as a Bráúhí tribe. Colonel Stacy, in his "Narrative," mentions it under the name of *Nechara*. This place appears in the latest maps under the impossible name of "Nichira." About five and a half miles in the same direction is the extensive site of an ancient city. Fragments of pottery are to be found strewed all over the country hereabout. *See* note †, page 611.

* He was not called "Abdoolla," as J. Bailie Fraser in his "Account of Persia," and some others, state, neither was Asad-ullah, the Sadozí, called "Azadúlá."

† Whose statements respecting their Ghalzí conquerors, whom they mortally hate, are not to be implicitly believed: some allowance at least should be made.

‡ *See* page 603. The hostility continues, as we see, up to this very day.

§ The word Ḳulí here mentioned is Turkish, and signifies a servant or slave, and thus the title means "the "Khan, the servant or slave of Sháh Ḥusain." Nádir, when he joined the young Sháh, Ṭhamásib, received the title Ṭhamásib Ḳulí Khán—the Khán, the servant or slave of Sháh Ṭhamásib.

|| Shahdád, Miḥráb, and Mahabbat, are favourite Balúch names.

Kandahár,* pillaging and ravaging the Kirmán territory as he retired. In the following year, 1134 H. (1721–22 A.D.), at the head of some 8,000 men, among whom were Hazárahs and Balúchís, he set out to invade Kirmán again;† and subsequently, having increased his force by fresh levies to the number of about 12,000 men in all, he invaded and subdued the Persian kingdom, entered Iṣfahán in 1135 H. (1722–23 A.D.), and overturned the Ṣafawí monarchy. This, however, beyond a mere allusion to it, is foreign to the present subject.

Who this Shahdád or Shahdlú Balúch was, and what tribe of Balúchís he belonged to, is, unfortunately, not mentioned. We subsequently find Sháh Maḥmúd's successor in Í-rán, his cousin, Sháh Ashraf, employing a Balúch chief, named Muḥammad Khán, as his envoy to the 'Usmánlí Sulṭán's court.‡ The Nádir Náma'h mentions the names of different rulers and chiefs who held territories dependent on the Ṣafawí monarchy previous to the Ghalzí conquest, and among them a Balúch named Muḥammad, who held some territory in the Balúchistán near the Bandar-i-Sulṭán.§

After Nádir, then styled Ṯhamásib Ḳulí Khán, and general of the forces of the young Sháh, Ṯhamásib, had finally overthrown Sháh Ashraf, Ghalzí,‖ the successor of Sháh Maḥmúd, in battle, the latter fled from Shíráz in Persia, and gained the banks of the Hírmand by way of Bamm, Narmán-shír and Sijis-stán. He hoped that Sháh Ḥusain, the Ghalzí king of Kandahár, of whom more presently, for the honour of the Ghalzí tribe, would shelter him in his distress, but he feared going to Kandahár, unless assured of his safety, on account of the putting to death of Sháh Maḥmúd, in which he was said to have had some share. His object, therefore, was to get into the Balúchistán with the object of seeking shelter in Hindústán, in case of not being able to obtain an asylum in his own country, and among his own tribe.

When Sháh Maḥmúd, Ghalzí, set out on his expedition to invade the Persian kingdom in 1134 H. (1721–22 A.D.), he resigned the authority over Kandahár in favour of his brother, Ḥusain, who assumed the government and the title of Sháh. He had obtained information of Ashraf's object, and was on the look out to destroy him, thinking too, in all probability, that, if he killed him, he might pretend to the Persian Court that the deed was an act of loyalty on his part, and perhaps he might be left in possession of Kandahár. Ashraf had reached Lakí on the Hírmand,¶ a town of the Garm-sír, and with him were the females of his family, a few faithful followers, slaves, and eunuchs, all else having deserted him. Without remaining there he betook himself to the waterless, sandy waste in the direction of Shora'h-bak. Sháh Ḥusain had despatched in search of him a specially selected force under his slave, Ibráhím, with directions to follow Ashraf wherever he might retire, and to put him to death. The fugitive wandered about from one place to another in Shora'h-bak, but, as is the way of the vile world towards the unfortunate, he was refused shelter by all to whom he applied: they were Balúchís. I need not enter into particulars here, as such belong to the history of the Afghans (which I hope, shortly, to publish), and the account of the Ghalzí tribe, and will merely mention, that he was *not* killed "by Abdoollah Khan, who sent his head to Shah Tamasp."**

After wandering about in this inhospitable tract until he and his few followers were nearly worn out with fatigue and want, he, on the night of the 27th Ramaẓán, 1142 H. (April, 1730 A.D.), reached a place in the Zard Koh of Lower Shora'h-bak, near Saḳlán, and was overtaken by Ibráhím, the slave of Sháh Ḥusain. Ibráhím searching about, accompanied by ten others, came upon Sháh Ashraf alone, in the first watch of the night; and he was shot by Ibráhím himself with a matchlock ball. The corpse was placed on a bier, and conveyed, along with his wife, the daughter of Sháh Ḥusain, Ṣafawí, to Sháh Ḥusain, Ghalzí, at Kandahár.

* The Nádir Náma'h says "the Persian speaking people of the place who had risen, slain the weak Afghán "garrison, and declared for the Sháh."

† The descendants of the Ghalzís located in Kirmán at this period, about and in Bamm and Narmán-shír, were only expelled from thence about the beginning of the present century. Pottinger wonders how they got there.

‡ The same work states, that, by the time he returned from his embassy, Ashraf had been conquered, and the Afgháns driven out of the country, and, that he presented the treaty to Nádir, who, in return for his services, made him governor of the Gílúiyah district.

§ The Fawá'id-uṣ-Ṣafawíyah, written by Abú-l-Ḥasan, the Ḳazwíní, says, that this same Muḥammad Khán, Balúch, subsequently entered into hostilities with Nádir on the part of the young Sháh, Ṯhamásib, whom Nádir had set aside when he usurped the sovereign power, but that the Balúch was unsuccessful, as might well have been expected.

‖ He was the son of the deposed 'Abd-ul-'Azíz, brother of Mír Wais, and was, therefore, Sháh Maḥmúd's cousin.

¶ About thirty-five miles to the southward of Bust.

** *See* J. Bailie Fraser's "History of Persia."

The following year, Nádir marched out of the Mash-had against the Abdálís of Hirát, his object being to defeat the Afgháns in detail, which the hostility and jealousy existing between the Abdálís and Ghalzís enabled him to do;* and, at the close of the same year, the news reached him of the death of 'Abd-ullah Khán, Balúch, a feudatory of the Balúchistán.† The Balúchistán here referred to in the Nádir Náma'h does not refer to Kalát, for that was a dependency of Ḳandahár, but to Ganj-áwah and its dependent territory, as will be presently shown.

Nádir had sent to request him to make a demonstration towards Ḳandahár,‡ while he was himself occupied before Hirát, in order to draw off the attention of the Ghalzís, and prevent them from giving aid to the Abdálís, who, however, were not expecting it. Subsequently, however, Sháh Ḥusain despatched 3,000 men to their aid, under the famous Sedál Khán, the Náṣirí. 'Abd-ullah Khán was preparing to carry out Nádir's request when Khudá-Yár, 'Abbásí, otherwise the Laṭí or Kalhorah chief of Sind, that is to say, of Ṭhaṭhah and Síw-istán, marched a force against this 'Abd-ullah Khán, Balúch, who had been encroaching on the territory of which he was the ruler, subject to Dilhí, on the side of Ganj-áwah towards the district of Síw-istán, but where the action took place is not recorded,§ place and time being frequently left out by

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* A properly organized combination of these two great tribes, in which others would no doubt have joined, might have led to a very different result. A firm alliance between them at this present time would vastly increase the power of the Afghán State to resist Muscovite encroachments and ulterior designs.

† This is the person mentioned by Pottinger under the name of "Abdoolah Khan," whom he calls "*the* "*fourth in descent from Kanbar*," who is supposed to have ousted "the Rajah," so called, about one hundred and fifty-eight years before he wrote, which would bring us to about the year 1660 A.D., to which I beg to draw particular attention. This was a few years after Ḳandahár was wrested for good out of the possession of the rulers of Hind, and the Persian empire of the Ṣafawís was in the height of its power.

Pottinger says, that, "*all accounts* [of the Bráúhís] *are traditional, and entitled to little credit;*" and, in another place, that "*all is obscure up to the time of the fourth in descent from Kanbar*," and, further, that these, even, are "*very meagre*." He also says, that this fourth in descent from Kanbar, namely, Abdoolah Khan, "was killed in 1729 A.D.;" and that, "*Previous to this time Kalat had been for* "*many centuries governed by a Hindu dynasty, and the last Rajah was Sehwa, or that had been the* "*title of the princes of this race. The last seems most prohable, as Kalat is even now* [?] *called Kalat-* "*i-Sehwa. Sehwa resided principally at Kalat, but his only son, Sangin, resided as his deputy at Zuhree.*" It will be noticed that he is not sure whether there was a Rajah Sehwa at all, or whether it was only a title, yet the Rájah has here got, *an only son*. I may mention that Kalát, was known for ages previous to this time as Kalát-i-*Nichárah* from a *tribe* of that name. Then he continues: "*Sehwa was obliged to invite* "*to his aid the mountain shepherds, with their leader, against the encroachments of a horde of depredators* "*from the western parts of Mooltan, Shikarpoor, and Upper Sind* [Shikár-púr is in Upper Sind, but it was "not founded for a century or so after the period mentioned], *who headed by an Afghan chief, with a few of his* "*followers, and a Rind Baluch tribe* [a doubtful alliance], *still famous for its robberies, called Mazari* [they are "Hút Balúchís: *see* the account of this tribe in MacGregor's 'Central Asia,' Part I.] *infested the whole country,* "*and threatened the seat of government itself, which was then but a straggling village.*" It was a place of considerable importance when Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún, possessed it upwards of one hundred and fifty years before, and when Abú-l-Faẓl wrote an hundred years after that again, and a century before the time mentioned by Pottinger. "*The chief who obeyed the summons was Kanbar. . . . In time Kanbar deposed* "*the Rajah, forced Hindoos to become Musalmans, and put some to death. Sehwa, the Rajah, with a trifling* "*portion of the population, fled towards Zuhree, where his son Sangin was still in power. . . . They re-* "*paired the cities of Shikarpoor, Bakhar, and Mooltan. . . .*" Shikar-púr, as before stated, was founded a long time after the period Pottinger supposes all this happened, by Bahádur Khán, chief of the Dá'úd-Pútrah's; and the land on which he founded it in the *jangal* which belonged to the Mahrs, a Jaṭ tribe, powerful in that part of Sind, whose chief place was the town of Lakhí, now in ruins, was given him by a Borizí Parní, then governor of that part under the Dihlí government. Bakhar or Multán were never in the possession of Sehwa Rajah, we know for certain. "*Sehwa is said to have died during the latter part of this rebellion, Sangin was made* "*prisoner, abjured the faith, and became a convert to Islam.*" All this is contrary to the history of these parts under the Mughal government. *See* page 620.

Masson says: "*We find in Sind two families ruling, one of them of the Rájpút race certainly, as was* "*the other probably* [yes: both were of Ráj-pút descent], *although converted to Islâm, since with the former,* "*its chief bore the title of jám. About this time the Sehrais, a Máhomedan family from Sind governed at* "*Kalât. . . . They were displaced by the Séwah, a Hindú tribe* [here we have *two* races for Pottinger's "*one!*], *whose expulsion was effected by the Bráhúís, still in power. There are no means of ascertaining* "*the date of these changes.*" *See* page 569.

I have shown in the text above the fallacy of such statements, otherwise *all* the histories of Persia, Sind, and Hind must be incorrect, without a single exception.

‡ Here it must be understood that other Balúch clans in alliance with 'Abd-ullah were probably included in this request, although such is not mentioned, but the proceedings of Sháh Ḥusain, the Ḳandahár ruler, towards others besides 'Abd-ullah, tend to show that such was highly probable.

§ Not in the histories I have been quoting. Masson says it took place "at Jandrír, between Dádar and Mítari," but Pottinger says it was "at Khanpur." Both places are in Ganj-áwah, but some twelve miles distant from each other.

Pottinger says:—"Abdoolah Khan turned his ideas to the *conquest* of Kach Gandawah [of which he was "already in possession, and held no more], then held by petty chiefs obedient to the authority of the *Nawabs* "of Sind. . . . . It was during this contest that Nadir Shah advanced to Kandahar [it was to Hirát, "according to Nádir's secretary, quoted above]. He sent *several* detachments, under experienced leaders, "into Baluchistan [long after these events], who established his authority in that province, and sent the two sons "of Abdoolah Khan, chief of Kalat [then in the actual possession of Miḥráb, Balúch], to the royal camp,

Oriental writers, their chief aim generally being to display their knowledge of the Sháh Náma'h, or some other poem, for the description of their battles. In this affair the Balúchís were overthrown, and 'Abd-ullah Khán was killed. The Bráúhís say they were far inferior in numbers to the Sindís, and that the victory was theirs, but the result shows the truth. This event happened in 1143 H. (1730–31 A.D.).

Nádir's agent, 'Abd-ul-Múmin Khán, who had been sent to 'Abd-ullah Khán, to request him to make a demonstration towards Kandahár, returned after this affair to the camp before Hirát, "bringing along with him Mahabbat and Íltáz, the two sons "of the late 'Abd-ullah Khán, and bearing certain offers on the part of the Balúch "chiefs of tribes." They do not appear to have been brought as hostages, but that these Balúchís were subjects of the Ṣafawí dynasty is beyond dispute, for "Nádir "confirmed Mahabbat Khán, the eldest son, in his father's position." It may also be noticed that Nádir's secretary and other native writers always call their chiefs Balúchís, never Bráúhís.

Here we have the approximate date of the death of 'Abd-ullah Khán and the accession of his son, Mahabbat (not called "Haji Muhammad"), to his fief and authority over Ganj-áwah; not over Kalát nor Núshkí, which were then held by other Balúch chiefs, as I am now going to show.

At this period, "the Sar-dár," as he is called, "*of the whole of the Balúchís of* "*that part*" (Kalát)—for chroniclers style them all by that general name—"was "Mihráb Khán." At this period, likewise, another Balúch chief, named Sher Khán, was in possession of Núshkí, and a third, called Mahabbat Khán, was in possession of the Ganj-áwah district, including, no doubt, a portion of what we now call western Kachchhí. These chiefs were all petty vassals dependent on the Ṣafawí province of Kandahár, the last named being no other than the son of the 'Abd-ullah Khán, who, about two years before, had been killed in battle with the Laṭí or Kalhorah feudatory of Sind, who waged war on his own account; for, at this time, the authority of the Dilhí government was but nominal, and little respected or feared in this quarter. An account of these Laṭís or Kalhorahs will be found at page 617.

This chief, Miḥráb Khán,* thinking himself independent at this season of convulsion, consequent on the downfall of the Ṣafawí monarchy, had lately encroached upon the Afghán district of Shál, or Shál Mastung, or Mastúng, or Mastang, as it is also called, and had possessed himself of its town and of its Koṭ or Fort, situated on a high mound in the middle of a plain; and such a mound the Afgháns of the Kánsí or Kásí tribe, to whom that tract belonged, call, in their language,† *a kwaṭa'h.*

Sháh Ḥusain, the Ghalzí king of Ḳandahár, determined to recover it, and reduce the rebellious Balúch to submission. Setting out from Ḳandahár in the beginning of 1145 H (June or July, 1733 A.D.), with a force composed of Afgháns and Hazárah levies, he first crossed the Kojzakh (*vul.* "Kujjuk" and "Kohjak") *Kotal*, and reached Fúshanj or Púshang, the fort which took its name from the district so called, which 'Alí Mardán Khán, the Zík Kurd, and subsequent traitor to his sovereign, had surprised and taken from Sher Khán, the Tarín, in 1040 H. (1630–31 A.D.), as related at page 605, and had dismantled. This fort was again put into an efficient state of defence; and the Ghalzí king left a garrison to hold it, after which he crossed the *Kotal*-i-Gaz‡ into Shál.

" as hostages for the good conduct of the father, who was continued in the government of the country, but he " was very shortly after killed in a battle fought at Khanpur, in Kach Gandawah with the Nawabs [Nawwáb] of " Sind. . . . . Abdoolah's eldest son, Haji Muhammad, then in Nadir's camp, came and assumed the govern- " ment. Seeing the change, the Sindians came back, but the country rose *en masse* against them, exasperated " at their former excesses, chased them across the Indus, and they had to return home by the east bank. " Haji Muhammad turned out a great tyrant.

" While this was at its height Nadir passed down the Indus within 80 miles of Kalat, and dismissed " Nasar Khan, who had accompanied him to Delhi," etc., etc. The events of ten years, from 1143 H. to 1153 H., are here compressed into about one, and "accounts, which," according to the writer quoted, "are *traditional, and entitled to little credit*," are here placed in juxtaposition with written records of eye-witnesses, and contemporaries, including Nádir Sháh's own secretary.

* I have mentioned before, that Shaddád, Miḥráb, and Muhabbat are favourite Balúch names. It was a Miḥráb whose stronghold of Kalát was stormed and himself killed during the first Afghán war.

† Kwaṭa'h does not mean koṭ in the Afghán or any other language. There is very little difference in the meaning of that Afghán word and Kalát, which word is Tájzík, and signifies, "a fort," or "large village," on " the top of a hill or a mound, and whether inhabited or deserted." It is also said to mean, "a village in which " there are shops" and "a *bázár*," also "an edifice surrounded with walls." The word is often written with "*ḳ*," which is sometimes substituted for "*k*." There is also an 'Arabic word *ḳal'at*, of nearly the same meaning, namely, a castle, a fort, especially on the top of a hill; and another word in the same language, *ḳilá'at*, among other significations, refers to a large rock or stone standing up in a plain. The author of the "Burhán-i-Ḳáti'" says, that "کلات is the name of a fort a dependency of Ḳandahár, but it is for the most " part written قلات." Both Kaláts are situated on high mounds.

‡ The "Gazaband Pass" of Duke. *See* also Section First, note †, page 24.

The Balúchís retired into the fort on the *kwaṭa'h* or mound; and guns having been planted near it, next day, the Balúchís, under a leader named Sálár Khán, who is said to have been the head and chief of the misdeeds which brought Sháh Ḥusain into Shál, made a sally, but it was repulsed. Another sally having again been unsuccessful some days after, the Balúchís, under cover of the night, evacuated the place, and made for Mastung and Kalát. Sháh Ḥusain occupied the fort (which Balúchís, in their dialect, called *koṭ*) with 500 foot *jazáír-chís*, and a body of 200 horse, under Sher-Dil Khán, Bábúzí, and then pushed on to Mastung.

The fugitives from Shál, however, had already reached it; and on his arrival there, Sháh Ḥusain found that the Balúchís had abandoned that place, and had fled with the others from Shál towards Ganj-áwah and Kachchhí, while some had made for Kalát. Orders were given to pursue them; and a body of the fugitives was overtaken on the boundary of the Kalát district on that side, the narrator indicating that it was quite distinct from the others mentioned. The men took to the hills, leaving their families and cattle, and flocks and other property, in the hands of the Afghán force, under Asad-ullah Khán, Isḥákzí Hotakí, who left the women and children unmolested, but secured the rest. Then the chronicler says, "When the flying Balúchís reached Kalát, "which is the chief place, and seat of authority of these people, Miḥráb Khán, who is "the Sar-dár of all the Balúchís," expecting that the next movement would be against Kalát, "tendered his submission, and sought terms of accommodation, accompanied "with offerings of horses and other presents.* Sher Khán, Balúch, *ḥákim* of "Núshkí,† and Mahabbat Khán of Ganj-áwah, also submitted and tendered their "allegiance. The former [as Sar-dar of all the Balúchís of these parts, as before "mentioned] agreed to the terms offered him, whereby he acknowledged his allegiance "to Sháh Ḥusain, and stipulated to restore the cattle carried off from Púshang and Sho-"ra'h-bak; to make good the losses sustained by the people of Shál; to furnish a con-"tingent of 5,000 men whenever the sovereign of Ḳandahár required troops;‡ and to "give up some chiefs as hostages for the performance of these terms. This ratified, "Sháh Ḥusain returned to Ḳandahár, taking five chiefs along with him as hostages, "according to the terms agreed upon."

Here then we see, that 'Abd-ullah Khán, previously noticed, was neither chief of the Balúchís nor of Kalát, but that Miḥráb Khán, another Balúch—which person appears to have been unknown to modern writers—was, as is proved from the fact of 'Abd-ullah's son, Mahabbat Khán, who had been confirmed in his father's fief by Nádir two years before, now submitting, *along with* Miḥráb Khán, the Sar-dár of all the Balúchís of this part as he is styled, and the chief of Núshkí also, to Sháh Ḥusain, Ghalzí.

Another proof, were any wanting, to show that the Balúchís of this part of the Balúchistán west of the Sind territory, were rebellious subjects of Persia, is clearly shown from the fact that Nádir Sháh—he had now usurped the sovereignty of Persia—when he marched towards Ḳandahár, despatched Pír Muḥammad Khán, and Islamas Khán, or Ishlamas, as he is also called, with troops and artillery from

* It is also stated, that, during this expedition, the Marlání Balúchís of the Dera'h of Ghází Khán also suffered. Some of Sháh Ḥusain's troops having entered the boundary of the territory held by Ghází Khán, the Marlání, these Balúchís foolishly molested and harassed them, upon which the Ghalzí Sháh gave orders to sack the Dera'h of Ghází Khán, which was done. Many of these Balúchís were killed in this affair; and from that time the downfall of Ghází Khán's family commenced. *See* page 3 of this work.

† That the Balúchís of the Garm-sír were subject to the Ghalzí rulers of Ḳandahár (and we know from the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, and the past history of these parts, that that district was a dependency of Ḳandahár) is shown in the Nádir Náma'h. When Nádir was before Hirát in 1143 H. (1730–31 A.D.), and his brother was investing Faráh, it was brought to his notice that Ḥusain, the Ghalzí, intended to aid the Abdálís by sending a force from Ḳandahár to Faráh. Nádir had just before this nominated Ṭhamásib Beg, the Jalá'ír (afterwards his governor of Kábul and the rest of the ceded provinces of the Dihlí empire), "to make a foray upon the Balúchís "of the Garm-sír, who were under the sovereignty of Ḥusain, Ghalzí; and Ṭhamásib Beg was now ordered to "be ready to march and prevent these reinforcements from reaching Faráh, but, as Ḥusain, Ghalzí, continued "to send civil communications and valuable presents, the march of Ṭhamásib Beg was countermanded." Sháh Ḥusain's time was not yet come, and Nádir had not yet usurped the sovereignty.

It was about this time that Nádir's agent, 'Abd-ul-Múmin, reached his camp with Mahabbat and Íltáz, the two sons of 'Abd-ullah Khán, Balúch, the feudatory of Ganj-áwah, who had been killed in battle with the Laṭí or Kalhorah chief of Sind as already mentioned.

‡ It will be noticed that "the sovereign of Ḳandahár" is mentioned, not Sháh Ḥusain in particular. The Balúchís of Kalát were assessed as liable to furnish 500 horsemen and 500 foot in Akbar Bádsháh's reign; and it looks as if they had, subsequent to that period, on their numbers increasing, to furnish a greater number of men when called upon by the ruling power. Aḥmad Sháh, Abdálí, consequently, when he reduced Náṣir Khán of Kalát to submission, was not making fresh demands, but enforcing the terms of the previous stipulations entered into by previous possessors of the fief of Kalát with the suzerain power for the time being.

One of the Bárakzí brothers who ruled at Ḳandahár before the first Afghán war, Púr-Dil Khán, about the year 1829 or 1830, did manage to make Miḥráb Khán of Kalát pay a *lákh* of Kalát *rúpís* in acknowledgment of his dependency; and he further agreed to aid Púr-Dil Khán in his views on Sind, and to furnish a contingent of troops. The matter came to nothing, however, except the payment of the money. *See* note *, 598.

Iṣfahán into the Balúchistán; and they were nominated "Sar-dárs of the Balúchistán," and were directed to first reduce the rebellious of Khárán.* He likewise detached from his camp before Ḳandahár, on the 9th of the last month of 1148 H. (beginning of April, 1736 A.D.), a little more than two years after Sháh Husain's expedition, just related, Muḥammad 'Alí Beg, the Sar-pulailú, against the Balúch tribe of Sher Khán of Shorá-bak (Núshkí), who had, with others, submitted to Sháh Husain, Ghalzí, in 1145 H. (June–July, 1732 A.D.). This force was encountered by the Balúchís within two *farsakhs* (leagues)† of Shorá-bak, who were overthrown with the loss of 700 killed, besides wounded and prisoners, and the capture of a number of camels. After "exterminating" this tribe (or portion, probably, of the tribe), the Ḳazil-Báshís moved against Sher Khán, Balúch, who dwelt between Tsága'í‡ and Núshkí; and, making a forced march, they came upon him at the dawn of the morning, slew him and most of his followers, and sacked his place. This done, Muḥammad 'Alí Beg effected a junction in Khárán and Jálḳ with Pír Muḥammad Khán and Islamas Khán.

Then we are told, that, "On the 3rd of Muḥarram, the first month of 1150 H. "(22nd of April, 1737 A.D.), Mír Mahabbat and Mír Íltáz, the sons of 'Abd-ullah "Khán, Balúch, arrived in Nádir Sháh's camp at Ḳandahár, were well received by "him, and obtained dresses of honour. Their father had been killed seven years "before this, at which time they had been brought to Nádir's camp before Hirát, "with certain offers from the Balúch chiefs," as previously related. It was soon after this, according to the Nádir Náma'h, that Nádir Sháh "confirmed Mahabbat Khán "in the rule over that part of the Balúchistán, which his father had previously "exercised."§ How Miḥráb Khán, Balúch, lost Kalát and its territory—for he is nowhere mentioned again—and how Mahabbat acquired possession of it, is not recorded, but that it did come into his possession within a short period of these events is certain. It is probable, though not stated, that Nádir Sháh added it, on this occasion, to the fief he had previously conferred upon him, in the same manner as he increased it when he came into Sind, presently to be noticed.

To return, however, to the proceedings of Nádir Sháh's commanders. Shorá-bak, after Sher Khán had been killed, was conferred upon Miḥráb Sulṭán, Pálí (not to be mistaken for Miḥráb, the Balúch chief of Kalát; for the term, Sulṭán, shows that he belonged to one of the Turk tribes),‖ who, for a long period, had done good service. He was despatched to hold the fort of Fúshanj (Púshang), and collect the corn of that district. Two bodies of Afgháns, one of Kákaṛs, the other of Taríns, to the number of between 2,000 and 3,000 men, assembled, and invested him within that place; and a force had to be sent from the camp before Ḳandahár to relieve it, which was effected, and "the Afghán *rebels*," as they are termed, fled; and all Afgháns who wish to retain their own have always been treated as rebels, from dwelling in "Yaghistan" perhaps, as their country has been lately christened.

Part of the duty of Pír Muḥammad Khán and Islamas Khán was to obtain possession of Jálḳ—the Jalk of English writers—which fort was a very strong place. After this had been effected,¶ Pír Muḥammad Khán, who was the superior in rank, but much the inferior in wisdom, to Islamas Khán, out of ignorance and perversity, separated from the latter and his force, and led his detachment into the wilderness and wilds between Jálḳ and Ḳandahár, whereby he lost a great number of his men through want of water. On becoming aware of his dangerous situation, Nádir Sháh despatched Fatḥ 'Alí Khán, the Charkh-chí Báshí, at the head of a detachment, to their rescue. The former, on finding them, cut off the head of Pír Muḥammad Khán, which he brought into camp along with the remains of his force. No further particulars are mentioned.

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* The chief of this part, at the period in question, is said to have been named Púr-Dil Khán, a noted robber of all who came in his way. His descendant still holds it. A person may be chief of a tribe or portion of a tribe without being the Sar-dár.

† Incorrectly called "*Chageh*" in such maps as it appears in.

‡ It is well to mention that the *farsakh* is a little over a league, being 6,000 yards, or not quite three miles and a half.

§ Thus showing that he had not been actually confirmed before. The "certain offers from the Balúch "chiefs," previously mentioned, no doubt, had something to do with his not having been confirmed previous to this period.

‖ *See* note ‖, page 583, and note ‡, page 588.

¶ MacGregor in his "Central Asia," Part III., page 211, quoting some other writer, says:—"In Nádir "Sháh's time, a Persian force directed against Jalk perished in the desert." The above is a proof of it. Compare the extracts given in the work mentioned with the history related above. I may add, that, Shorá-bak, or Shora'h-bak, or Shorá-wak, or Shora'h-wak as the work is also written, not *Shorabec*, had nothing to do with Khárán, which was not, and is not, contained in Shorá-bak, and that there is no such place as *Kohgiloolah*, nor such a functionary as a "*Beyulbegi*," but, Beg-lár Bigí means a governor.

After the invasion of Hindústán, and Nádir Sháh had returned to Kábul again, he determined to visit and settle the newly acquired territories on the Indus.* He accordingly left Kábul in the ninth month of 1152 H. (December, 1739 A.D.), and proceeding by the Bangas'h route, reached the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán on the 5th of the following month, where Ismá'íl Khán, the chief of the Hút Balúchís, presented himself. On the 15th he reached the Dera'h of Ghází Khán, and Ghází Khán, the Marlání Balúch, the feudatory of that district,† also presented himself to do homage. Both were confirmed in their respective fiefs under the same terms as they held them under the Dihlí government.

Khudá-Yár, the 'Abbásí (a Latí or Kalhorah Jaṭ),‡ the Ḥákim of Sind under the Dihlí government, was likewise summoned to appear, but, for some reason or other, he was so terrified that he took to flight, and made across the Indus towards the frontiers of Gujarát. The Nádir Náma'h says, "This Khudá-Yár was a Zamín-dár of Sind; " and, previous to Nádir Sháh's invasion of Hindústán, he was always sending " petitions professing great loyalty [a subject of Dihlí, the traitor !], and, now that " Sind had been ceded to Nádir Sháh, it was the more necessary for him to present " himself, but, instead of doing so, he fled. On reaching Lár-kánah on the 14th of " the eleventh month, and finding that Khudá-Yár had fled, Nádir Sháh, leaving " the bulk of his forces there, pushed on to Shahdád-púr through the *jangals*, and " then found that he had crossed the Indus, and gone to Amar-Koṭ, whither he " pursued him. He came upon him there, preparing to embark on the Sankrah " branch of the Indus, in order to escape in that direction, and invested him in " Amar-Koṭ. Khudá-Yár then agreed to surrender if his life was spared. This was " granted, and, after having been kept in confinement for a few days, he was again " released."

Nádir Sháh now subdivided Sind into three portions, viz.; 1, Lár or Ṭhaṭhah, and Wícholo or Síw-istán or Middle Sind, which he conferred upon Khudá-Yár, 'Abbásí, with the title of Sháh Ḳulí Khán, who had to pay a certain amount yearly, but Nádir took the precaution of taking his three sons, Ghulám Sháh, Muḥammad Murád, and 'Aṭṭár Khán, as hostages; 2, Shikár-púr, and towns and districts of Siro or Upper Sind, not dependent on the Multán *ṣúbah* (the Upper Sind west of the Indus, as at present constituted), upon the Dá'úd-putrah chiefs, whose present representative is the Nawwáb of Baháwal-púr; and, 3, the districts and towns adjoining the Balúchistán on the east,—that is, the western parts of Sind—upon Mahabbat Khán, Balúch, son of 'Abd-ullah Khán, who had been killed in the engagement with this same Khudá-Yár, the Latí or Kalhorah, as already related.§

At the time of preparing for his march down the Indus, Nádir Sháh had instructed Muḥammad Taḳí Khán, the Beg-lár Bígí of Fárs, to move, with the available troops of his province, and those of Kirmán, the Koh-i-Gílúlah, and the coast towns, which had been assembled for the purpose of operating against Maskáṭ, towards Ṭhaṭhah through Mukrán, but to despatch his artillery and heavy materials by sea. On reaching Lár-kánah, Nádir Sháh received intimation of the arrival of Muḥammad

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* The tracts ceded by the Dihlí Bádsháh, according to the treaty entered into with Nádir Sháh, as related by the Nádir Náma'h and other histories, were, " The whole territory of the west, including Pas'haur [Pes'háwar], " the Bangas'h-át [here, too, is a proof that this was not the name of any tribe, but of a territory. *See* page 380], " the Dár-ul Mulk of Kábul, Ghaznín, and the *Kohistán*, the dwelling-place of the Afghán tribes [*i.e.*, the Ghar or " Afghánistán], the Dera'h-ját, the fortresses of Sakhar and Bakhar, Ḥamíd-ábád, and the whole district of the " Dera'h-ját [*sic:* the word is used twice] and the Chaukí-i-Sokhtah, and other places belonging to the *ṣúbah* " of Ṭhaṭhah, the *ḳaṣba'h* of Budhan, the *pargana'h* of Haran, the *pargana'h* of Bíáhwálí Kandah, and the " remaining *pargana'hs* belonging to Pas'haur, together with the adjoining *pargana'hs* of Kábul, from the " boundary [frontier boundary ?] of Aṭak, and the Sankrah Nálah to the extremity of the Sind Ságar, which " joins the great ocean." This treaty was dated 29th Ṣafar, 1152 H. (26th May, 1739 A.D.).

† *See* page 2 for an account of the Marlánís and Húts.

‡ Claiming descent from the descendants of the house of 'Abbás, who were acknowledged as Khalífahs in Egypt, after the infidel Mughals under Hulákú, grandson of the Chingiz Khán, took Baghdád. *See* note †, page 622.

§ I have previously referred to Pottinger's error in killing "Abdoolah Khan," and setting up "Haji " Muhammad, his eldest son," at the time, or about the time, that Nádir Sháh "passed down the Indus," as he says, "within 80 miles of Kalat." I may also add that Nádir returned *from* the Indus to Ḳandahár much nearer to Kalát than that. Pottinger says, " Nadir now [from the Indus he means] dismissed " Nasar Khan, who had accompanied him to Dehli [which is a mistake] and had showed proofs of " courage and sagacity, with marks of his royal favour, and it is said gave him a hint to dethrone the tyrant " [Ḥájí Muhammad]. He tried expostulation for some time, but finding it of no avail, one day entered his " apartments when alone and stabbed him to the heart. Others say that he took the guards with him and " ordered them to do it; but the other seems the most probable, as Nasir Khan ever afterwards spoke of the " act with sincere grief, and said that nothing but the welfare of his country and countrymen would have " ever induced him to do so. Nadir nominated him Beglarbeg of all Baluchistan." I fear all this must be considered part of what Pottinger himself calls "accounts which are all traditional," and truly " entitled to " very little credit," and, what is more, refuted by contemporary history.

Taḳí Khán in Kích and Mukrán, and that he had been successful over Malik Dínár,* the chief, who had shut himself up in the fort, the strongest place in the former district, and that he was now on his way towards Ṭhaṭhah. He was directed to return to Fárs, as his coming was not now necessary.†

On the 13th of Muharram, the first month of 1153 H. (end of March, 1740 A.D.), Nádir Sháh set out from Láṛ-kánah for Ḳandahár by way of Ḍáḍhar, Síwí, Shál, and the Kojzakh, showing at the same time, that, as these districts were already settled dependencies of the Ḳandahár province, they did not require to be interfered with. He reached Ḳandahár on the 7th of the following month, and pitched his camp on the plain of Khúbaey, within a *farsakh* (league) of the city (town), Nádir-ábád, which he had founded; and, on the 12th, he began his march to Hirát.‡

I now come to the period of Nádir Sháh's assassination, on the 15th of the sixth month of 1160 H. (June, 1747, A.D.), seven years after Mír Mahabbat, the Balúch, was invested "with the power his father had previously held"—which assassination took place at Fatḥ-ábád, two *farsakhs* (leagues) from Janúshán—and the re-establishment of an independent Afghán state by Aḥmad Sháh, Abdálí, who was in Nádir Sháh's service, compulsory though it was, along with a great number of his tribe, as well as some other Afgháns.

It has been said that Náṣir, by some called "Naṣír," and by others "Naṣr," Khán, *son* of the Balúch, Mahabbat Khán, was in Nádir's camp as a hostage, when the assassination took place; and Elphinstone, who calls him the *brother* of Mahabbat Khán, supposes that he, Náṣir, *may have fallen* into Aḥmad Sháh's hands when he left the camp of Nádir and marched off to Ḳandahár.§ There is, however, no record,

* Malik Dínár is a common name among the Ghuzz. MacGregor, in Part III. of his "Central Asia," has an article on a tribe which he styles "Gichkis," and says, "Masson classes them among the Bráhúis, whilst "Pottinger makes no mention of them whatever. Their geographical position would incline one to class "them with the Bilóch, but the Bolédis of Kej, with whom they are consanguineous, and who also have a "foreign origin, are called Bráhúis by Pottinger. In whatever category they should be placed, their origin "and history are as well known as they are remarkable." For the origin of these people, and others in these parts, consideration should be given to the number of foreign tribes who invaded or found refuge in them from time to time, Ghuzz, Nikúdarís, Kurds, Ḳará-Khiṭá-ís, and others, mentioned in the histories of these parts, respecting whom I have no space for particulars here. *See* note *, page 572.

† MacGregor, in his "Central Asia," Part III., page 207, quoting Captain Ross, Political Agent in Mukrán, has the following. "In the year 1738 A.D., when Nadir Shah, returning from the conquest of "Delhi, *conceived the design of seizing Sind* [*see* the treaty mentioned in note *, preceding page, whereby *all* "the territories west of the Indus were *ceded to him before he left* Dihlí], he ordered Mahomed Tahi Khan to "march by land to Sind with the forces he had assembled for an expedition against Muscat. . . . . "Tahi Khan complied, and on reaching Kej took its fort by force, because Malik Dinar would not submit "to his authority. [There was another reason: Malik Dínár had dispossessed the Bulidhí Chief of Kích "only a little while before, and usurped the power.] The latter was 'reduced to obedience.' . . . This "affair delayed Tahi Khan until the approach of the monsoon, so he sent back his ships and wrote to Sind "for orders. The reply was, that Sind was already *conquered*, and his force not required. . . . Malik "Dinar *seems* to have been left ruling. Not unlikely Tahi Khan had been propitiated in the usual manner," etc., etc. The facts are related in the text above. *See* also note §, page 599.

‡ There seems to be some doubt among recent writers, as to the route taken by Nádir Sháh when he invested Ḳandahár, and, subsequently, having gained possession of that place, how he reached Hindústán. Some imagine that he made his preparations at Hirát and marched from thence on Ḳandahár, but such was not the case. He marched from Iṣfahán by Kirmán into Sigiz-stán, thence by Dil-Khak and Dil-Árám to Girishk, which he captured. He then crossed the Hírmand and moved by the plain of the Kúshk-i-Nakhúd (near the scene of Major-General Burrows' disaster), and Sháh Ma'súd, and crossed the Arghand Áb opposite the Ziárat of Bábá Walí, and appeared south-east of Ḳandahár,—the old fortress I refer to, not the modern place.

Then we are told that the Muscovites may surprise us any day "*by entering the Borai valley, to the N.E.* "*of Peshin*, a route scarcely known to the Intelligence Department, the one *said* [?] to have been "taken by Nadir Shah, Ahmid, Baber, and other invaders, reported by the Kakurs and Ghilzies as the "easiest and best route on Kandahar." Neither Nádir Sháh, Aḥmad Sháh, nor Bábar Bádsháh, nor any other invader, ever came by the route referred to. Nádir Sháh proceeded direct to Kábul from Ḳandahár by the usual route, and from thence moved to Jalál-ábád, but after that he was led by a route I have mentioned at page 37 of this work, and surprised the Ṣúbah-dár of the province, who expected him by the Khaibar Pass, by appearing in his rear. *See* "Russia's Next Move Towards India." London: Simpkin and Marshall.

There seem to be doubts also as to how he returned from Dihlí. He followed the usual route, crossed the Indus at Aṭak, and proceeded to Kábul by Pes'háwar and Jalál-ábád. After reaching Kábul, being desirous of settling the ceded territory on the Indus, he left Kábul, came by the Bangas'h route, down the dara'h of the Kurma'h (*vul.* Kurram), to Bannú, thence down the Dera'h-ját to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl and Dera'h of Ghází Khán, and from thence entered Sind, settled it, and returned by Ḍáḍhar, Ṣíwí, Shál, and the Kojzakh, to Nádir-Ábád, which he had founded a little to the S.E. of the present Ḳandahár, and from thence marched to Hirát, and never entered those parts again. This is how Nádir Sháh came and went, and as described in the text above.

§ There is not a word in the histories of Aḥmad Sháh's reign to show that Náṣir Khán, the Bráúhí, had ever been in his power. If he was in Nádir's camp at the time of the latter's assassination, he must have got away in the confusion which ensued, or have been allowed to depart. He may then have put his so-called

and no proof, that Mahabbat had a brother named either Náṣir or Naṣír, but Íltáz is several times mentioned, neither is there any record of his having a son so called, and certainly no proof that he ever "fell into the hands" of Aḥmad Sháh at that time. That Mahabbat and Íltáz came to Nádir's camp before Hirát in 1143 H., and that they were again in his camp just seven years after, in the first month of 1150 H., while he was investing Ḳandahár (which was more than seven years after their father, 'Abd-ullah Khán, had fallen in battle), would rather show, if there were not the fact of Sháh Ḥusain, the Ghalzí, having reduced him to submission in 1145 H., that Nádir would not permit Mahabbat to exercise full authority in his late father's fief of Ganj-áwah at the period in question, and not until 1150 H., when he was sent "to exercise "the authority which his father had held." Moreover, in 1145 H., Miḥráb Khán, Balúch, who is called the "head of all the Balúch chiefs," was in actual possession of Kalát and its districts, and another in possession of Núshkí, besides other chiefs in Khárán and in Kích. When or how Miḥráb Khán ceased to hold Kalát is not mentioned in any history I have met with, but there would seem, from the fact of Mahabbat's being in Nádir Sháh's camp in 1150 H., that some change had then occurred; and it is not improbable that it was at that period that Miḥráb Khán ceased through death or from some other cause to hold the Kalát territory. This is a point which it is desirable should be cleared up. At the same time, it is not actually said that Mahabbat was to have anything to do with it, when, in 1150 H., he was despatched "to exercise the same authority as his father had held," which extended, at that time, only over Ganj-áwah, not over Ḳalát or Núshkí. The districts and towns adjoining the Balúchistán on the east, were only conferred upon him in the beginning of 1153 H., when Nádir Sháh came into Sind as just related.

Neither is there any mention made by native historians of the close of Mahabbat's career, but some English writers state that he was murdered by his brother, Náṣir. As I have said before, there is no record in history to show that Náṣir Khán, who in the reign of Aḥmad Sháh, Abdálí, was in possession of Kalát, as well as of the other tracts I have referred to above, was either the son or the brother of the Mahabbat in question. Masson, contrary to the other writers referred to, says, that, "Eltárz," as he calls him, "and his younger brother, Nasír, were hostages for Mohábat "Khân of Kalât, with Ahmed Shâh at Kândahár," and that "Eltárz was accidentally "slain by Nasír." He says the way it came about was, that "Mohábat" made a raid upon a place near to "Kàndahár," and "Ahmed Shâh" (who had now become ruler of the Afghan kingdom), by way of reprisal, ravaged "Sahárawân," destroyed several forts, including that of Mastúng, and carried off Eltárz and Nasír as hostages;* that "Mohábat" was subsequently summoned to "Kândahár," where he was placed in confinement, and his brother, "Nasír," was deputed to "Kalât" in his stead; and that "Mohábat" died in confinement. This is certainly more probable than the other accounts, but there is not the least allusion to it in the history of Aḥmad Sháh, Abdálí. Pottinger's account, is totally contrary to known facts, even as regards the principal events in Náṣir Khán's time.

The historians of Aḥmad Sháh's reign state, that, in 1162 H. (1749 A.D.), Aḥmad Sháh, in order to settle the tracts on the Indus, marched through the *Thal* or *Chúl*-i-Jalálí of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, described at page 338, to Multán, then to the Dera'h of Ghází Khán, and from thence to Kalát, now called Kalát of the Bráúhí for the first time, and the Bráúhís mentioned distinct from the Balúchís. Having invested Kalát, Náṣir Khán, Bráúhí, the chief of the Balúchistán, who had not as yet done so, acknowledged the Sháh's suzerainty and his own dependence,† upon

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brother, Mahabbat, to death, and assumed the power. Masson says he slew his brother "Eltárz," as will be presently related. *See* also MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part III., page 43.

It is evident that a sad muddle has been made of Bráúhí history. Compare Masson's account with Pottinger's, and with those of Elphinstone and Leech. All differ from each other in their statements, and do not appear to have been acquainted with the historical facts here related.

* I am very sceptical as to Mahabbat Khán having any other brother than Íltáz. When "the sons of 'Abd-ullah Khán" were first brought to Nádir's camp, after the former had been killed in battle with the Kalhorah chief, why were two only brought to him? why not three, if he had three sons?

Pottinger, on the contrary, and those who follow him, say, that "Nasír Khán murdered his elder "brother," and if this *were possible*, as from other statements contained in Pottinger's history of the "Brahooees," it does not appear to be, then the "great Násir Khán" might have "boasted of killing" not one, but both brothers, "solely for the welfare of his country and countrymen."

† Aḥmad Sháh, having settled the affairs of the Dera'h-ját to his satisfaction, returned to Ḳandahár by way of Kalát—it was in 1162–63 H. (1749–50 A.D.), the second year of his reign—whither he evidently proceeded to enforce submission which, as yet, had not been made, Náṣir Khán, seemingly, deeming himself independent. It is evident from these events that Náṣir, the Bráúhí—for it is a curious fact that it is never stated, in history, that Mahabbat ever held possession of Kalát—had managed, by some means or other, to obtain

which Ahmad Sháh continued his march to Kandahár, of which territory Kalát had always been a dependency, as the Á'ín-i-Akbarí shows.

Násir Khán appears to have kept good faith towards his suzerain during his whole life; and, when he died, in 1209 H. (towards the close of 1795 A.D.), leaving two sons of tender years, and the brother's son of Násir Khán, whose name is not mentioned, usurped the chieftainship, Sháh-i-Zamán Bádsháh, the then Durrání sovereign, and grandson of Ahmad Sháh, "commanded that the eldest son, Mír Mahmúd, should "be installed therein; and he despatched a force along with him to enforce his com-"mands, Mír Mahmúd having done homage to the Sháh as his vassal. The rebels "were defeated, Mír Mahmúd was installed; and the *khutbah* was read for the "Durrání sovereign, and money stamped with his name, as had been the custom "heretofore."

Before bringing this subject to a close, it will be well to give a short account of the ancestors and antecedents of this Khudá-Yár "Khán," the Latí or Kalhorah, who defeated 'Abd-ullah Khán, Balúch, of Ganj-áwah, while Nádir was before Hirát, and who was subsequently left by him in possession of a great part of Sind, subject to, and as a tributary of, the Í-rání government. As the latest facts recorded by the contemporary historians respecting these parts are very brief and disconnected, such account will also tend to correct, and set right, many very erroneous statements respecting the events of this period contained in modern compilations on Sind.

This Khudá-Yár "Khán," so called, whose name was Yár Muhammad, was the then head of the Latíán or Kalhorahs, a Jat sept of these parts, who styled themselves, like the Dá'úd-putrahs, "'Abbásís," but, by others, they are called Dúdá'íán Latíán, or Dúdá'í Latís, as already noticed at page 340.

Towards the end of the reign of 'Álam-gír Bádsháh, this sept began to give trouble in Sind and Multán, the government of which two provinces was administered by the then Súbah-dár of the latter province.

The ancestors of this personage, Yár Muhammad, otherwise Khudá-Yár Khán, a few generations previous to the period in question, were Darweshís or religious mendicants, who followed the tenets of the Sayyid, Muhammad, the Jún-púrí, a noted Muhammadan teacher.

The derivation of the name by which this sept or sect was known, namely Latí, or Latíán in the plural, is from the Hindúí word *lat*, signifying "tangled" or "clotted hair," but some absurd mistakes have been made respecting it, and also in the attempts to assign a meaning to their name by persons unacquainted with its derivation.*

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possession of that place, as well as the other portion of territory in the Balúchistán previously held by his family, at much about the same time that Ahmad Sháh established himself as sovereign of Kandáhar and Kábul, and other parts west of the Indus. Pottinger also says, "When Nadir died in 1747 [he makes "Násir ruler of Kalát long before Nádir Sháh's assassination, and which I have shown every available history "refutes], he [Násir Khán] acknowledged the title of Ahmad Shah. In doing so *he did not consider himself "tributary* to that monarch, but rather as *an inferior participator* in the division of Nadir's empire," etc., etc. "Ahmad Sháh did not consider so, however; and as Kalát was a dependency of Kandahár, and had been so for centuries, and had only lately come into the possession of this Bráúhí family, he was determined to enforce submission, and did it, as Sháh Husain the Ghalzí ruler of Kandahár had done in Mihráb the Balúchí's time.

Elphinstone, on the contrary, acknowledges that "the history of Belochistaun is remarkably obscure "before this period," and says (Vol. II., page 346), "Mohubbat Khaun, whom Naudir had fixed in "the government [here, he is quite correct], had died, and was succeeded by his brother, Haujee "Khaun. That chief appears to have disgusted his subjects by his tyranny, and *offended Ahmed Shauh* by "taking part in Lokmaun Khaun's rebellion [a nephew of Ahmad Sháh]. It is certain, that *he was deposed "and imprisoned by means of Ahmed Shauh* [while Pottinger, as already shown, makes Násir Khán ruler of "Kalát, and the assassinator of his brother, and says that, as early as 1740, nearly eight years before Ahmad "Sháh's time, when in Sind, Nádir Sháh gave him the hint to do that deed], and that Nusseer Khaun, his "brother, succeeded him in the government. It is not known what induced Nusseer Khaun to throw off "his dependence on the Dooraunee government; but he declared himself independent in the year 1758."

In the different histories of Ahmad Sháh's reign by contemporary writers, there is not one word to show that Násir Khán, after his submission in 1162 H. (1749 A.D.), ever rebelled against Ahmad Sháh; consequently, there is no authority for such a statement. Ahmad Sháh would scarcely have conferred Shál upon him "for his faithful services," had he been a rebel. Both Elphinstone and Pottinger appear to have mixed up the affairs of Násir Khán, governor of Kábul and Pes'háwar under the Dihlí government, with those of Násir Khán, the Bráúhí of Kalát. Leech, in his "Brief History of Kalát," disagrees in every respect with those writers, and with Masson likewise. Some say Násir died in 1794, others say in 1795.

* Major-General R. M. Haig is inclined to give a different derivation to the word Latí, which is, certainly, plausible. He says, "it is probably derived from *lat*, the Sindí for a club; and in front of the tomb of "the Kalhorah chief [which chief he does not mention], at Khudá-ábád, a number of clubs are hung on a "string, to indicate, it is said, that he needed no more formidable weapons than clubs to subdue that "part of the province." The Latís must have administered "club law" to the Ábarah people to some purpose then.

The Sanskrit word for a club, and the same as that used in Sindí, however, is written *lath* and *láth*. The author of the Ma'ásir-ul-Umará gives it as I have described it above, and indicates that its Sindí equivalent is *kalhorah*.

One of the ancestors here alluded to, Harmus,* by name, joined, and took up his residence with, the Ábarahs of Sind, a Jaṭ tribe so called,† and married a wife from among that people. These Ábarahs, from ancient times, had been petty rulers within the locality in which they resided in Sind; and they assigned a portion of their lands to Harmus, the itinerant mendicant, for his support, taking him for their spiritual guide. Thus assisted and provided for, he acquired some little power and position, and his disciples and followers began to increase accordingly. After a time he began to assume the position of a Zamín-dár (landowner), and to become the medium for the payment of the government revenue to the Hákim or ruler of the province for the time being. By degrees, through his "humility," as it is called, but should be more correctly styled "ambitious cunning," and by other means, not very scrupulous, he gained the upper hand of the Ábarahs, and, at length, brought them completely under his control. The date of the death of Harmus is not mentioned.

Matters went on in this manner until the time of the Shaikh,‡ Naṣír. What relationship he bore to Harmus is not stated, but he was, in all probability, his son, or his grandson at least. Shaikh Naṣír§ acquired a still greater extent of temporal possessions and authority, which, coupled with his position as their spiritual guide, rendered him more completely powerful over the Ábarah people than Harmus, his predecessor, had been. After his death, the year of which is not recorded, his eldest son, the Shaikh, Dín Muḥammad,|| assumed authority over the parts of Upper Sind

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The Calcutta Maulawí, the editor of the Persian text of Kháfí Khán's History, at page 444, Vol. II., says, in a foot note :—"*Firḳah-i-mashúr ba-lapí, ba-pá-e-sih nukaṭ-i-Hindí,*" etc., which literally admits of no other rendering than the following :—"A sect well known as *Lapí* [written] with Hindí, '*p*' of three points," etc. Now there is no '*p*' of three points in Hindí, and in the original text of Kháfí Khán the words are :—"*Firḳah-i-mashúr ba-Laṭí, ba tá-e-sih nukṭah-i-Hindí,*" etc., which is "A sect well known as Laṭí, with Hindí '*t*' of three points," etc., which does not occur in Persian, and which we, in printed books, write ٿ with four points, instead of ٿ with three, and which transliterated is '*ṭ*'. In the Sindí dialect it is written with three points.

At page 461 of the printed Persian text, where the same subject occurs, the editor has "ḳom-i-Lati," but there, being in doubt in the matter, he has in a footnote *Labí* and *Labshí:* the right word never appears to have occurred to him !

* This must not be mistaken for the Persian name, Hurmuz. It seems to me that Pottinger in his account of the Bráúhís, noticed in note †, page 610, has confused this account of the Laṭís with that of "*Kanbar*"; the two are certainly somewhat similar, as may be seen by comparing them.

† These appear in Pottinger's list of Magsí Balúchís, showing what a number of different tribes he has got mixed up with the *real* Balúchís.

‡ A title taken by descendants of the Prophet, and a title sometimes given to proselytes to Muḥammadanism, and to Darweshís, and religious teachers. The last is meant here.

It was this same Shaikh or Mián Naṣír, who farmed the revenue of the Lakhá-waṭ *pargana'h* of the Síw-istán *sarkár*, as already related at page 556, note *.

§ Postans, in his "Personal Observations on Sindh," falls into the error of calling Naṣír, son of Dín Muḥammad; and also in calling the ancestor of these Laṭís or Kalhorahs "*a Bilúchi of the tribe of Kalora and of the Abbaside family.*" There is no such Balúch tribe, and never was, neither were the 'Abbásís Balúchís. The words Laṭí and Kalhorah, as already shown, are merely nicknames. These mendicants were Jaṭs. Elphinstone, on the other hand, says, "the tribe of *Calhora*, which I believe *belongs to the south of Persia.*" It is inconceivable to me how such a generally correct writer could possibly fall into such an error as this.

|| This person is not even named by any of the writers on Sind, with the exception of Postans, who quotes from Mr. N. Crow. This Dín Muḥammad is evidently the person who is referred to in the book entitled "Picturesque Sketches in India, by Shahamet Alí," noticed farther on, as "Adam Shah," "the descendant of "Khaloora," who, "in 880 Hijra (1475 A.D.), led a monastic life, raised up a religious standard, and de-"clared war [!] against the local authorities of the Mogul emperor in Sindh. He carried on some warlike "operations near Bhakar, where he was killed." His descendants are known by their religious character "rather than by their political actions."

Dín Muḥammad, the Laṭí or Kalhorah, is the only one of the sect put to death, according to authentic history, and that took place two hundred years and more *after* 880 H.

Dr. James Burnes, in his "Visit to the Court of Sinde," says, that "the house of *Calora* claimed lineage "from the princely blood of Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet; but its greatness in Sinde is traced to Adam "Shah, a native of Belochistan [Sind], who gained a high influence from the reputed sanctity of his character, "and as the chosen disciple of a famous Mahommedan preacher [here he has Harmus the Laṭí in the wrong "place], in the middle of the fifteenth century of our era, and whose descendants, inheriting the holiness "[an inheritable commodity, possibly] of their ancestor, succeeded to his spiritual power, and were revered "as saints till about 1705, when they were honoured with a title and a *jaghire*, by the great Aurungzebe "[this may be estimated at its true value in connection with the Prince, Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-Dín's defeat "of them mentioned at page 620]. With temporal rank thus added to religious veneration, the grandeur of "the family rapidly increased, and in a few years their glory reached its zenith by the issue of a *firmaun* "under the Emperor's signet, installing their representative in the viceregal government of Tatta [com-"pare this with Mr. A. W. Hughes' account farther on. No such grant was ever made by the 'great "'Aurungzebe']. The patent of this investiture was granted about 1735 [at which time the 'great Aurungzebe' "had been in his grave twenty-eight years, having died in February, 1707], in the person of Meean Noor "Mahommed, who may be styled the flower of the race, and who, in transferring his fealty to Persia, agreeably "to the treaty of Dehli [his mode of 'transferring' it is related at page 614, in the text above], contrived, by "address and solicitation, to obtain from Nadir Shah a confirmation of its privileges, which he enjoyed during "his lifetime, and bequeathed to his posterity at his death." How Nádir Sháh treated him I have shown at the place indicated in the text.

inhabited by the Ábarah tribe. This was towards the close of the reign of 'Álam-gír Bádsháh, and at the time that his grandson, the Prince, Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-Dín (son of Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, who succeeded his father to the throne), who, in the year 1106 H. (1694–95 A.D.), was made Ṣúbah-dár of the province of Multán, with authority over the province of Thaṭhah, which included the *sarkár* of Síw-istán, and which latter province a Deputy of the Prince held charge of.

When Prince Mu'izz-ud-Dín reached the scene of his government, and was making a tour of the territories under his charge, during which he visited the Síw-istán *sarkár*, Dín Muḥammad, the Laṭí or Kalhorah, did not present himself to make his obeisances to the Prince Ṣúbah-dár. It would seem that he was suspicious of the reception he might meet with; for a *ḳur'án* having been passed to him, that is to say, a safe conduct guaranteed, written on a page of the *ḳur'án*, and sealed with the seal of the person granting it, Dín Muḥammad, the Laṭí, with two of his kinsmen, presented himself in the presence of the Prince. While he was detained in attendance on the Prince, a force was despatched, with directions to seize and bring in the rest of the Laṭís, together with their families and followers.

Yár Muḥammad, the younger brother of Dín Muḥammad, having gained intelligence of this hostile movement, removed all the Laṭí families to a place of security in the neighbouring mountains, and prepared to resist the Ṣúbah-dár's forces. An engagement took place between them, in which, it is said, the troops of the Prince were defeated and had to retreat; and, as is often the case with Oriental historians, the scene of this so-called defeat is not mentioned.

This success, it is stated, made Yár Muḥammad bolder than before; and he continued posted in a strong position in the mountains ready for further hostilities. The Prince, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, was obliged, consequently, to content himself with the seizure of Dín Muḥammad, the elder brother, and his two kinsmen; and he returned to Multán, from Síw-istán, without effecting anything more, bringing them along with him, and, after reaching it, he gave orders to put them to death.

Now let us turn for a while to the three chief records containing the events of 'Álam-gír Bádsháh's reign for an account of these affairs.

The Muntakhab-ul-Lubáb of Kháfí Khán states, that, in 1106 H. (1694–95 A.D.), on account of diverse and contradictory reports of an insurrection in the Multán province, occasioned by a sect or sept of Darweshís, who were known by the name of Laṭís, which word is written with the "*ṭ*" of three points of the Hindúí, who, in the garb of Darweshís (religious mendicants), had chosen the avocation of rebels, together with the tumults raised by the refractory Balúchís in the Multán province, the Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, the heir apparent, and his sons, were despatched to administer the affairs of the Ṣúbah of Multán and Bakhar;* and the Prince, Muḥammad, Mu'izz-

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Mr. N. Crow, who, in the beginning of the present century, was Commercial Resident at Ṭhaṭhah, says, that, "*In the person* of Meean Noor Mahommed, the authority, which was at first an usurpation of itinerants, "became legitimated, and the descendants of a mendicant elevated to the government of Sinde. The stock, "however, was held in holy veneration," etc., etc. He, like the others, however, makes no mention of Núr Muḥammad's father, who was the first to receive the title of "Khán" from a decrepid and tottering government.

The Khwájah, 'Abd-ul Karím, who accompanied Nádir Sháh from Dihlí when he evacuated Hindústán, says, that this "*flower of the family*," according to Dr. Burnes, "Khudá-Yár, *was of dark complexion and "afflicted with leprosy*, and was Ṣúbah-dár of Sind on the part of the Bádsháh of Hind, and held in great "veneration, because of his virtues, by the Balúchís, who looked upon him as their spiritual guide." The Khwájah also states that his family had long possessed a Zamín-dárí in Sind, and that Nádir Sháh took away with him two of Khudá-Yár's sons as hostages for the good conduct of the father, but he does not say that Nádir Sháh left him governor of Ṭhaṭhah or Lower Sind, which he did. The Khwájah, indeed, states that while in Sind, Nádir Sháh made Ṭhamásib Khán [Beg ?], the Jalá'ír, governor of Kábul, Pes'háwar, Ghaznín, Sind, etc., the provinces which had been dismembered from Hindústán, and that Ṭhamásib Khán was directed to reduce Badakhshán before proceeding to Kábul, and that he did so.

This Jalá'ír noble was certainly left in authority by Nádir Sháh, but Náṣir Khán, the previous Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul under the Dihlí sovereign, was left by him in charge of the Kábul province, according to the Tárikh-i-Nádirí, written by the Sháh's own secretary, and which Mughal official has actually been mistaken by some history compilers for Náṣir, the Bráúhí. The following historical account of the Laṭís or Kalhorahs, is contained in "Hamilton's Hindostan," which is sometimes quoted as an authority respecting the history of these parts by writers who have not access to the native historians. It states that, "about 1737, during the alarm "excited by Nádir's *threatened* invasion (of Hindostan), Muhammad Abbasi, *Caloree* of *Seevee* [Síw-istán, "not Síwi, since his birth place, and that of his immediate ancestors for five or six generations, was Síw-istán, "where they also farmed some lands], availed himself of the apprehension of the Subahdar of Sind, and "influenced him to consign the government into his hands for 3 lakhs of rupees, which he promised but "never paid. Nadir defeated the *Caloree chiefs*. . . . . Muhammad Abbasi died 1771." Here it will be noticed that this account is quite contrary to the statements of other writers. It is quite correct about his farming the revenues, but he farmed those of the districts of Ṭhaṭhah, Síw-istan or Sihwáṇ, and Bakhar, that is just what constitutes Sind at present, at the period referred to.

* Bakhar was a *sarkár* of the Multán Ṣúbah. For the account of the appointment of the Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, *see* page 415.

ud-Dín (the eldest) was nominated to the government of the Multán Ṣúbah and its dependencies, which then included the province of Ṭhaṭhah likewise, a deputy being stationed in Síw-istán, at Síw-istán* Hawelí or Sihwáṇ, to administer the affairs of Lower Sind, as previously mentioned.

After that, under the events of the year 1110 H.† (1698–99 A.D.), the same work states—but its dates are not to be implicitly depended upon—that the Prince, Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, with the support and by the endeavours of Ḥafíẓ-ullah Khán, youngest son of the late Jumlat-ul-Mulk or Minister, Sa'd-ullah Khán, who was Náẓim [Administrator] of the province of Ṭhaṭhah, and who kept it under complete control, set about punishing the Balúchís, who, to the number of from 10,000 to 12,000 horse, had assembled together with hostile intent, and also chastising the Laṭíán, the sedition and insolence of which two septs had exceeded all bounds. Some serious encounters followed one on the other, and the strength of the rebels greatly taxed the powers of the Prince's forces. At last, through the conspicuous resolution of the Prince himself, and with the loss of Luṭf 'Alí Khán, Rájah Súraj Mal, and Pahár Khán, and a number of private men of the Bádsháh's troops and the Prince's own followers, and the loss of some thousand horse and foot killed on the side of the Laṭí rebels, the Prince succeeded in overcoming them.

The Máṣir-i-'Álam-gírí does not contain any record of the commencement of these matters under the events of the year 1106 H. (1694–95 A.D.), but, under those of 1111 H. (1699–1700 A.D.), the forty-third of the reign, it states, in the account of the promotions and honours awarded in Muḥarram, the first month of the new year, that Hifẓ‡-ullah Khán, son of the Minister, Sa'd-ullah Khán, who was Náẓim of the *Ṣúbah* of Ṭhaṭhah and Fowj-dár of the Síw-istán *sarkár*, who held the rank of commander of 2,700 horse, at the request of the Prince, Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, received an addition to his rank, and was raised to the dignity of commander of 3,000. No reason for this is given, but it evidently refers to these operations.

The Tazkarat-ul-Mulúk of Yaḥyá Khán, which enters into a little more detail than the two histories previously quoted, and his dates are to be depended on, states, that, in the forty-sixth year of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír Bádsháh, which commenced on the first of Ramaẓán, 1113 H. (January, 1702 A.D.), in a part of the Multán territory, a Zamín-dár, Bakht-yár by name, caused an outbreak and openly rebelled. The Prince, Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, the Ṣúbah-dár of the province of Multán and its dependencies, moved against him with a force of 2,000 horse, fresh levies, together with his own retainers, and the disposable troops of the Bádsháh serving in the province. A severe encounter took place, but where, as is usual, is not mentioned, in which the rebels were defeated, and Bakht-yár was killed.

It is said that the Dá'úd-putrahs, as vassals of the Multán province, and their contingent present with the Prince, greatly distinguished themselves in this affair; that they captured and slew the rebel Bakht-yár, cut off his head, and brought it to the Prince, in return for which service he conferred the Zamín-dárí of the district subsequently known as Shikár-púr upon them, and in it they founded the city of that name.§

Subsequent to this, the same work states, "a person belonging to the sept of Laṭíán "also became rebellious, and although he succeeded in carrying on hostilities for some "time, he was overthrown by the brave warriors serving in the province of Multán "upon several occasions, and, at last, he, too, was killed."

This is confirmed by the Ma'áṣir-i-'Álam-gírí, which, under the events of the forty-seventh year of the reign, beginning on the 1st of Ramaẓán, 1114 H. (January, 1703 A.D.), states, that the Prince, Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Ṣúbah-dár of the provinces of Multán and Ṭhaṭhah, and Fowj-dár of the Lakhhi *jangal*,‖ for his good

* This Prince rebuilt the fortifications of Multán, but, at that period, the fortress was not surrounded by a ditch. In former times, when the Biáh (*vul.* Beas) flowed in its old bed, the Chin-áb used to flow near its walls on the northern and eastern sides.

† Kháfí Khán's dates are not always to be depended upon, and here he is evidently wrong, as will be shown farther on.

‡ This is his correct name, not Ḥafíẓ-ullah, as in Kháfí Khán.

§ *See* note †, paragraph 2, page 610.

‖ This Lakhhí *jangal* refers to the country around Lakhhí, which is about eight miles south-east of Shikár-púr, and between it and Sakhar. Lakhhí, at this period, was the chief town of these parts, Shikár-púr was not then in existence, and a dense *jangal*, called the Lakhhí *jangal*, covered the country, and the site on which Shikár-púr now stands, for a considerable distance. Lakhhí has gone to decay, and is now a small place, its declension dating from the time Shikár-púr was founded. The name of such a place as Shikár-púr never once occurs in the histories of 'Álam-gír Bádsháh's reign. It was soon after founded, by the Dá'úd-putrahs, the particulars respecting which will be found in the notice of the Parní tribe of Afgháns, and in the routes given further on.

There is also another Lakhhí *jangal*, east of the road from Multán towards Láhor.

services in crushing the rebel, Bakht-yár, received a *farmán* of congratulation, a dress of honour, and other presents, from the Bádsháh, his grandfather. Neither of these works mention who, and of what race, this so-called rebel was, and Kháfí Khán makes no mention whatever of this outbreak. It refers, however, to the governor of the parts west of the Indus constituting the then Bakhar *maḥáll*, the Nawwáb, Bakht-yár Khán, the Boṛízí Parní, son of the Nawwáb, Mírzá Khán, in whose destruction both the Laṭís or Kalhorahs and the Dá'úd-putrahs had the principal share. See the account of the Parní tribe, farther on, for the correct account of this affair.

The Ma'áṣir-i-'Álam-gírí likewise states, under the events of the fiftieth year of the reign, commencing on the 1st of Ramaẓán, 1117 H. (December, 1705 A.D.), that the Prince, Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, in consideration of his good services in the reduction of the tract of country held by Ghází Khán, the Dúdá'í Marí—the "Doda "Murees" of the "masters of the subject"—received a dress of honour, an elephant, and a horse, as presents from the Bádsháh, his grandfather.

After the death of 'Álam-gír Bádsháh, in the month of Ẕí-Ḳádah, 1118 H. (February, 1707 A.D.), in the fifty-first year of his reign, the father of this same Prince, Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, namely, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, who had assumed the throne at Pes'háwar on the 27th of Ẕí-Ḥijjah (the following month of that year, and the same day on which the news of his father's decease reached him, as related at page 415); and when on his way from thence to the capital, he summoned the Prince from Multán to join him, which he did at Láhor. Thus, just as the important province of Kábul was left without a Ṣúbah-dár when Bahádur Sháh assumed the throne, as Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, the Khaṭak historian, relates (page 416), so were the provinces of Multán and Ṭhaṭhah, of which latter Síw-istán was one of its five *sarkárs*, when the Prince, Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, joined his father, and at a time when they most required an energetic ruler. A deputy might have been left at Multán, but there is no record of it.

Soon after this the Ghalzí Afgháns of Ḳandahár shook off the yoke of the Ṣafawís of Í-rán; the Sikhs in the northern Panj-áb began to cause serious troubles, and the Mahraṭahs in the Dakhan to do the same; and, to crown the whole, the sons of the late Bádsháh were fighting among themselves for the succession, and all other minor matters were, consequently, not thought of for a moment. Thus, all these events were favourable to the rise of rebels and upstarts to power; and many there were in the different provinces of the Mughal empire who took advantage of the state of affairs, and among them was the head of the itinerant Darweshís of Síw-istán, the Laṭís or Kalhorahs.

The success of Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, the rightful heir to the throne of his father, did, for three or four years, give comparative tranquillity to the empire, but, his sudden death was the signal for still more sanguinary conflicts among his descendants and those of his younger brothers, during which all other matters were again completely lost sight of. At last, the Prince, Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, formerly Ṣúbah-dár of Multán and Ṭhaṭhah, on whom his father had conferred the title of Jahán-dár Sháh, succeeded to the throne under the title in question, having overcome his rivals, but, in a few short months, he was himself dethroned and put to death by his nephew, Muḥammad-i-Farrukh-Siyar, whose father, Prince 'Aẓam-ush-Shán, had been defeated and put to death by Jahán-dár Sháh when he himself came to the throne.

At the commencement of Muḥammad-i-Farrukh-Siyar's reign the Ṣúbah-dárí of Multán and Ṭhaṭhah was assigned to the Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk, the Sayyid, 'Abd-ullah Khán, Bárhah, the Wazír, mentioned at page 644, but he never proceeded thither, and his Deputy exercised the authority. Rájah Ájít Singh, the Ráj-pút, whose daughter Muḥammad-i-Farrukh-Siyar married, was nominated Ṣúbah-dár of Ṭhaṭhah in 1126 H. (1714 A.D.), and he never went. It was during this period, when the two provinces in question were without an efficient ruler, or rather ruler of any kind, that Yár Muḥammad, the Laṭí or Kalhorah, by degrees, acquired considerable power, threw off all dependence on the Dihlí empire, and seized upon the Síw-istán *sarkár* of Ṭhaṭhah, the Síwí *maḥáll* of Bakhar of Multán, and Dih-hár,* which is an extensive tract of country

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* The tract of country adjoining the Láṛ-kánah district on the north-west towards Ganj-áwah. The name still exists in that of Sháh-Dih-hár, eight miles beyond our Sind frontier. It could not refer to Ḍáḍhar, which is very differently spelt, and a long way north of Ganj-áwah, and was not the name of any territory or tract of country. The tract of country immediately north is known by the general name of the Kachchh or Kachchhí; and, at the period in question, Ganj-áwah was in the possession of the Balúchís, the enemies of the Laṭís or Kalhorahs. Ganj-áwah being then dependent on Ḳandahár, as well as Kalát-i-

adjoining Sind and Ḳandahár, besides other *maḥálls*, which he managed to dispossess the ancient Zamín-dárs of, who had held them from the sovereign power for a long time previous. The star of his success continued in the ascendant, and day by day his power increased, while the weak government of Muḥammad-i-Farrukh-Siyar, which lasted much longer than that of his two predecessors together, with its attention occupied elsewhere, was not capable of chastising and reducing to submission this Laṭí rebel. Consequently, in order to attach him, if possible, after his making a pretence of submitting, it adopted the imbecile course of allowing him to retain what he had appropriated, and conferred on the successful rebel the title of Khudá-Yár Khán, and a *manṣab* of office,* that is to say, he was acknowledged as an official and a grandee of the Mughal empire. He died towards the close of Muḥammad-i-Farrukh-Siyar's reign. It was he who founded Khudá-ábád, seventeen miles north-west of Síw-istán or Sihwáṉ, and there the tombs of the Laṭí chiefs may be seen. Muḥammad Sháh Bádsháh, the successor of Muḥammad-i-Farrukh-Siyar, began his reign on the 2nd of Shawwál, 1131 H. (August, 1719 A.D.).

Among the descendants of the Laṭí or Kalhorah, Khudá-Yár Khán, were two sons, one, the Shaikh, Núr Muḥammad, and the other, the Shaikh, Dá'úd. The two brothers fell out, and a struggle for power began between them. Hostilities went on for some time, but, finally, Núr Muḥammad overcame his brother, and assumed his late father's position and authority, entered into an accommodation with his brother, and assigned him a share of the possessions for his support.

The history previously quoted also says, that, "After this, Núr Muḥammad obtained "from the government of Muḥammad Sháh Bádsháh, the title which his late father had "held, namely, Khudá-Yár Khán, and the previous *manṣab* held by him.† Most of "the Zamín-dárs of the parts around, not previously reduced, he managed to bring "under subjection; and he entered into hostilities with the Dá'úd-putrahs of Upper "Sind, who, like the Laṭís or Kalhorahs, claim descent from the 'Abbásí Khalífahs, "the one claim being as illusive as the other. The Dá'úd-putrahs were loyal "subjects, and had rendered efficient service to the Prince, Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-"Dín, in the operations against the so-called rebel, Bakht-yár, the Zamín-dár of "Lakhhí, and after the overthrow and death of Bakht-yár, the Prince had bestowed "the zamín-dárí of that district, a part of one of the *maḥálls* of the Bakhar *sarkár* "of Multán under the revenue system of Akbar Bádsháh, previously described, "upon them." These Dá'úd-putrahs Khudá-Yár Khán expelled therefrom; and they, to the number of 6,000 or 7,000 men and women, with their families and belongings, took up their quarters in the locality at present occupied by them, and now forming part of the Baháwul-púr State, which tract at that time constituted part of the Berún-i-Panj-nad district of the Multán Ṣúbah. Nádir Sháh subsequently restored Shikár-púr to the Dá'úd-putrahs, as previously related at page 614.

According to the "Ma'áṣir-ul-Umará," but not according to Nádir Sháh and contemporary history, "'Abd-ullah Khán, Barhoí, the Zamín-dár of Kalát, which is a "strong fortress situated between Sind and Ḳandahár, was in the constant habit of

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Nichárah, the tract I have referred to would be correctly described as between Sind and the Ḳandahár dependencies. Besides this, we are told further on, that the second Khudá-Yár Khán, although he *subsequently* seized upon some of the dependencies of Kalát(-i-Nichárah), he was unable to hold them.

* This was the first occasion, even according to their own account. *See* note §, page 597, para. 3.

† Those who have hitherto written on Sind, including Pottinger, Elphinstone, Masson, and others, do not appear to have been aware of the existence of the first Khudá-Yár, or have turned the father and son into one and the same person. In the account of these "Kalhora Princes," in the "Gazetteer of the Province of "Sind," there is but one "Khúda-Yár," the father, Yár Muḥammad, before he acquired the title, which is Khudá-Yár, not "*Khúda.*" The former word is the Persian for God, which "*Khúda*" is not, and the compound word means God's Friend. The son, is styled throughout that account as "Núr Muhammad" only. Respecting the first, the father, the author, says:—"About A.D. 1701, Yár Muhammad Kalhora, managed "to get possession of Shikárpur [which had not then been founded], which he made his residence, and "obtained from the Mogal a '*firmán*,' conferring upon him the Subhédári of the Dera districts, as well as the "Imperial title of 'Khúda Yár Kháṉ.'" No such "Subhédári" existed under the Mughal government. He then adds, that, "By the year 1711, Yár Muḥammad *has* [had ?] greatly extended his territorial possessions "by the acquisition of the Kandiáro and Lárkána districts, and of the Province of Síwí (Sibi)," and, in a foot note, adds, that this "Síwí (Sibi)," then "comprised Shikárpur and Sukkur"! *See* note †, page 662.

In the book, entitled "Picturesque Sketches in India, by Shahamat Ali," which, I find, is but a poor epitome of a history of the Baháwal-púr Nawwábs (the original of which is written in Persian, by the Nawwáb's *own particular Court historian*, apparently), and rendered in a very random style, Yár Muḥammad, the first Khudá-Yár, father of Núr Muḥammad, who first acquired that title, is not even named, and the latter is styled "Meean Noor Mohammed Khan Khaloora of Khodabad"; while, in another place, it is stated that he was called "Khodree Yar," and, in other places, that he was named "Khoda Yar Abbasee."

The Dá'úd-putrah Nawwábs of Baháwal-púr, also style themselves "'Abbásí," because both branches of this Sindí family, *claim* descent, *according to their own history*, from that branch of the house of 'Abbás some

"harrying the territory held by the Latí, Khudá-Yár Khán, and used every year "to levy contributions thereon. In the year 1143 H. (1730–31 A.D.), the twelfth "of the reign of Muhammad Sháh Bádsháh, Khudá-Yár Khán prepared to move "against 'Abd-ullah Khán, Barohí, and started from his native place, and seat of his "authority, Khudá-ábád [not '*Khúdabad*,' as in Mr. A. W. Hughes' Gazetteer of "Sind and the map attached to it, because the first part of the compound word is the "same as in his own name], and reached Lár-kánah, and there took post. A small "force issued from Kalát, passed the frontier of that district, and advanced to encounter "the forces of the Latí Khán. A severe engagement ensued [but where, as usual, is "not stated*], in which 'Abd-ullah Khán, Barohí, was killed, and his forces over-"thrown. After this success, Khudá-Yár Khán seized upon and occupied several parts, "dependencies of the Kalát district, but, on account of the difficulty of the passes and "defiles in the mountains leading to them from Sind, he was unable to retain possession "of them."

There were other reasons, and very potent ones too, which the author of the work just quoted has lost sight of, or was unaware of, namely, that the Ghalzí, Sháh Husain, ruled at Kandahár, and that Kalát was a dependency of that territory, and the chief of Kalát, which 'Abd-ullah Khán was not,† was a vassal of the Kandahár state.

After this successful affair, and being a *mansab-dár*, and acknowledging, or rather pretending, fealty, at least, to the Dihlí empire, this "leper," and "flower of the "family," obtained from the Mughal government of Muhammad Sháh Bádsháh, an addition to his title by the style of "Khudá-Yár Khán, Bahádur, Sábit-i-Jang,"—signifying the Proved or Firm in Battle—and a *mansab* equivalent to commander of 5,000; and the Latí or Kalhorah appears in the Ma'ásir-ul-Umará accordingly as a commander and *mansab-dár* of the Mughal empire. The right to use the *naubat*—instruments of music, so-called, sounded at certain intervals at the gateway of great men—and a dress of honour, were likewise conferred upon him. All these and such like honours were cheap in those degenerate days just previous to the complete break up of the Mughal empire.

In the year 1149 H. (1736–37 A.D.), about two years preceding the invasion of Hindústán by Nádir Sháh, Khudá-Yár, the Latí, was entrusted with the charge of the province of Thathah, the revenues of which he had farmed for some time, together with the southern part of the *sarkár* of Bakhar of the Multán province, but minus Síwí. The other Afghán districts near by were then integral portions of the Kandahár province, and had, for some time, been under the sovereignty of the Ghalzís of Kandahár, which Nádir Sháh had now annexed to his empire. Thus the tract of country entrusted to his charge was just what constituted Sind under the Tar-Kháns, not the Arghúns, whom they succeeded, who possessed considerably more territory, but much the same extent of country as Sind was when annexed by the British, and which, the decrepid and distracted government of Dihlí, now beset by rebels on all sides of the empire, and tottering to its fall, could not recover from him. He did not exercise authority over this extent of territory very long under this new arrangement; for, in less than three years, Nádir Sháh appeared in Sind, all the Mughal territories on the Indus, including Sind, as far east as the Sankrah Nálah or Hakrá, having been ceded to him, and he stripped the Latí Khán of two thirds of it, as has been previously related.

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members of which were acknowledged Khalífahs by the Turk rulers of Egypt, after Hulákú Khán, the Mughal, grandson of the Chingiz Khán, had put the last of the Khalífahs of Baghdád to a cruel death, and sacked that city (see my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 1259, note 3), the sixth in descent from which Egyptian branch, these Sindí Jats make a Sultán of, and say, that "he invaded Sindh from Mukran with 12,000 horse, chiefly "of the Abbas race," a statement as utterly ridiculous as the other accounts in the same work, which ignores, without exception, the whole dynasty of the Jáms of the Sammah race, the Arghúns, Tar-Kháns, and other well known rulers; and the writer was unaware, apparently, that there were 'Abbásis dwelling in Sind centuries before the pretended invasion referred to above.

The modern part of the book, which deals with the history of the last century and a half, is better, because imaginative history, contrary to written history, has been abandoned for facts. Referring to Nádir Sháh's settlement of Sind in 1152 H. (1739–40 A.D.), it is stated, that "The district of Tatta with its dependencies, "were conferred upon Noor Mohammed, with the title of Shahkolee [Sháh Kulí] Khan. The hilly part of "the country was made over to Mahabut Khan, a Beloochee chief; while Shikarpur, Larkhana, Siwistan, and "Kachee, as far north as Choter [Chatar, just forty miles north of the present Jacob-ábád], were made over "to the Daoodputras." *See* page 614.

* *See* note §, page 610.

† *See* page 612.

After the death of Nádir Sháh, Khudá-Yár Khán assumed independency over all Sind; and his descendants after him, for some years, held sway over the same country, subject to the Durrání Afghán sovereigns.* The author of the Ma'áṣir-ul-Umará states, that, when he composed that work, the Laṭís were still in possession, and that Ghulám Sháh, by name, and Sarafráz Khán, his son, were ruling the province of Sind. His descendants, however, after that, began to quarrel among themselves, and the whole country became distracted, while the Durrání kingdom and Hindústán were even in a still worse state of anarchy. Matters went on in this way in Sind until 1202 H. (1786 A.D.), when the Tál-púr Balúch clan, who were in the service of the Laṭís or Kalhorahs, rebelled against them, and appropriated Sind among themselves, whose chiefs continued in possession until all Sind was annexed to the British Indian Empire.

The Parní Tribe of Afgháns.

The Afghán tribe of Parní,† about whom many misleading notices have been given at different times,‡ is descended from Dánaey, one of the three sons of Ismá'íl, *alias* Ghor-ghas'ht, one of the three sons of Ḳais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd, the Paṭán; hence they are of the Ghor-ghas'ht division of the Pus'htúns or Afgháns.

Up to the time of the appearance of the First Section of these "Notes," they were invariably called "Kakars" and "Caukers," etc., but since that time it has been discovered that they are not.

Dánaey had four sons, Kákaṛ, Parnaey, Nághar, and Dáwaey, and each of these four sons became the progenitor of as many tribes. The tribes of Kákaṛ and Parnaey became very numerous, and sent out branches at an early date, whilst the descendants of the other two never became very numerous, as will be shown in the account of them.

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* Shahamat 'Alí, previously referred to, says, contrary to other writers, that, "Noor Mahommed Khaloora "of Sindh died in the second month of 1166 H. (1752 A.D.), and was succeeded by his eldest son, "Muhommed Morad, who ruled over Sindh five years, when he was set aside and imprisoned, and his "brother Meean Ghulam Shah was set up by the Talpurs." This would bring us to the year 1171 H. (1757–58 A.D.) Another brother, 'Aṭṭár Khán, who had proceeded to the presence of Aḥmad Sháh, Durrání, was nominated to rule over Sind, and a force was sent along with him to put him in possession. On its arrival at Shikár-púr the other fled. The Baháwal-púr branch of the same Laṭián 'Abbásí family favoured Mián Ghulám Sháh, who endeavoured to regain his lost territory, 'Aṭṭár having given himself up to a luxurious life. Getting a force together, and another brother, Aḥmad Yár, having joined him, Mián Ghulám Sháh came to a battle with 'Aṭṭár, where is not said, in which the latter was defeated with great loss by the Rájah of Lakhhí—who is called "a powerful Kalhorah chief of Balúchistán," but Lakhhí in Upper Sind is meant—in which Hamzah, his brother, was killed. 'Aṭṭár fled towards Ḳandahár," "but was seized by the "way at Kalát, by Náṣir, Balúch," but, through the intervention of Aḥmad Sháh, he was set at liberty, and proceeded to the presence of that monarch, who despatched a force to reinstate him. An agreement was then entered into by the rival brothers, that Ṭhaṭhah and its territory should belong to Mián Ghulám Sháh, and Khudá-ábád and Aḥmad-ábád as far as Lohárah, to 'Aṭṭár, but Ghulám Sháh soon managed, by stratagem, to dispossess 'Aṭṭár again. The latter finally settled at the fort or fortified village of Ikhtiyár Khán; and Muḥammad Yár, the other brother, retired into Hindústán. 'Aṭṭár several times tried to recover what he had lost, but without success.

Mián Ghulám Sháh was killed while superintending the building of the fortress of Ḥaidar-ábád in 1185 H. (1771 A.D.), after a stormy reign of fifteen years, and, about the same time, Aḥmad Sháh, Durrání, died. At this period, likewise, the Sikhs began to raise serious troubles in the Panj-áb. It was this Mián Ghulám Sháh, who, in 1758, allowed the Honourable East India Company to establish a factory in Sind. His son, Sarafráz Khán, was set up as his successor; and he, in 1775, annulled the permission to trade granted by his father to the Company. In 1188 H. (1774 A.D.), he caused Bahrám Khán, the head of the Tál-púrs, who claimed to be a branch of the Lagharí Balúchís, to be assassinated, along with one of his sons, Ṣúbah-dár Khán by name (not "Sobhdar"), and this led to the dethronement of the tyrant after a reign, so called, of five years, and the downfall of the rule of the Kalhorahs, into which matters I need not enter further here.

Under the date of October, 1819, Tod, in his "Annals of Rajast'han," states, that, "the village of Indawar "in Marwar was assigned by the Marwar Princes to the ex-Prince of Sinde, who derives his sole support from "their liberality. He is of the tribe called *Kalora*, and claims descent from the Abbassides of Persia [!]. His "family has been supplanted by the Talpooris, a branch of the Noomries (the foxes) of Balochistan, who now "style themselves *Afghans*, but who are, in fact, one of the most numerous of the Gete or Jit colonies from "Central Asia."

I may add to this, that *lomṛí*, not "*noomrie*," is a fox in Hindí, and that the Tál-púrs call themselves Balúchís, not Afgháns, and never did call themselves Afgháns, whom they hated like all Balúchís, and who hate them still more.

† For the benefit of those who do not know Pus'hto, and cannot realize the pronunciation, I may mention that the letter the Romanized form of which is "*rn*," is a combination of the sound of "*r*" and "*n*," and is peculiar to the language.

‡ Elphinstone, who is generally so correct on most subjects connected with the Afgháns, made the first mistake. He has the "Cauker *clan* of Punee, who inhabit Seewee in the *plains* of Seeweestaun," adding

Parnaey, son of Dánaey, had eighteen sons, of whom two or three were adopted ones. Their names are as follow:—1. Músá, the progenitor of the Músá Khel;* 2. Sangá, called Sáng by some; 3. Soṭ, the progenitor of the Soṭs (*vul.* I-sots);† 4. Marghozánaey or Marghozanaey;‡ 5. Jzaḍún;§ 6. Sáfaey or Sápaey, "*f*" and "*p*" being interchangeable; 7. Shorn; 8. 'Alí, the progenitor of the 'Alí Khel; 9. Mandú, the ancestor of the Mandú Khel (these must not be mistaken for the *tribe* described at page 521); 10. Marghastan, also called Marghastín; 11. Dihpál; 12. Yúsaey, in some accounts Núsaey and Búsaey;‖ 13. Ḳásim; 14. Kajzak, also written Khajzak;¶ 15. Lawarn; 16. 'Umar; 17. Jantaey; and 18. Khatánaey. Which of these were the adopted sons has not been mentioned, with the exception of the last, in any account of the Parní tribe, but, it is probable that 'Umar and Jantaey, and one other, were adopted sons.

These sons and adopted sons of Parnaey were the progenitors of as many branches or sub-tribes, but, while the descendants of some increased greatly, those of others never became so numerous as to send out branches. Some of the latter, indeed, appear to have died out, at least in their own country, or to have become so few in number, that, latterly, they have not been mentioned otherwise than under the general name of Parní. The descendants of Jzaḍún, on the other hand, respecting whom, likewise, very erroneous statements have been made by persons who knew nothing about their real descent, who are now settled near the west bank of the Indus above Aṭak, and in Dharam-ṭaur, on the opposite side of the Indus, west of Khubbal, rapidly increased, and, in time, separated, or were separated by some means or other, from the parent stock. They subsequently joined the Khas'hís in their migrations, and continued in alliance with them, as has been related in the account of the Khas'hí sept.**

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another error to the first. "Sewistan," according to the map appended to Mr. O. T. Duke's "Report," is all *mountains.*

MacGregor has, "Pani, a tribe of Afgháns who inhabit Sebí. They are a very small clan now." *See* page 392.

How and when some of the Parnís migrated into India, and settled in Márwár and in Southern India, will be presently stated.

* Mistaken for Kákaṛs by Mr. O. T. Duke (*see* his "Report," page 168), and some others.

† These are what Mr. O. T. Duke styles "*Izots,*" and without knowing, apparently, that they are a branch of the Parnís. They must not be mistaken for a branch of the Miárnah Saṛah-barns, whose name is written Tsot, with Pus'hto څ, for the name of Parnaey's son is with ص, the Miárnah Tsots are, however, seldom or never heard of now. Foreigners, such as the people of India, through whom, or by the medium of whose language, young officers, and even older ones, obtain their information, and likewise people of Persian and Turkish descent, cannot pronounce a Pus'hto word beginning with a consonant, of which there are numbers in the language, and invariably *add an initial vowel,* and thus we have such curious and incorrect names produced. Thus Soṭ is turned into "I-sot"; *spín,* "white," into "*i-spín*"; and, even in writing a Pus'hto word of the kind from ear, Hindústánís would add the letter *alif.* After the same fashion, *gh'barg* is turned into "*ghabarg,*" "*akhbarg,*" and "*barg,*" as in the "Péshin," and other Gazetteers, which teem with errors of this kind. Afgháns, too, cannot pronounce some of the Hindí letters, and speak Hindústání much like ordinary Europeans do.

‡ There is a village called Marghoz north of the river of Kábul between Ṭopa'í and Zeda'h, and, as other Parnís dwell near by, east of the Indus, it is not impossible that there is or was some connection between this branch of the Parnís and that place. *See* pages 270 and 272.

§ The Bar Durránís, or Afgháns of the north-east, change the Pus'hto letter "*jz*" into "*g*"; hence this sub-tribe of the Parnís are in those parts called Gaḍúns.

MacGregor, in his "Central Asia," Part I., says, respecting these Parnís, that, "By some they are supposed "to be a branch of the Kákar tribe." In this instance again, "some" are greatly mistaken.

‖ There is some discrepancy with regard to this name, but the majority of my authorities have Yúsaey, as above, while the Sulímání has Núsaey, and another, Búsaey. In this last the points of ڊ may have been run into one, a very common occurrence in MSS. As this section seems never to have been numerous, and appears to have died out long ago, certainty as to which is correct is impossible. Unfortunately, the nature of the 'Arabic character is such as to facilitate mistakes in proper names, so much depending on the points of the letters, whether above or below.

¶ The Khajzaks or Kajzaks have invariably been mistaken by English writers for Kákars, which they are not, neither are the "Tsots," nor the "Músa Khél," nor the "Mandó Khel"; neither does the name of Soṭ mean "attack" or "onset," nor was any "Tsot Khán" the progenitor of the Soṭs. *See* also MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part 1, Vol. 2, page 165.

** The Jzaḍúns had been *ham-sáyahs* of the Khas'hís during all their vicissitudes and wanderings, from the time they were obliged to leave the south-western part of the Afghánistán and moved northwards, and finally settled for a time in the mountain tracts dependent on Kábul. They accompanied them from thence eastwards; and, after the Dilazák Kaṛlární Afgháns had been expelled by the Khas'hís from all their lands north of the river of Kábul, when the newly conquered country was apportioned, the Jzaḍúns were assigned the tract of country in which they at present dwell, in the eastern part of the Sama'h, near the Abáe-Sín. Since that time, having greatly increased, they spread farther east, on the other side of the great river, as previously narrated at pages 218 and 228. *See* also page 287.

Ḥai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, in his "Ḥai'át-i-Afghání," not knowing the descent of the Jzaḍúns, or, taking his account from Elphinstone, turns them into a branch of the Kákaṛs, and those who copy from the English version thereof, follow suit. He has also turned the Wader Spín Tarins into Parnís. *See* the account of the Tarins farther on.

Sáfaey, another son of Parnaey, whose descendants at present number, in all probability, more than all the rest of the descendants of Parnaey put together, and about whom, also, much has been stated which is incorrect, dwell on the borders of the Káfiristán, as related at page 105, and are totally independent.

The only other sons of Parnaey whose descendants threw out smaller branches, were Músá, 'Alí, Shorn, and Dihpál. Shorn had two sons, 'Usmán, which name Afgháns turn into 'Utmán, and Shadaey, or Shudaey, or Nashadaey, as he is also called, whose descendants are styled the 'Utmán Khel Shorns and the Shadí, Shudí, or Nashadí Khel Shorns. Dihpál, son of Parnaey, had five sons, the progenitors of as many minor branches, namely, Mamaey, Mardo, 'Umar, Mulaey or Mulhaey, and Abú-Bikr, shortened into Bú-Bikr, and their descendants are the Mamízí, Mardo Khel, 'Umarzí, Mulízí or Mulhízí, and Bú-Bikrzí Dihpáls. Músá* had two sons, Balíl and Lahr, who were the ancestors of the Balílzí and Lahrzí Músá Khel Parnís. The former contains several minor ramifications. 'Alí had four sons, Bábar, Haibat, Ughzar, and another, whose name is doubtful. The offspring of the other three are known as the Haibat Khel, Bábarzí, and Ughzar Khel, and who, collectively, are styled Drey-Plárí, *drey*, in Pus'hto, signifying "three," and *plár*,† "a father."

There were some saints among the Parní tribe, but those best known, and the most venerated, were the descendants of Shorn, namely, Shaikh Ahmad, and Shaikh Muhammad.

One cause which, probably, tended to a separation among the Parnís, as among some other Afghán tribes, was the proximity of the Mughals,‡ who held the provinces of Kábul and Ghaznín, as then constituted, in which latter Kandahár was included. They also held the upper part of the Sind-Ságar Do-ába'h, and some other parts of the northern Panj-áb, for a considerable time. The Afgháns, consequently, were liable to be attacked and plundered by them, for their *Mings* or *Hazárahs* were quartered in those parts to overcome and dominate the inhabitants.§

Numbers of the Parní tribe migrated at an early period into India, where, from time to time, they have made a considerable figure; some during the time of the Lodí sovereigns of Dihlí, Sultán Bahlúl, being *the first* Pus'htún or Afghán who acquired sovereignty therein, and who, when surrounded by foes, and before he had become firmly established, appealed to his countrymen for aid. This appeal, coupled with the fact of their lands at home having become too contracted for them, and too barren in many instances to afford a subsistence, induced them, like portions of other Afghán tribes, to seek their fortunes in Hind. The Parnís were provided for, and located, in after years, in Dhúnd-hár in Márwár.‖ As late as the year 1217 H. (1802-3 A.D.), mention is made of a large colony of Parnís, settled in the hills of Jai-púr, Amber, Jodh-púr, and parts adjacent, which is called Dhúnd-hár, dwelling in some hundred villages, some of which contained from 1,000 to 5,000 inhabitants. These Parnís used to trade extensively with the Dakhan, where numbers of their kinsmen dwelt, many of which merchants were rich men. Others gained a subsistence by following other employments.

MacGregor, in Part II. of his "Central Asia" Gazetteer, Vol. 1, page 603, tells us, that, "The Jadúns—in "other places 'Jadhúns'—who occupy the Arash plain, *are not Afgháns*, but their customs assimilate them." I have shown, however, that they are Afgháns, as is well known.

The strangest part of the above error is, that, under the words "Jadúns or Gadúns," in the very same book, Vol. 2, page 16, he tells us that they are '*A tribe of Patháns* who reside partly in the south slopes of the "Máhában mountain and partly in the Hazára district. *The descent of this tribe is not very clear. They* "*are not Yúsafzais, like those round them. By some they are supposed to be a branch of the Kákar tribe*, etc., etc.

A settlement officer in the Panj-áb, in his Report to Government on the part reported on, by way of showing the extent of his information regarding the Afghán tribe of Parní, of which the Jzadúns are a division, states, that they are "*an inferior race of Patháns.*"

I have brought together here a few out of the many errors and mis-statements, which cannot fail to confuse and to mislead, respecting a single tribe of Aghání. It is quite time that we should know who are and who are not Afgháns, and that these errors should be exploded, especially when we find how writers hand down one and another's errors. *See* also, note *, page 270.

* Hai'át Khán, Kathar, in his "Hai'át-i-Afghání," shows that he does not know the correct names of Parnaey's sons, and, consequently, he makes Músá and 'Alí out to be the sons of their brother Sangá, whom he calls "Sáhang."

† But no one ever heard that word pronounced "*pelár*" or "*pilár*" by an Afghán. *See* note ¶, page 625, and the "Péshín Gazetteer," page 327, under "Sálízáís."

‡ Not the Mughal sovereigns of Dihlí, but long before their time.

§ When I come to the *Mings* or *Hazárahs* I shall show where they were generally located.

‖ One writer on this account tries to make them out "Rajputs." *See* pages 640 and 641.

Subsequently, more particularly after the fall of the Afghán sovereigns of the house of Sor, or Súr, as it is sometimes written, a branch of the Lodí tribe, and the return of Humáyún Bádsháh to India, numbers of the Parní tribe, like the Miárnahs, and others, proceeded southwards to seek their fortunes in the service of the independent sovereigns of the Dakhan.

The descendants of Parnaey, dwelling in and near the tracts through which these routes I have been describing run, and with whom we have lately come into contact by the annexation of a considerable part of the extreme southern side of the Afghánistán, are the Músá Khel, the Sots, the Kajzaks or Khajzaks, the Borízís, descended from Sangá or Sángah, son of Parnaey, who for a long period of time have been accounted the head family among the Parní tribe, and the remainder of the descendants of other sons of Parnaey, who have become very weak or have nearly disappeared, such as the Dihpáls and others scattered about in different parts of their old country (along with the descendants of Parnaey's brother, Dáwaey, of whom more in its proper place), and who are now known under the general designation of Parnís without mention of their particular sections or branches.*

The Jzadún branch of the Parnís have given trouble occasionally since the annexation of the Panj-áb in 1849. They have been already noticed at page 217.

In former times, when the Parnís were in their most flourishing state, they held an extensive tract of country; but, as the lands of their Dáwí and Nághar kinsmen were mixed up with, and overlapped them, in many places, it will be more convenient, and tend to make the facts clearer, by describing its boundaries in connection with those of these two other Ghor-ghas'ht tribes descended from two of Parnaey's brothers.

This great tract of country, therefore, including that of the Kihtrán Kásís, the Laurní, and other Miárnahs, previously noticed in the account of the Ninety-second Route, forms the whole south-east corner of the Afghánistán. The Parní portion extended from the southern boundary of the Sheráni tribe, where the Músá Khel branch of the Parnís still dwell, and ran in a south-westerly direction as far as the banks of the Nárí river, near the Mián Kats, where the country of the Dáwís commenced. This extended in the same direction to within a few miles of the Takah-tú mountain, where the boundary of the Kásí tribe, and the district of Shál, commenced. Thus the Parní and Dáwí tribes bounded the Kákars and the Taríns throughout the whole distance, skirting the Bora'h or Table Land, the district of Tal or Tala'h and Tsotíálí, and included the Mekh-tár plateau. Consequently, the tract of territory held by those three Ghor-ghas'ht tribes, excepting, as before mentioned, the territory of the Miárnah tribe, included all the hill tracts south and east, to the boundary of the Kachchhí, in one direction, and to the plains of the Dera'h-ját in the other, from the Káhá Pass in the latter all round to Dádhar.

The Kásí or Kánsí Kihtráns extended, formerly, west and south, as far as the Káhá river, which marked their boundary in those directions, but they did not extend eastwards, neither do they now, beyond the great range of Mihtar Sulímán, Koh-i-Siyah, or Kálá Roh, or Kálá Pahár, but they have encroached considerably on the west, and slightly so on the south. The Nághars were located on the south-east, between the Kihtráns and the Parnís, and extended to the skirts of the hills bounding the Kachchhí and Lower Dera'h-ját; thus they were the last tribe of Afgháns in the direction of south-east. The plains stretching away beyond them again formed the northern *mahálls* of the Bakhar *sarkár* of the Multán *Súbah*, as I have previously described them, which included the *mahálls* of Síwí, the whole of which *sarkár* extended no farther than the hill skirts. These plains, up to the said hill skirts, in some parts, which were capable of cultivation, or afforded grazing ground for their cattle and flocks, were inhabited by various Jat and other people of Hindú descent, as mentioned in the description of the Bakhar *sarkár*, who have now nearly disappeared, having been swamped, or driven out, by the Balúch interlopers. These have now, and for nearly fifty years past, appropriated more than one half—the southern half—of the Parní and Nághar territory, and have given new names to many places, which fact led Mr. Duke to suppose that the Parnís and others must have overturned the "powerful "Hindoo kingdom," because the names, according to his opinion, are "Hindoo."

Síwí, which, from the earliest time it is mentioned in history, formed the extreme

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* Numbers of names in these parts are the names of branches or clans of the Parnís; for example, 'Umar-Gut. 'Umar-Gutzí is the name of a clan of the Sangá or Sángah, descended from Sangá or Sángah, son of Parnaey. They held Sáng-Mandáhí, or Sángah-Mandáhí, as the words are also written, and up to, and including, the tracts still held by the Músá Khel branch of the tribe, long before they acquired possession of Síwí.

north-western district dependent on Alor or Aror, the capital of Sind, when that kingdom extended westwards over great part of Mukrán, and northwards to the Koh-i-Júd, Namak-Sár, or Salt Range, in the present Panj-áb, subsequently, under the Musalmán rulers, during the time the Parnís were in possession of that *mahall*, included the dara'h of Sáng or Sángán, and the adjoining dara'h of Mandáhí, which two dara'hs, in common parlance, were generally spoken of as Sáng-Mandáhí. Before the time the sovereign of Dihlí had to cede all his territory lying west of the Sind or Indus to Nádir Sháh, after his capture of the capital of Hindústán, Síwí, and the tracts depending on it, had been separated from the Bakhar *sarkár*, and become, once more, incorporated into the Kandahár province, and so continued, under the rule of the Durránís likewise, until recently annexed by the British.

The Parní tribe, from their situation, may have been in the habit of paying some sort of allegiance to the great feudatories or governors of the Kandahár province, before the time of Amír Zú-n-Nún, the Arghún,* and his son and successor, Sháh Beg Khán, and also in their time, though it seems to have been a bare acknowledgment by the payment of a few sheep, but they may have likewise furnished a contingent of their tribe in military expeditions within the province. This arrangement seems to have been continued, even after Kandahár came under the sway of Akbar Bádsháh, as shown farther on. Síwí and its district—the parts immediately adjoining it, and those alone, it would appear—had been held for some time by a family of the Barlás Mughals (the same tribe as that of which Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, was the head, and the next in rank to that of the tribe of the Chingiz Khán himself), but they were subordinate to the governors of the Kandahár province, as is shown from the fact of Fázil, the Kokal-Tásh, being Dároghah of Síwí when Bábar Bádsháh, in the year 910 H. (1505 A.D.) marched from the Dera'h-ját by the Sakhí Sarwar Pass, and by Tal or Tala'h and Tsotíálí to the Áb Istádah and Ghaznín, as already related. When Sháh Beg Khán, in consequence of Bábar Bádsháh's hostile movements, had, in 917 H. (1511 A.D.), to resume the fief of Síwí and take possession of it for himself, the Parnís paid allegiance to him, but, subsequently, when the Arghún dynasty in Sind terminated, and the Tar-Kháns succeeded, the Parnís obtained possession of Síwí for themselves, for they were there during the time that Sultán Mahmúd Khán, son of the before-mentioned Fázil, the Kokal-Tásh, held the Bakhar province on his own account, and, doubtless, paid him some sort of allegiance.† After his time they considered themselves subject to no one; for twice, in 984 H. (1576–77 A.D.), and in 1003 H. (1593–94 A.D.), they were ousted from its fort by the forces of Akbar Bádsháh serving in the Multán *Súbah;* and once, in 996 H. (1587 A.D.), they defeated and routed the troops of his feudatory of Bakhar.

After their last reverse they paid nominal allegiance to Akbar Bádsháh; and, at the period in question, the only Afgháns inhabiting any portion of the Bakhar province of Multán, were the Parnís of the Síwí *mahall*. In after years, some settled nearer the Indus, in the level tracts north of the fortress of Bakhar; for, when these surveys were made, the village of Kand-Kot in the Shikár-púr district, as then constituted, was inhabited by Parnís, and probably is to this day.‡

During the time Síwí continued under the sway of the sovereigns of Hind, until Kandahár was finally lost to the descendants of Bábar Bádsháh, the whole *ulús* or tribe of Parní, dwelling within their territory dependent on Kandahár, merely paid a nominal tribute or acknowledgment of 60 sheep; while at the same time they were assessed as able to furnish 1,000 horsemen and 1,000 foot for militia purposes. There must have been some special reason why they were so lightly taxed, for we know that their chiefs of the Borízí branch ruled their own tribe, and held considerable authority over the neighbouring districts on the part of the ruling power, and collected their revenue, out of which they enjoyed a considerable share, down to recent times. That this tax or tribute of 60 sheep was merely nominal, is clearly proved from the fact, that, at the very same time, the Abdálí branch of the Taríns, from which the sovereigns of the Afgháns sprung, which was rated as being able to furnish 2,000

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* *See* page 578.

† He and his father were in the service of the Arghúns, and Sultán Mahmúd Khán's mother was a Kásí or Kánsí Afghán, the same tribe which dwelt in Shál, and of which the Kihtráns are a branch. *See* page 588.

‡ Down to comparatively recent times, when the Borízí Maliks held charge of greater part of Upper Sind as at present constituted, including the present Bakhar, Shikár-púr, great part of Lar-kánah (then called Chandú-kah), and the Frontier Districts of the present province of Sind, under the sovereigns of the Dihlí empire, Parnís, and others their kinsmen, were located nearer the Indus. The telegraphic wire between Khán-garh or Jacob-ábád and Rúján on the Indus passes close to Kand-Kot.

horse and 3,000 foot, was assessed at from 2,800 to 2,900 sheep, 5 *khar-wárs** of rice, and 1 *khar-wár* of *roghan* (*ghí* of Hind), although, as Abú-l-Fazl states, they had, under former rulers, that is to say, under the Ṣafawís, before Muzaffar Husain Mírzá gave up the Kandahár province to Akbar Bádsháh, been assessed at 1,000 sheep only, which had been commuted to 100 *tománs* in money.† At that time, however, the Abdálís were only rated as being able to furnish 400 horse and 600 foot for militia service. The Taríns of Púshang, which territory appears not to have been so populous in Akbar Bádsháh's time, as that in which the Abdálí branch, then separated from their kinsmen, dwelt, had to pay 33 *tománs* in money, 3,200 sheep, and 500 *khar-wárs* of grain, while they were rated at 1,500 horsemen and 1,500 footmen for militia purposes.

At the same time it must not be forgotten, that the assessment of the Síwí *mah„áll* was totally separate, it being dependent on Bakhar of Multán; while that portion of the *ulús* or tribe of Parní, and the main portion, apparently, assessed at 60 sheep, was dependent on Kandahár, and that the Síwí *mahall* paid a money revenue of 13,81,930 *dáms*, which sum, at 40 *dáms* to the *rúpí*, was equal to *rúpís* 34,458. Besides this, the Afghán inhabitants of Síwí were also separately rated as able to furnish 500 horse, and 1,500 footmen for militia duties. The Parnís, therefore, furnished 1,500 horse and 3,000 footmen in all,‡ which number is precisely the same as that furnished by the Abdálís, and half as many more as the Taríns were assessed at. Therefore, as the inhabitants of Síwí are set down by Abú-l-Fazl as Afgháns simply, without specifying the tribe, although he elsewhere distinctly states that Síwí was in the possession of the Parnís, it is not improbable, since the Nághar Afghán tribe, descended from the brother of the progenitor of the Parnís, dwelt immediately adjoining them on the east,§ in parts which were, in all probability, dependent on the Síwí *mahall*, and were not rated elsewhere, and never very numerous, might have furnished a proportion of the militia contingent of the *mahall* in question.

I have been unable to meet with any particulars respecting the revenue of Síwí and other parts under the Durrání sovereigns, but it was probably much the same as under the usurping Bárakzís. Under their sway the Síwí district was assessed at 600 *tománs*, equal to 11,000 Company's *rúpís*, but, at that time, the Jzawara'h or Zawara'h dara'h—the name is written both ways—and that of Sángán and Kwat-Mandáhí were included. The Síwí district, under these arrangements, was farmed at this aggregate, and Tal or Tala'h and Tsotíálí at 372 *tománs* and 5,000 *dínárs*, equal to a little over 6,892 Company's *rúpís*. Fúshanj or Púshang‖ was, at the same time, assessed at 900 *tománs*, equal to 16,650 *rúpís*, but 100 *tománs* of this sum were on account of transit dues, and the remaining 800 a commutation in lieu of having to furnish horses. In these more remote districts of the territory usurped by the Bárakzís, namely Síwí, and Tala'h and Tsotíálí, which were naturally strong and difficult of access, the people often refused payment of revenue until forced to do so, and the upshot was that bodies of troops were sent into them to coerce them. This resulted in the ravaging of lands, the destruction of villages, the slaughter of the ringleaders in the so-called rebellion, and the collection of double, and sometimes treble, the amount owing.

The Parnís¶ dwelling in these parts are much mixed up with their Kákaṛ kinsmen at present. The Soṭ (*vul.* I-soṭ) and Músá Khel Parnís continue to dwell in part of the ancient possessions of their tribe, and adjoining each other, in a rugged and

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* The *khar-wár* was equal to forty *manns*, which were equal to ten *manns* of Hindústán.

† The *tomán* of Khurásán was equivalent to thirty *rúpís* of Akbar Bádsháh's time, and the *tomán* of 'I-rák to forty *rúpís*. Thus the Parnís paid the equivalent of ten *tománs*, if we reckon 1,000 sheep as valued at 100 *tománs*, while the Abdálís paid the equivalent of from 280 to 290 *tománs*, besides other taxes.

‡ A goodly number for a "small nomad tribe," as Mr. Duke supposes them to have been at the period in question, to have furnished; but, on the contrary, this shows that they were a *very strong* tribe, and not all nomad, by any means. *See*, and compare, his "Report," pages 118 and 119.

§ The Khuláṣat-ul-Ansáb, written by a learned Afghán of the Barets tribe, plainly states, that the Nághars, when he wrote, about a century and a quarter since, were then dwelling between the Kákaṛ tribe and the Balúchís of Sind, adjacent to the tract of country dependent on the Dera'h of Ghází Khán.

‖ Also written Fushanj—never "*Fo-Shang*," for the letters will not admit of it—and Pushang, with short "*u*" in both instances, but the name of this district is not "Péshín," for that word signifies "*the afternoon*," and, as an adjective, stands for "*prior*," "*former*," "*anterior*," and the like. Therefore the "*Péshín* "Gazetteer," so named, literally means "THE AFTERNOON GAZETTEER," or "THE ANTERIOR OR FORMER "GAZETTEER." Thus it is that errors are multiplied and handed down from one compiler to the other, but when there is a right and a wrong name for places, why should we not have the right one?

¶ MacGregor, in Part II. of his "Central Asia," under the head of "Kákars," tells us that "the "inhabitants of Sebí are Kákars of the Pani section."

ill-favoured mountain tract, and in the *ṣahrá* or uncultivated plateau,* which is of considerable elevation, and lies immediately west of the great range of Mihtar Sulímán, to the west of Mangrotha'h. It has been already referred to in the account of the Afghánistán, at page 463. The Músá Khel consist of two branches, the Balílzí and Lahrzí, descended from Balíl and Lahr, sons of Músá, son of Parnaey. The Balílzís are the most numerous, and follow agricultural pursuits, while the Lahrzís are shepherds and graziers. Both branches contain smaller subdivisions.† These Músá Khel Parnís are a quiet, inoffensive people, if not interfered with. They have the Sheránís on the north, their Soṭ kinsmen and the Ja'far Miárnahs on the east, east of whom again is the small clan of Miárnah Kihtráns.‡ On the south-east the Músá Khel have the small branch of 'Umarzí Parnís (who have been incorrectly supposed to be a third branch of their own Khel), and the Shádízís, sometimes called Shádozís (a small section of the chief branch of the Parní tribe, descended like the Borízís, from Sangá, son of Parnaey), between them and the large branch or sub-tribe of Kihtrán Kásís; while, on the south-west, they have the now much weakened branch of the Laurní Miárnahs; and, on the west, the Lawarní Parnís, who adjoin the Kákars, where the territory of the latter terminates on the north-west.

This Lawarní branch of the Parnís dwell in Chinjan and Kwandar,§ adjoining the Kákars, as just mentioned, and a few near Síwí. They extract salt from the soil,‖ and take it on camels and oxen to the country of the Mando Khel tribe of Ghor-ghas'hts, to the northward, and other parts lying near by, and also to Kandahár. They barter the salt for grain, receiving generally weight for weight, but, in times when grain is cheap, they sometimes receive twice the weight of their salt in maize and barley.

Some of the main branches of the Parnís I have, as yet, been unable to trace on account of the tribe having been so much scattered, but further research will probably enable me to throw some light upon them. These are the descendants of Shorn, 'Alí, Marghastan, Yúsaey, Kásim, Jantaey, and Khaṭánaey, among whom, as well as the last named, are certainly some of Parnaey's adopted sons. The descendants of Sangá threw out the greatest number of minor divisions, but, strange to say, although looked upon as the chief branch of the Parní tribe, but few are to be traced.¶ A number of them, in all likelihood, migrated into Hind. The known branches not already mentioned will be noticed presently.

The Parní tribe, itself, under the general name of "Punnee," "Pannee," "Panni," and "Pani," have been mistaken, by some authors and compilers, as merely the branch of another tribe, while the few branches, the names of which have hitherto been mentioned by them, have invariably been mistaken for totally distinct tribes, or wrongly stated to be branches of other Afghán tribes. All sorts of errors have been put in print respecting the Ja'fars, Soṭs (*vul.* I-sots), and Músá Khel, located close to our frontier, particularly regarding the latter; and, up to the moment of my writing these lines, the correct descent of the Músá Khel has remained unknown.** I have been, before now, led astray myself respecting it, an inducement for further research.

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* Mentioned in Major-General Sir M. Biddulph's paper in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical "Society" for April, 1880, and mistaken for a proper name. *See* page 463.

† Mr. O. T. Duke, in his account of the "Musa Khels," whom he turns into "Kákars," has other branches of Parnís mixed up with them. His annotator, also, "P. J. M.," is of opinion that "The Musa "Khel themselves appear to belong to the same race" as the "Saran Kakars of Zhob," but in this, as in some other matters, he is much mistaken.

‡ Mentioned at pages 515 and 530.

§ This is Elphinstone's "*Coondoor*," "*Kúndar*" of MacGregor, and "*Kundur*" of the maps.

‖ In the Pus'hto language salt is "*málg-a'h*," and a collector or seller of salt is styled "*málg-bah*." The Sanskrit for salt is *lon*, but I hope the Lawarnís will not be turued into Hindús on that account. The word *lon* is not used in the Afghán language.

¶ Aḥmadak, or little Aḥmad, of the Mandú Khel branch of the Parnís, is mentioned in connection with the Bakht-yárí Sheráni Afghán saint, Yaḥyá-i-Kabír, mentioned before in these pages, who lived between 607 H. and 734 H. (1210–11 to 1333–34 A.D.), and who died at the age of 127. As the Afgháns "only lately "began to concoct the genealogies of the present day," the Parnís must have commenced much earlier. Certainly some strong "concoctions" have been made for them very lately in an "ethnic point of view."

** Elphinstone, here again, is incorrect in calling these Parnís "*Moossakhail and Esote Caukers*."

Lumsden (H. B.) makes out the "Musakhel" to be "*Kakars*, mustering 3,000 men occupying *Sarai* [the "*ṣahrá* referred to above and at page 463] on the Marri frontier."

MacGregor, in his "Central Asia," Part I., calls them "A Pathán *tribe*. The *clan* numbers 5,000 fighting "men." He mentions them as being divided into three "sections," one of which happens to be a separate branch, descended from 'Umar, son of Parnaey, who was also Músá's father. The Músá Khel, as already described, contain but two main branches.

One very remarkable thing he adds respecting the Músá Khel is, that "their language is Pashtú, or a "corruption of it," the *Pashtú* form of it, probably, since, like all Afgháns or Paṭáns, the Lawarnís speak Pus'hto. He also informs us that "they are all of the Súní persuasion," and that "there are no Shiás in their

Instead of being either "a weak nomad tribe" or "a small nomad tribe," a large portion of them must, even then, have been sedentary, at least the Síwí portion of them; for they, with the Dáwís—or some of them—and the Nághars, held the whole of the large tract of country I have previously mentioned. This, including Síwí and its dependencies, extending in the direction of north-east, included Bar-khán and Mekh-tár, as far as the range of Mihtar Sulímán, where the Músá Khel, the Sot, 'Umarzí, and Shadízí Shorn branches still dwell. Moreover, it was *after* they had to capitulate and surrender the fort of Síwí, related at page 602, that they were assessed at the number of men mentioned, and paid the sum of 13,81,930 *dáms*, equal to 34,548 *rúpís* as revenue for the Síwí *maḥáll* of the Bakhar *Sarkár*. A partial dispersion of the tribe took place at the time of this capitulation, and continued in after times down to the first half of the last century, through the migrations of portions of the tribe into India. The consequent weakness of the remainder, and divisions which arose among themselves at home; the collapse of the Safawí and Mughal governments; the rise of the Ghalzís to sovereign power in these parts; and the subsequent cession of the whole of the Dihlí dependencies west of the Indus and Sankrah to Nádir Sháh, gave opportunity to the Kákaṛ, and Kihtrán Kásí Afgháns, on one side, and, subsequently, to the Marí, Búghṭí, and other Balúch interlopers on the other, to appropriate by degrees a great part of the tract of country held by the Parní tribe, and nearly the whole of that in which their Dáwí and Nághar kinsmen had been located.

But the most serious error Mr. Duke has fallen into, as it appears to have guided him, in his position of Assistant to the Political Agent in Balúchistán, in the settlement of certain tracts of country over which the Boṛízí Parnís had been hereditary governors and collectors of the revenue for a long period of time, is contained in the following extract from his "Report" (page 119, para. 16):—"A copy of the pedigree "of the *Barozais* [the name of the family is spelt Boṛízí in their language, and their "tribe Parní] is given in an Appendix to Chapter I., Part I., to this Report; *it shows "that they possess no great antiquity; since Ismail, the ancestor of the Sangan "Barozai, whose name is mentioned in the sunnud attached to Chapter I., is only fifth "(A.D.* 1762) *in the list;* this sunnud was given to Sir Robert Sandeman by the "Sibi Barozais, and I have no doubt that the original order of Ahmad Shah, Durani, "is in the possession of the Barozai Sardars, who do not wish to show it, because it "would demonstrate that their claim to one fourth of the Sangan produce is un-"founded.* . . . . Of course Barozais *and* Panis [Boṛízís *are* Parnís] had "become so destitute that the smallest payment was a burden to them."

"country." I never heard of any Afgháns who were not Sunn-ís—not "Súnís"—, but followers of the Pír-i-Ros'hán or Pír-i-Tárík, who are heretics, have been mistaken for Shí'as.

In Part II. of that compilation he places them under the head of "*Kákars*," and appears to quote Lumsden; for he says, "Músakhél—musters 3,000 men, occupying Saraí," etc.

Mr. Duke says in his "Report," page 167, that "The Musa Khel have not much to say of themselves "and their neighbours know but little about them; they are *Kakars* and *their allies are Kakars;* their "traditions lead them to think that the sept of *Gargusht* Afghans, to which they originally belonged [he "seems to be unaware of the fact that Kákaṛs are Ghor-ghas'hts]. lived in the neighbourhood of *a mountain* "called Ghur [Ghar—Kasí Ghar, *see* page 466], somewhere between Kandahar and Herat; there seems "to have been at a date unfixed an intertribal dispute, which resulted in the departure of 300 of these Kakars "under a leader named Musa in search of fresh pastures. At length the Musa Khel arrived at the Takti "Suliman and there resided, but eventually a quarrel with the Mirani, now called Shirani Afghans [!], caused "them to move to Sahra, which place they now hold; this happened about 80 years ago." He might have added nearer eight hundred years ago. It will be seen from this specimen that the same errors are made by the writer about Ghur which I have noticed above and at page 446.

In Major (now, Sir) C. W. Wilson's new map of Afghánistán, these Músá Khel Parnís appear as "Musakhel *Vaziris*." No wonder the "Punnees" are said to have disappeared from their original country, when they are thus turned into "Kákars" and "Vaziris."

The "Péshín Gazetteer" gives us some curious information, which even exceeds the above. It says (p. 155): "On the other hand, the Kasís [Kásís?] of Shál and the Panís of Síbí are not Kákars, as was "formerly supposed," which is correct, but then follows: "Putting aside distant offshoots, the principal "Kákar tribes of the present day are as follows." Then seven names are given of so-called Kákar *tribes*, two of which (one these very Lawarnís I am writing about above, under the usual incorrect name of Lúnís), are not Kákaṛs but Parnís and Dáwís. Then the writer adds, "There may be other more or less distinct clans, "such as the Músa Khél, Mandó Khél, Isots, &c., but it is most probable that *these, and other, Kákar tribes "whose names occasionally crop up,* are in fact sections of one of the great divisions above mentioned." The "distinct clans" here mentioned are all distinct tribes, and not Kákaṛs at all.

In a footnote to "Isots," the writer remarks, that "very little is at present known about them," and that "the name *Isot* has a very unnatural appearance, and it has occurred to the compiler that it may possibly be "*Tsot*, meaning 'attack,' or 'onset.' *Ts t Khán may have been the name of the original progenitor of the "clan.*" The word, however, is written "*soṭ*," not "tsot": *súṭ*, with long *ú*, would be more likely, meaning, "ugly," "ill-favoured," "grim," "repulsive," etc.

* Yet, in another place, he says, "The Barozais held formerly a high position in Sewistan [Síwí: not "'Sewistan'], and received a sunnud from Ahmad Shah, Durani, confirming them in the management of a

I will now give some useful and reliable information respecting the Boṛízí Parnís, which will show that they were perfectly right in their statements. I can only regret that I had no opportunity of making these historical *facts* known some time ago, and before the new settlement of the Síwí district took place.

The Kajzaks, who are descended from Kajzak, one of the eighteen sons of Parnaey,* were, in ancient times, located at Mekh-tár, now, and for many years past, in the possession of a branch of the Kákaṛs. During a feud which arose between them and their Kákaṛ neighbours there, they were worsted. According to a custom among Afghán tribes and portions of tribes on such occasions, and partly through being unable, in all probability, on account of the then weakened and dispersed state of their tribe, to obtain the aid of their kinsmen against the numerous and powerful Kákaṛs, they abandoned Mekh-tár and its neighbourhood, and retired to the Síwí district—then including the Jzawaṛa'h† dara'h, Sáng-Mandáhí, and Kwaṭ—in the neighbourhood of which town (Síwí) they had been in the habit of coming to stay in the winter months, and there they proposed to settle.

At this period the Síwí district was ruled by Ḥamíd Khán, son (a descendant, for certain, not the actual son) of Boṛaey, the progenitor of the Boṛízís, who claim descent from Sangá, son of Parnaey, from whom the greatest number of offshoots have sprung, and are those *now* chiefly known under the general name of Parnís, respecting the branches of which so many errors have been made, which I have now been able to correct. The Boṛízí chief, with the consent of the rest of the tribe, assigned certain lands for their support, and granted one cubit's breadth of water of the Nárí river,‡ also called Áb-i-Jibál, or "The Mountain Stream," to the Kajzaks for their irrigation. On those lands they built themselves dwellings, which afterwards became known as the village of the Kajzaks, situated about eight miles east-north-east from Síwí.

This allowance of water was granted to them from the Nárí river, which flows past Síwí on the west, and which Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar describes as being, in former times, so pernicious for drinking purposes.§ These shares were apportioned by means of certain canals cut from the river on its emerging from the hills into the Síwí plain. As the Kajzaks, in time, increased in numbers, they obtained an increase of the share of water from the Nawwáb, Mírzá Khán, presently to be referred to, son of Ḥamíd‖ Khán, Boṛízí. The Kajzaks continued for a long time loyal to their Boṛízí kinsmen, until, at last, eight shares of the water of the Nárí river, as much as Síwí itself received, were assigned to them. At this time the shares, numbering sixty-four in all, were thus apportioned:—To the town of Síwí, eight shares, and the water remaining in the bed of the river after the distribution of the other shares, for the irrigation of its gardens; to the village of Gúlú, seven miles north of Síwí, six shares; the village of the Marghozánís,¶ the descendants of another of Parnaey's sons, three miles east-south-east of Síwí, three shares; to the village of Kauark,** about four miles north-east of the town, eight shares; to the village of the Lawarnís,†† the descendants

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"considerable portion of it. Baktiar [Bakht-yár, perhaps], the late Sibi Barozai Chief, rendered considerable "service in giving information to the Sind officers, and was held in high repute in these districts."

He also has "Barozais *and* Pannis" continually, as if they were totally distinct tribes.

* MacGregor, in Part I. of his "Central Asia," has been led into a great error by his authority, Davidson, respecting these Parnís. Under the heading of "Khojak," he has, "A *tribe* of Pathāns, an offshoot of the "Kákars of Mekhtar; they are a large and powerful *clan*, and are usually at enmity with the Bárúzais [as "he spells Boṛízí]. They are said to number from 800 to 900 fighting men [not a large or very powerful "*tribe* to judge from this], and own one fort [a fortified village rather], which contains 300 fighting men." *See* page 638, and note *.

Masson turns not only the Kajzak Parnís into a "Baloch" *tribe*, but also the Silánchí branch of the Nághar tribe of Afgháns! He says, "In the Afghán district of Síwí, to the north-east of Dádar, are the Baloch tribes "of Khadjak and Shílânchí." In the same page he calls the Parnís, "Piárí Afghâns, with a castle or fort of "the same name," and a village called "Sanghân."

† Also written Zawaṛa'h, but the above is the most correct form. It appears in the latest maps as "*Jawur*," and according to Mr. Duke and the "Péshín Gazetteer," it is *Zawar*. The Pus'hto word above correctly describes its features, hence the name. There is nothing "Hindoo" in it.

‡ Nárá, in Sanskrit and Hindí means a tape, band, etc., and Nárí, an artery, and the like, also a snake. *See* page 584.

Masson makes this river rise "in the hills near Toba, north of Shâll, it flows through the Khâkâ [he refers "to Kákaṛ] district of Borah, and then into the Afghân district of Síwí, from which it enters the plain of "Kach Gandâva to the east of Dádar." What he refers to is merely one of its tributaries.

§ *See* page 21.

‖ There is a little doubt as to the absolute correctness of this name, but it is certainly not "Daolat," as in Mr. Duke's tree of the "Barozais."

¶ Incorrectly spelt "*Margazani*" in the Survey Map.

** "*Karuk*" of the before-mentioned map, "*Kuruk*" in Mr. Duke's, and "*Kark*" of others.

†† "*Lorani*" in the Survey Map, and "*Lorain*" in that appended to Mr. Duke's "Report."

of Lawarn, son of Parnaey, four shares; to the village of the Kajzaks,* the descendants of Kajzak, son of Parnaey, eight shares; to the village of the Sáfís, descended from Sáfaey another of Parnaey's sons (and the progenitor of the great sub-tribe of Sáfí, dwelling north of Jalál-ábád adjoining the Káfiristán, mentioned at page 105), the situation of which village I cannot trace, and has probably disappeared with the few members of that branch dwelling in Síwí itself, six shares; to the village of Bakhra'h,† four miles north-north-west of the town, two shares; to the village of Maḥmúd, which has disappeared, or its name has been changed, two shares; and to that called 'Abd-ullah Khwaṛ,‡ which I am unable to identify, two shares.

Here then we have mentioned the descendants of five of Parnaey's sons, whom I have previously named, located in the Síwí dara'h; namely, Sangá, from whom come the Boṛízís, Lawarn or Lawarnaey, Marghozánaey, Sáfaey, and Kajzak, but not the descendants of Dihpál, whose village, however, does exist, and lies within a mile of the old fort of Síwí on the west. These, probably, are not the whole of the branches still dwelling in the district, and, in all likelihood, there are small communities of the other main branches therein as well as of the Sáfís. Who would have expected to find any portion of the Sáfís still dwelling in their old country when that branch has been separated from the parent stock for some centuries, and are located north of Jalál-ábád, and who, at present, outnumber all the other descendants of Parnaey put together? These facts, however, tend to prove the correctness of their history generally.

The descendants of Músá, Mandú, Soṭ, 'Umar, Shorn (from whom come the Shadízís and 'Uṭmánzís), and the Jzadúns, have been previously accounted for, together with the main portion of the Lawarnís; and thus, the descendants of 'Alí, Marghastan, Yúsaey or Búsaey, Ḳásim, and Jantaey (among whom are certainly some of the other adopted sons besides Khaṭáney), remain to be traced. Some of these, no doubt, still remain, but, on account of their weakness, are dwelling among the other branches, and who, by a little inquiry made by some one conversant with their history and descent, might be traced, but the descendants of some may have died out.

The other four villages named as entitled to shares of the water of the Nárí, namely, the villages of Kauark,§ Bakhra'h, Maḥmúd, and 'Abd-ullah Khwaṛ, were certainly peopled by Parnís, and are still, and, in all probability, by some of these very branches remaining to be traced.||

The different branches of the Parní tribe, many of which, as I have here shown, have been mistaken for separate and distinct tribes (as in the case of the Sáfís and Jzadúns), still continue to dwell in and about, or near by, their ancient seats, and are said to number, altogether, not less than 10,000 families, for the Músá Khel, alone, are computed to amount to 5,000, which, at the usual computation of five persons to a family, would amount to about 25,000 persons.

All these in their manners and customs, as a matter of course, differ in no way from the Mandú Khel, the Kákaṛs, Dáwís, and Nághars, and, being Pus'htúns, their language is the Pus'hto, and their religion the same as that of others.

Mr. O. T. Duke's statement that the Boṛízís "possess no great antiquity," has been already refuted, and that, "they did not hold charge of their own district under the

* "*Kajak*" of the Survey Map, "*Khadjaks*" of Masson, and "*Khwajak*" in Mr. Duke's. The original is کجک.

† "Bakro" of the maps.

‡ Khwaṛ, in Pus'hto, signifies a watercourse, the dry bed of a river.

§ This was the name of a *mauẓa'* of Hurmúz (*vul.* Ormuz), and of a tribe of infidels dwelling in that direction and towards Sind.

According to the traditions of these parts, the name of this village is derived from that of the notorious tribe, of which those nearest the coast of Mukrán and Sind, were pirates, and first gave umbrage to the 'Arabs, and led to their invasion of the Hindú kingdom of Sind. A portion of them are said to have been dwelling in S'horá-wak when the Barets Afghàns first began to settle there. They expelled them, and forced them into Mastang and parts around, and then they, or some portion of them, retired into the district of Síwí where, probably, others of their race were located, and where some of their descendants still dwell; and from them, and their dwelling there, the name of this village is supposed to have been derived. These people are the "*Kerks*" of Elliot, who says (Vol. 1, p. 508), "the tribe of Kerk, Kruk, Kurk, Karak, or some name of nearly similar "pronunciation." They have been mistaken for Kurds. This would be an excellent subject to which to apply the Herodotus theories.

|| If these last named villages should contain descendants of any of those named as still remaining to be traced, the descendants of sixteen out of Parnaey's eighteen sons will have been accounted for. As before stated, two or more were adopted sons, but the descendants of Khaṭánaey were declared to be true descendants of Parnaey, at the period that these matters were discussed and settled in the time of the Lodí sovereigns of Dihlí, and in their *darbárs*, respecting other branches of Afghán tribes, who claimed Sayyid descent, respecting which I shall have more to say in another place.

"former rulers," and that "they had no share in the revenue" which they were charged to collect, are refuted by the following facts.

In the year 1107 H. (1695–96 A.D.), "on account of the disturbed state of the "frontier districts of the Multán *Şúbah*, through the outbreaks of the Latí devotees or "Kalhorahs, and the excesses of the marauding Balúch tribes, the Sháh-Zádah, "Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, son of the Prince Royal, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, "eldest son of the Bádsháh, Aurangzeb-i-'Álam-gír, was appointed Şúbah-dár or "Náẓim of the Multán *Şúbah*," his father, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, having lately been made Şúbah-dár of the province of Kábul, as previously mentioned at pages 414 and 415.

At this time, Síwí and its dependencies, a *maḥáll* of the Bakhar *Sarkár* of the Multán *Şúbah*, was held by the chief of the Parní tribe, Mírzá Khán, the Borízí, who had received the title of Nawwáb from the ruler of Dihlí. He likewise held charge and administered the affairs of the whole of that part of Upper Sind, as at present constituted, forming the Trans-Indus portion of the Shikár-púr Collectorate, comprising the Shikár-púr and Sakhar districts, great part of the Lar-kánah district, then known as Chandú-kah, the present Frontier District, adjoining Shikár-púr, and all the tract of country lying between it and Síwí; in fact, nearly all the tract of territory which constituted the western part of the Bakhar *Sarkár* of the Multán *Şúbah*.*

At this period, the Dá'úd-pútrahs, who, like the Latís or Kalhorahs, style themselves 'Abbásís, and are descended from the same stock, dwelt in that part of the Frontier District and beyond, which lies north-west of Shikár-púr; and other chiefs and tribes, not Afgháns, holding lands in the tracts mentioned, such as the chief, or Rájah, as he is also called, of Lakkhí, whose principal place was the town of that name, situated between Sakhar and Shikár-púr, were under the Nawwáb, Mírzá Khán, the Borízí Parní. He it was who granted a tract of land in the Lakhhí *Jangal*, much against the wishes of the Lakhhí chief, to Bahádur Khán, the Dá'úd-pútrah, wherein that Dá'úd-pútrah chief founded the town of Shikár-púr, a brief account of which, and the origin of the name, will be found at page 662, note †.

On the death of the Nawwáb, Mírzá Khán, the exact date of which is not mentioned, but it appears to have happened between the years 1110 and 1112 H. (1698–99 and 1700–1 A.D.), his son, Bakht-yár Khán,† succeeded him in his tribe and government; and he founded the town of Bakht-yár-púr.

Soon after Bakht-yár Khán's accession to authority, Mián Yár Muḥammad, the Latí, or Kalhorah, an account of whom and whose tribe has been already given at page 617, thinking the time favourable for encroaching, possessed himself of the Chandú-kah district and the town of Lar-kánah, which was then held by Malik Allah Bakhsh, Bakht-yár Khán's brother. On this, the latter, as in duty bound, appealed to his superior, the Şúbah-dár of the Multán province, the Prince, Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, who signified his intention of moving against the aggressor in person.

There appears to have been a combination on foot, at this time, to entangle Bakht-yár Khán with the Şúbah-dár; for it is well known that the Dá'úd-pútrah chief had, and, in all probability, Mián Yár Muḥammad, the Latí, also had, a hand in it. The former found Bakht-yár Khán a great obstacle in the way of his own aggrandisement; and it must not be forgotten what was the state of the Mughal empire in India at this period. The Bádsháh, whose long reign was now drawing towards its close, and whose death had been for some time expected, had, for years past, continued to reside in the southernmost part of his dominions, engaged in the reduction of the Marhaṭahs and other rebels, while his authority at the other extremity of his empire became proportionably relaxed from want of proper attention.

Bakht-yár Khán appears to have been a somewhat timid ruler, and one afraid of responsibility, one of the greatest misfortunes that can assail a man in such a situation. He may have had reasons of his own for not desiring the presence of a Prince of the blood, with all his hungry followers, in the districts under his charge, but there is

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* If the documents in the possession of the Borízís should be examined by a competent person, I believe they would confirm everything that I have stated here.

† Because his father's name was Mírzá Khán, the word Mírzá has been mistaken by some English writers for his *title*, the fact of that being Nawwáb they are unaware of; and they have accordingly dubbed the son, Bakht-yár, "*Mirza* Baktawar Khán," not seeing the absurdity, and also the impossibility, of a Parní Afghán being styled by the *title* of Mírzá.

The Gazetteer of Sind has "Mirza *Baktawar* Khán, son of 'Mirza *Panni*,'" thus mistaking the name of his tribe for his proper name, and his proper name for the title of Mírzá, which has been also given to his son.

little doubt that he was also secretly urged by others, for the sake of *their* own interests, to prevent the Prince, by all possible means, from carrying out his intention, and even to resist him if necessary, promising him aid in so doing. He endeavoured to dissuade the Prince against coming, by assuring him that he was quite able to deal with the Laṭí encroachments without troubling him, and, almost, had recourse to entreaty. This strange behaviour, magnified and distorted by the very men who had urged him thus to act, no doubt, made the Prince suspicious; and he had had experience already with rebels on his borders.

The annals of the Dá'úd-pútrahs plainly state, that Bahádur Khán, the chief of that tribe, having died soon after founding Shikár-púr, his son and successor, Mubárak Khán, found that Bakht-yár Khán was not favourably inclined towards him; but the truth is, that he was an obstacle in the way of Mubárak Khán's aggrandisement. The latter abandoned Shikár-púr, and went and shut himself up in a fort which he had founded in the district or tract of country peopled by the Fatḥ tribe. On his departure, it is said, Bakht-yár Khán occupied Shikár-púr. In another place in the same annals it is stated, that Mubárak Khán went off to Multán with the avowed purpose of inciting the Prince Ṣúbah-dár against the Boṛízí chief and ruler of these parts, whom he found to be such an obstacle in his path. About this time, Ghází, the Dúdá-í Balúch chief of the Dera'h of Ghází Khán, became disaffected, upon which the Prince marched against him; and, after some considerable effort, succeeded in inflicting upon him and his supporters a complete overthrow, as already related at page 621. In this affair the Dá'úd-pútrah chief was present, with the contingent of his tribe, along with other feudatories, and rendered, so they say, efficient service.*

Having, by this means, succeeded in gaining the confidence of the young Prince, Mubárak Khán continued, at every opportunity, to poison his mind, and incite him against Bakht-yár Khán, the Boṛízí chief, as a rebel not to be trusted, the main object being to get him removed, at least, from the charge of the territory in which the Dá'úd-pútrah tribe dwelt.

It was at this juncture that Bakht-yár Khán fell into the snare prepared for him, by entreating the Prince not to trouble himself by coming in person to aid him, as he was now quite able to deal with the parties complained of. This, the wily Dá'úd-pútrah asserted, only proved what he had previously urged against his enemy; and he succeeded in working upon the mind of the Prince to that degree, that he accepted the Dá'úd-pútrah's offer to conduct a party of the Prince's troops, and seize Bakht-yár Khán and bring him to the Ṣúbah-dár's presence. He, accordingly, set out, accompanied by a body of the Prince's troops, and reinforced by his own tribe; and conducting them with great celerity, by an unusual route, and with the utmost secrecy, he suddenly appeared before Shikár-púr, in which Bakht-yár Khán then was, and who was totally unaware of their movements.

Unacquainted with their object, and, perhaps, thinking it was only a movement on the part of the Dá'úd-pútrah tribe, he issued from the town to confront this force, and with the object of opposing them if their appearance was with any hostile intent. The other party succeeded in bringing about a fight, the issue of which was for some time doubtful, when Bakht-yár Khán, who had thus, unwittingly, been entrapped into opposing the Ṣúbah-dár's forces, was killed by one of the Kháns of the opposing party, upon which his followers gave up their efforts and fled.

The corpse of the unfortunate Bakht-yár Khán was, by command of the Prince, Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-Din (afterwards Jahán-dár Sháh, Bádsháh of the Dihlí kingdom for a short time), divided into four parts, one of which was hung over the gateway of each of the four places which had been under his charge, namely, Shikár-púr, Bakhar, Khán-púr,† and Bakht-yár-púr, which latter place he had himself founded. The Dá'úd-pútrah, Mubárak Khán, "for his services," was permitted to re-occupy Shikár-púr, to which was added "a free grant of the towns of Khán-púr "and Bakht-yár-púr, and their dependent villages." Such is the Dá'úd-pútrah account; and, according to their own statement, the custody of the fortress of Bakhar was entrusted to their chief, but this I am very much inclined to doubt the correctness of. The dates of these occurrences are not given.

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* The final overthrow inflicted on Ghází Khán, Dúdá-í, by the Prince, took place at a later period, apparently, some time in 1116 H. (1704–5 A.D.); since I find the following record in the Ma'áṣir-i-'Álam-gírí, under the events of the year 1117 H. (1705-6 A.D.), the 49th of the reign, and about a year and half preceding the death of the Bádsháh. It is to the effect, that, "on the 24th of Rabí'-ul-Ákhir—the fourth month—a dress of "honour, an elephant, and a horse, with gold saddle and appointments, were sent to the Prince by the Bádsháh, "for his victory over Malik Ghází, the Dúdá-í." *See also* page 621.

† There is, or was a few years since, a fort still remaining at Khán-púr which was also built by the Nawwáb, Bakht-yár Khán, the Boṛízí. This Khán-púr is situated a little to the north of Shikár-púr.

According to the histories of the reign of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír Bádsháh, this attack on Bakht-yár Khán, Boṛízí, and his death, happened in the year 1113 H. (1701–2 A.D.),* the 45th of the reign; for, on the 1st of Muḥarram—the first month—1114 H. (May 16th, 1702 A.D.), it is stated, that, on that date, "a *farmán* of con-" gratulation was despatched to the Prince, who, at this time, had been made Ṣúbah-dár " of Ṭhaṭhah as well as of Multán, together with a dress of honour, and a jewelled " dagger, for his services in rooting out the rebel Bakht-yár."

Not very long after, hostility arose between the Mián, Núr Muḥammad, the Laṭí or Kalhorah, and the Dá'úd-pútrah chief; and the Bádsháh, Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír, having died on the 28th of Ẕí-Ḳa'dah, 1118 H. (towards the end of February, 1707 A.D.), after fifty-one years' reign, the Prince, Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, was recalled from Multán, which was left without a Ṣúbah-dár for some time afterwards. He was summoned by his father, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, who had now succeeded to the throne, and was on his way from Pes'háwar to Dihlí; and the Prince joined him at Láhor early in 1119 H. (1707 A.D.).†

Great disorders arose in India consequent on a disputed succession, which was renewed with greater violence than ever after the death of Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, in the first month of 1123 H. (February, 1711 A.D.), who was, after much fighting, succeeded by Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, entitled Jahán-dár Sháh, who has been mentioned as Ṣúbah-dár of Multán and Ṭhaṭhah, to be himself dethroned and put to death in the following year. These distractions in the empire naturally tended to still further weaken the already tottering authority of the Mughal sovereigns in the frontier provinces, including Sind and the parts adjacent, and gave that opportunity to the disaffected and the ambitious which they had long been seeking. As, however, the Parní Afgháns were not particularly concerned, I need only refer to the account given at page 617, of the rise of the Laṭís or Kalhorahs, and will merely mention here that the Mián, Yár Muḥammad, the head of the Laṭís or Kalhorahs, expelled the Dá'úd-pútrahs from Shikár-púr once more.

A new power had in the meantime arisen in the west. The Ghalzí tribe of Afgháns and their confederate tribes had possessed themselves of Ḳandahár and its territories in 1120 H.‡ (1708–9 A.D.); and the sway of the Ghalzí ruler was acknowledged by nearly all the Afghán tribes, except the Abdális, their rivals. They soon after possessed themselves of the Persian kingdom, but were finally driven out through the exertions of Ṭhamásib Ḳulí Khán, the Afshár Turk-man (who subsequently usurped the Persian throne, taking the title of Nádir Sháh), who overthrew the Ghalzí power in Persia, and also expelled them from Ḳandahár. The invasion of Hindústán by Nádir Sháh, which resulted in the cession, by the Mughal sovereign of the Dihlí empire, of all the territories possessed or under his sway, nominal only in many cases, west of the Indus as it then flowed, and all Sind west of the Sankrah Nálah or Hakṛá.

By this treaty§ Síwí and its dependencies, as well as Sind, became part of the Persian empire, and the former again became part of the province of Ḳandahár, as it had been up to the period of Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mírzá betraying it to Akbar Bádsháh. Nádir Sháh, when he came into Sind || to settle the affairs of that country shortly after, restored Shikár-púr, and such tracts as they had formerly held, to the Dá'úd-pútrahs, and added something thereto, but the whole of which they were destined again to lose for good.

On the death of Nádir Sháh a few years after, another Afghán dynasty arose, that of the Abdális or Durránís; and the Síwí district and Parní tribe passed under the sway of the Durrání ruler, hence they are styled Durránís, not as belonging to the tribe of that name, but as subjects of the Durrání empire.

After the time of the Nawwáb, Mírzá Khán, Boṛízí, and the unfortunate end of his son and successor, Bakht-yár Khán, when Síwí fell into the hands of the Laṭís or Kalhorahs, and was administered by a Wakíl or Deputy of theirs, the power of the Boṛízí section of the Parnís began rapidly to decline, while that of the Kajzaks proportionably increased, until, in the time of Aḥmad Sháh, Abdálí, the Sháh Durr-i-Durrán, Maḥmúd Khán, Boṛízí, father of Ḥabíb Khán, had to proceed to the Bádsháh's presence, to complain of the conduct of Ismá'íl Khán, the founder and head of the Sangán branch, and 'Ísá Khán, his son, who had been treated by him in a friendly

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* The year 1113 H. commenced on the 27th May (old style), 1701 A.D.

† The year 1119 H. commenced on the 23rd March (old style), 1707 A.D.

‡ The year 1120 H. began on the 11th March, 1708 A.D.

§ The treaty is dated 29th Ṣafar, 1152 H. (May, 1739 A.D.), and the words are, "from the Sankrah "Nálah to the extremity of the Sind-Ságar, which unites with the great ocean."

|| From Kábul by the Bangas'h route to Bannú, and down the Dera'h-ját into Sind.

manner becoming a kinsman. Aḥmad Sháh issued a special order in this matter, dated the 28th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 1172 H. (3rd of November, 1758 A.D.), in which it is set forth, that the Bádsháh has entrusted the *government* of the Síwí district, and the Bar-khán, Kihtrán, and Ḥasaní *'aláḳahs* or dependencies,* and the collection of the revenue thereof, to them jointly. In this document the Parnís are likewise called Durránís, that is to say, they were included among the Afghán tribes under the authority of that government, thus distinguishing them from the independent tribes of the Afghánistán, most of whom continue independent to this day.†

Subsequently, however, on Maḥmúd Khán, Boṛízí, calling upon the Kajzaks for their share of the revenue dues, they slew him. Ḥabíb Khán, his son, could do nothing; and to crown all, the Kajzaks cut off the Síwí share of water, and appropriated it to their own use, in consequence of which, Ḥabíb Khán had actually to abandon it, and live at Kauark, four miles away. He afterwards fell into their hands, and they put him to death likewise. His brother, Sa'd-ullah Khán, and Bakht-yár Khán, Shukr Khán, and Miṣrí Khán, sons of Ḥabíb, fled to Kandahár. After a time, Sa'd-ullah was directed to return to Síwí and collect the revenue as his fathers had done for generations, but no real help was given him‡ by the Durrání Government. The Kajzaks managed to persuade him that they had not been the cause of his brother's death, permitted him to collect a small portion of the revenue due to the State, but subsequently killed him also for demanding the whole amount due. This appears to have happened in 1175 H. (1761 A.D.); for, in this year, Bakht-yár, who, with his brothers, had fled to Lahrí after their uncle, Sa'd-ullah, was killed, applied to Aḥmad Sháh for a fresh order respecting the exemption of the Parní tribe from forced labour and taxes. This was acceded to, and an order to this effect was issued bearing date 7th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 1175 H. (end of October, 1761 A.D.). No good result appears to have followed this; for, after they, the brothers, had remained at Lahrí for some years, under the protection of the Dúmkí Balúchís, and were reduced to extreme poverty, they were, at last, compelled to throw themselves on the mercy of the Kajzaks, to enable them to obtain even a bare subsistence, to the great gratification of those ingrates, who saw the heads of the Boṛízí clan and of the Parní tribe, once their chiefs and rulers, and the hereditary governors of Síwí and its dependencies, standing as suppliants at their doors. The sons of Ḥabíb were permitted to dwell in Síwí for a year or two, after which they were sent to Kauark, where they afterwards continued to dwell.

About the time of Sháh Shujá'-ul-Mulk's dethronement by the Bárakzís, shortly after Elphinstone's mission returned from Pes'háwar, the Kajzaks, whose head at that time was Mír Khán, began to treat other branches of their Parní kinsmen as they had treated the Boṛízís. They attacked the village of the Marghozánís, which was pillaged and destroyed, and the remainder of that branch had to seek refuge in the village of the Dihpáls, where they continued to dwell.§ In this affair, however, Mír Khán was killed. After this feat, the Kajzaks considered themselves without rivals

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* The other dependencies are mentioned at page 627.

† The reason for this Mr. Duke cannot make out. Major (now, Colonel, Sir R.) Sandeman, K.C.S.I., the Agent to the Governor-General in Balúchistán, describes the Parnís, with reference to these *sanads*, as "*a* "*tribal section* of the great Durani *family*;" while his Assistant, Mr. O. T. Duke, on the contrary, says, "the Pannis are not Duranis and do not consider themselves such," and that "Ahmad Shah probably con- "sidered it expedient to bestow *his title* on as many tribes as possible," etc., etc.; yet, at page 157, paragraph 31, of the same "Report," he calls the "*Lunis*"—the Lawární Parnís—"*a Durani tribe*"!

Both are wrong. The Sháh, in the *sanads* in question, merely refers to tribes, or portions of tribes, who were subject to the Durrání government. This is plainly shown in the second *sanad* quoted, in which that portion of the Parnís subject to his government, that is, in Síwí and its dependencies, are referred to (not the Músá Khels and others who were not) as "Durrání Parnís."

‡ Aḥmad Sháh, when these events occurred, was absent in Hindústán, fighting against the Marhaṭahs. The battle of Pánípaṭ, and destruction of their host, took place on the 7th of January, 1761; and the monarch only returned to Kábul in the spring of that year. About the time the order subsequently mentioned was issued, was just before he had again to cross the Indus into India to put down the Sikhs, at which time he expelled them from the plain country. Ḳandahár, too, of which Síwí was then a dependency, was not tranquil, and in the year following he had to quell an insurrection there. This accounts for the state of Síwí affairs, and why the Boṛízís received no help.

§ A grandson of this Sa'd-ullah Khán, 'Umar Khán by name, was lately, and probably is still, a Jama'-dár, of "Balúch Guides," so called, because they are nearly all Afgháns, like the so-called "Belooch" regiments of the Bombay army. This is done to flatter them perhaps, in giving them a name hateful to all Afgháns.

Eastwick says in "Dry Leaves from Young Egypt," page 78:—"On the 12th October a body of horse, "called the Bilúch corps, arrived with their commander, Lieutenant Amiel. On the principle of *lucus a non* "*lucendo*, these men were called the Bilúch corps, they being Afgháns, *without one Bilúch among them!*"

Four sons of Shukr Khán are still living, I believe, one of whom, Muḥammad by name, is the present *sar-dár* or head of the clan, and three others, two of whom have sons. There are also two sons and a grandson of Bakht-yár Khán alive, and three sons of Miṣrí Khán, one of whom, Sar-buland Khán, claims the right

in this part, and it became a proud boast among them, which passed almost into a proverb in the parts around, that, "Although the Kákaṛs may coquet in the hill "tracts, the Kajzaks lord it in the plains."*

While any member of the family of the Sadozís possessed even a shadow of authority in the Afghán state, although Síwí and its district had long lain at his mercy, the Bráúhí chief of Kalát-i-Nícharah respected his suzerain's dominions, but, during the struggles for power, after the downfall of the Sadozís, between Dost Muḥammad Khán, Bárakzí, and his brothers, in the year 1828, that notorious intriguer and deserter, Ḥájí Khán, the Taragharí Kákaṛ (whose original name was Táj Muḥammad, and whose branch of the Kákaṛ tribe dwelt in Tobah and parts adjoining), being then nominally on the side of Dost Muḥammad Khán (but was ready to join whichever of the brothers turned out to be the strongest or most successful), considered himself governor of the parts eastwards, and he seized that opportunity to attack Síwí, which he sacked and set fire to. From that time, both the fort and the town were deserted, but the fort, even in its decayed condition, was a place of considerable strength.

At this period the Boṛízís were dwelling in Kauark, and the town of their rivals, the Kajzaks, was considered and became the chief town of the district, and the feud between the two branches continued as inveterate as before.

At the outbreak of the first Afghán war in 1839, Miṣrí Khán, the head of the Boṛízís, and by descent, chief of the Parní tribe, who must have at that time been well up in years, and then residing at Kauark, tendered his services to his sovereign, the Sháh, Shujá'-ul-Mulk, and he was taken into British pay along with a body of horsemen, his kinsmen and followers, and they formed part of what the authorities styled the "Balúch Levy," because they were all Afgháns. This was the first occasion in which we came into contact with any of the Parní tribe.

Early in March, 1841, Mr. Ross Bell, then Political Agent in Upper Sind, called upon the inhabitants of the Síwí district, as well as others, and including the Kajzaks, to pay up the arrears of revenue due by them to their sovereign's treasury, and one of his Assistants was despatched for the purpose of collecting the money, accompanied by a small detachment of troops, and Miṣrí Khán, the Boṛízí, accompanied them. Whether the hostility existing between the Boṛízís and the Kajzaks, and the base treatment of the former by the latter, were known to the Politicals is very doubtful, but, of course, the Boṛízí chief, as might have been expected, was only too glad to have a chance of settling old scores with the ingrate Kajzaks. The upshot was, after the Kajzaks, as it has been said, had been at first inclined to pay up, they now refused to do so, and being able to muster 700 fighting men, they defied the authorities. A force was asked for by the Political Agent to coerce them.†

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to the *sar-dár*-ship. Miṣrí Khán, during the first Afghán campaign, served in the "*Baluch* Levy," so called.

Of the Sáng or Sángán branch, there were living, very lately, two grandsons of 'Ísá Khán, mentioned in Aḥmad Sháh's order, and three great grandsons, one of whom, Muḥammad Khán, was lately serving as Dafa'-dár of Postal Horsemen.

* The Kajzak and other branches of the Parnís here mentioned, although dwelling close to the township of that name, are never once referred to by Mr. Duke throughout his voluminous "Report"; not even by name. *See* note *, page 632.

† The particulars of this affair do not appear in the histories of "The War in Afghanistan," nor in the "Histories of Afghanistan from the Earliest Times," and very little appears to have been known about it.

Eastwick, who was a Political, and an Assistant to Mr. Ross Bell at the time, says, in his "Dry Leaves from Young Egypt," that, "To such a height was this absurd notion of the pusillanimity of our enemies carried, "that when the General, whom good fortune more than skill had carried triumphantly to Kábul, returned "through Sindh, his first act was to denude the force stationed there of three fifths of its officers. Not a "single engineer was left in the whole country of Upper Sindh."

Major John Jacob, C.B., in a "Report" to the Government of Bombay on the "States and Tribes of Upper Sind," when in command of the Upper Sind Frontier, refers to this affair. He says :—

"The officer was accompanied by a detachment of British troops of all arms; but the business was mismanaged, and much mischief thereby was produced. The Kujjuks [Kajzaks] had at first not the least intention of resisting; every thing remained as usual in their town, and the sepoys of the British detachment were freely admitted into the place, going to and fro, and making purchases in the bazar of the town, &c.

"On the second day, however, after the arrival of the British force, the Kujjuks were excited to resistance, chiefly by the insults of Misree Khan Barozhee [Miṣrí Khán, Boṛízí, above mentioned]. They refused to pay the tribute demanded, and their town was attacked by the British troops. There were no gates to the town [Captain J. M. B. Neill, of Her Majesty's 40th Regiment, who was present with the reinforcement says differently, as I shall presently show], and the place was otherwise not well adapted for defence, but owing to strange misconduct, and to the accident of the commanding officer being killed, the troops were unsuccessful.

"On the next day large reinforcements arrived with General Brooks [this is incorrect, heavy rain prevented the troops from reaching it until the 24th March], but the town had been completely deserted by the Kujjuks during the previous night.

"The place was taken possession of, plundered, burnt, and destroyed; the walls of the buildings being levelled with the ground by order of General Brooks.

At this time, there was a British force of some 6,000 men encamped at and around Bhág Nárí, but, despising the enemy as usual, a small force of about one tenth of that number, about 600 men in all, including apparently a detachment of horse artillery, was despatched against the Kajzak town, under the command of Colonel Wilson of the Bombay Cavalry. The Kajzaks, nothing daunted at the approach of the troops, refused the terms offered them, and an attack was determined upon. The Kajzaks threw open the gate of their walled town, but which walls had fallen down in several places, and defended themselves bravely, cutting down all who attempted to enter. Twice our troops were driven back, and the result was a very serious repulse, and the loss of fifty-three men killed and wounded, and four officers; while the defendants lost forty-five men killed, besides three of their head-men, and ninety-three men and three chiefs wounded.

The small force thus beaten off had to content itself with closely investing the place, as they imagined, until reinforcements should arrive from Bhág. Now, a European and a Native regiment, and a whole troop of horse artillery, were despatched in hot haste, but the elements prevented their speedy arrival; and by the time the troops reached the Kajzak town they found that it had been evacuated by its brave defenders, and was then in the possession of the detachment which before had unsuccessfully assaulted it. The defences of the place were blown up and demolished, the place itself given up to plunder, and the cultivation around laid waste.

After the installation of Muḥammad Naṣír Khán, Bráúhí, son of Mihráb Khán, killed at the storming of Kalát-i-Níchárah in the winter of 1841, Lieutenant-Colonel R. L. Stacy, C.B., of the Bengal Army, accompanied the young chief to Lahrí, he being then making a tour of his territory. At this time, Bar-khúrdár Khán, brother

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"But these proceedings were disapproved of by the Government of India, and the Kujjuks were next year reinstated, and their town was rebuilt.

"From November 1841 to September 1842, an Assistant Political Agent resided at Seebee [Síwí or Sibí]. When the British troops were withdrawn from Afghanistan, and finally evacuated Kutchee in 1842, the district of Seebee was given over by the British authorities to the Khan of Khelat [Kalát]; but the latter did not take possession, and has not since then openly asserted any right to the territory. The people thenceforth have paid allegiance to the Sirdars of Kandahar."

Captain J. M. B. Neill, previously referred to, says, respecting this wretchedly managed affair, that,—

"The artillery, accordingly, were placed in position near the fort, and an attempt was made to breach; but the guns making little or no impression on the mud walls, it was determined to take the place by assault. At this time Colonel Wilson, when with the guns, was severely wounded by a matchlock ball, and was taken off the field [he died a week after]. A storming party was formed, and an effort made to carry *the gate*; this was, however, unsuccessful, and our troops were driven back with severe loss. Their leader, Lieutenant Franklin, 2nd Grenadiers, was killed, and Lieutenant R. Shaw, of the Commissariat Department, who had volunteered his services, was severely wounded.

"Another essay was determined on, and Lieutenant Creed of the Horse Artillery, with thirty volunteers from among the men of his troop, led this second attack [*with their light dragoon swords*, instead of being supplied with musket and bayonet]. Gallantly the Europeans rushed to the onset, carrying all before them, and gaining *possession of the gate*. The besieged, however, seeing that the assault *was not supported*, returned to the charge, and overwhelming the troops with their superior numbers, drove them from the fort [it was a walled town], with the loss of the intrepid Creed, and ten of his gallant followers."

News of the disaster reached General Brooks at Mangal ká S'hahr about one p.m. on the 21st March, and orders were immediately issued for the troop of Bombay Horse Artillery under Captain J. Leeson, Her Majesty's 40th Foot, and the 21st Bombay Native Infantry, to march that evening for Síwí, distant forty miles. They started about four p.m. The infantry did not reach Mitri until several hours after the General, who pushed on with the artillery. A second despatch from Síwí was received there, to the effect that the enemy had the previous night escaped to the hills, and the General pushed on to Síwí with the artillery that same night, with directions for the infantry to follow in the morning. On the morning of the 22nd March about four p.m. Brigadier Valiant, with the infantry, resumed their march. About eight they encountered a fearful storm attended by torrents of rain. The guide was so paralysed that he declared he could not find his way till daylight, so the troops had to stay where they were. "The greater portion of the brigade," says Captain Neill, "were standing up to their knees in water, with their feet well cased in six or eight inches of most tenacious "mud. Continuing our walk, about six o'clock a.m. of the 24th March, we made the best of our way to "Seebee, struggling as if through a river nearly the whole way. The ground pointed out to us for encamping— "the only available piece in the whole neighbourhood—was a perfect lake. . . . . Many of our tents did "not come up that day, and several never reached Seebee at all." Many of the camels slipped with their loads, fell, and in many cases split up. The loss of camels in that night's march was between three and four hundred!

The so-called "fort" was a walled town of an oblong form, and once had been surrounded by a ditch, and in several places there were practical breaches in the walls. In one place there was a large tree growing out of the wall, which would have greatly helped an attacking party to gain admission, but there was no thought, apparently, of reconnoitering the place, and the commander who directed the operations went out of his way to attack the strongest part, and his men were hurled at the gateway, while Neill says *he saw* an officer ride over one of the ruined parts of the wall! A small tower on the right, and within a few paces of the wall, completely commanded the front of the place and the gateway on which the attacks were made, but no attempt was made to occupy it. The gateway was perfectly open, and led straight up a short narrow street terminating in an open place or square, but, on the right and left of the gateway were long, narrow lanes running parallel to the wall, and commanded by the said tower. It was by rushing down these side lanes on the flanks of the attacking party that the Kajzaks succeeded in repulsing both attacks.

of Ghafúr Khán, the Panízí Kákaṛ, Fatḥ Khán, son of A'ẓím Khán, the then chief of Sángán, and 'Ísá Khán* of Manḍáhí, both Boṛízí Parnís, together with the Ṣáhib-Zádah, Raḥmat-ullah, presented themselves in his camp, and "refreshments were "forwarded to them, and a respectable agent sent to make the usual inquiries after "their welfare." This, and the taking of Miṣrí Khán into our pay, clearly shows that the Boṛízís were still considered to be the ruling family, and the head of the Parní tribe of Síwí and its then dependencies. We had a Political Agent at Síwí at this very time, Captain French,† but of the events in connection with it little information is available. It would be interesting to trace the subject from the commencement, from the establishment of a Political Agent, up to the close of the first Afghán war and the annexation of Sind, but space forbids it here.

Subsequent to this attack upon the Kajzak town, and the strength of that branch of the Parnís had been broken, the Marí Balúchís acquired a footing in the Síwí district, dispossessed the Parnís of Bháderah, Kwaṭ, and Manḍáhí, and almost desolated Sáng or Sángán.

Accounts of the Ṣáfí and Jzadún branches of the Parní tribe have been already given at pages 105 and 218; and such of the Parnís as are Powandahs have been noticed at page 492.

The dara'h or valley comprising the Síwí district is described as consisting of a stiff description of soil, and is seamed in many places with ravines cut by the mountain streams in time of flood after heavy rain.‡ These so-called ravines, however, were originally—or most of them, at least—the cuts from the Nárí river which irrigated the valley, and still continue to do so. The indigo of Síwí, like that of Ḍáḍhar, is much esteemed in the Ḳandahár province, and also in Persia, and is said to be equal to that of Khair-púr, and to be much superior to that of Multán.

The Parnís, like other Afghán tribes, have produced their saints or holy men, two of whom, the Shaikh Aḥmad, and the Shaikh Muḥammad, are the most venerated. The latter lived about the close of the seventh century of the H.,—1396-97 A.D., and the former some considerable time after, during the sway of the Afghán sovereigns over the Dihlí kingdom. Both these saints were descendants of Shorn, Parnaey's seventh son. Shorn's descendants appear to have devoted themselves to a religious life.

I have before mentioned that the Parní tribe made a great figure in India in former times. The subject is too great for entering into much detail here, but, as so little has hitherto been known respecting this Afghán tribe, and that little not all correct, and as the Afgháns have been accused of "concocting their genealogies" within the last three hundred years, I must briefly touch on the Indian history of the Parnís here.

"Hindústán," says an Afghán writer, "was filled, so to say, with Afgháns of "different tribes, but, with the exception of the Barets, chiefly of the tribes dwelling "nearest to the Indus and of the southern Afghánistán, during the reign of Sulṭán "Bahlúl, the Lodí, the first of the Afghán or Paṭán rulers."§ He sat on the Dihlí throne from 855 to 894 H. (1451 to 1488 A.D.).

In the time of Sulṭán Sher Sháh, Sor, the fortress of Ruhtás in Bihár, one of the strongest places probably in Hindústán, and where Sher Sháh kept his treasures, was held by a garrison of 10,000 *bandúḳ-chís*, matchlock men or troops armed with fire-arms, and the command over them and of the fortress was entrusted to Ikhti-yár Khán, the Parní, one of his Amírs.

After the death of Sulṭán Islám Sháh, when disorder and misfortune had fallen on the family of Sor, and Humáyún Bádsháh, who had regained possession of the Panjáb, was marching towards the capital to take possession of it once more, Ḥájí Khán,

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* He was the son of Bakht-yár Khán, and grandson of Ḥabíb Khán, who was killed by the Kajzaks, and thus the head of the family, the chief of the Boṛízí clan, and head of the Parnís of the Síwí district.

† There were other chiefs also present in the Khán's camp with Colonel Stacy, Balúchís mostly, and they, in particular, seem to have been very distrustful of Captain French, and the whole object of the meeting with these chiefs was nearly frustrated in consequence. Colonel Stacy says:—"Their suspicions have been aroused "by the intention of Captain French to join me, that he might be initiated into my mode of managing "business with this people, and be enabled to investigate some cases in which he was concerned as Political "Agent at Seebee. He also wished for information respecting the shares of the Kujjuk river [the Nárí "previously mentioned, and shares likewise], and the right to the plains of Mull [Mál—the Kaur Zamín of "Mír Ma'ṣúm, *see* page 584]. But *the proposed visit was very inconsiderate;* and unless I had stood very "high with all the tribes, would undoubtedly have been the means of breaking off the Murree [Marí] "negotiations." "Narrative," page 79.

‡ Such a fall as the troops for Síwí experienced, as related above.

§ *See* my article on "Who were the 'Patan' or 'Pathán' Sulṭáns of Dihlí?" in the "Journal of the "Asiatic Society of Bengal," Volume 44, for 1875.

who was one of the late Sulṭán Sher Sháh's Amírs, and had married a sister of Khowás Khán, mentioned at page 347, resolved to leave Hindústán. He was possessed of much wealth; and he prepared to retire into Guzarát, which was independent, intending to remain there for a time and see how matters went. He set out by way of Rantambhúr, with his followers and wealth, the former numbering 10,000 horse and foot, and the Afghán families accompanied him. On entering the territory of the Ráná, Údí Singh of Chitúr, who succeeded to the rule over that State in 948 H. (1541 A.D.), that Ráj-pút chief, placing confidence in the number of his forces, blocked the way in the neighbourhood of Jodh-púr. The historian gives the number as 90,000 horse, but this is, doubtless, exaggerated, nevertheless, with a considerable army, greatly outnumbering Ḥájí Khán's followers. The object was to get possession of Ḥájí Khán's wealth, which was known to be very great. The latter "sent his "agent to the Ráná to know why the road was closed to travellers and their families "and effects, compelled by misfortune to emigration and exile, and with no hostile "intent; that, instead of intercepting them, it would have been more creditable and "becoming to have rendered them some assistance, and furnished a guide."* The reply of the Ráj-pút chief was "a demand, that Ḥájí Khán should give up to him his "favourite mistress, a Hindú, who, besides her incomparable beauty, was accomplished "in dancing and singing, and ten *lakhs* of *rúpís* in specie, upon doing which he might "go wherever he chose."

Ḥájí Khán gave those along with him the option of leaving him and returning, a very few of whom availed themselves of the offer, in order, as they thought, to save their lives and property, but, really, to be plundered and killed by the Hindús instead. The Afgháns, with heart and soul, determined to fight and avenge this insult. Ḥájí Khán, accordingly, left 500 of the trustiest men in charge of his own and the other Afghán families, with orders to put all the females to death if the affair turned against them. The remainder of his followers he formed into four divisions, and prepared to force a passage through the Hindú host.

At this period there was a considerable number of the Parní tribe settled in Márwár, in Ráná Údí Singh's territory. They had been settled there for some time before, and on becoming aware of Ḥájí Khán's situation, resolved, for the honour of the Afghán name, to aid him; and the day before the battle took place, 800 Parnís, some say 500 only, under their chief, Mián Burhán, by name, joined him. In this desperate affair the Afgháns were vastly outnumbered—ten to one the historian says—but the Ráj-púts were overthrown and put to flight.† In this affair 950 Afgháns were killed, including nearly 300 Parnís, and some 4,000 Ráj-púts bit the dust, but the victors were so worn out with their exertions, and nearly all more or less wounded, that they were unable to pursue the fugitives. Next day, Ḥájí Khán, having buried the slain, and cared for the wounded, dismissed the surviving remnant of the Parnís, resumed his march, and reached Guzarát in safety, where he ended his days.

The descendants of these Parnís, in the year 1217 H. (1802-3 A.D.), were still settled in Márwár, and inhabited about a hundred large villages in the hill tracts of Ahír, Jai-púr, and Jodh-púr, known as Dhúnd-hár,‡ and there, in all probability, they still dwell.

I have already shown that the Parnís were powerful in their own country in Akbar Bádsháh's reign, and possessed Sángán or Sáng-Mandáhí, Síwí, and other adjacent tracts. There were also numbers of Afgháns in the service of the Sulṭáns of the Dakhan, as appears from the account of the Miárnahs at page 516. There were Parnís there likewise, and of the Borízí branch, too, respecting whom I will give a few particulars, because they are the same people whom Mr. O. T. Duke, unacquainted, as he says, with the history of the Parní tribe, appears to have regarded as upstarts almost, and asserts to have never held any position before the time of Nádir Sháh,§ and, indeed, that the Parnís themselves, "in Akbar's time, were only a small nomad "tribe, who *believed themselves* Gurghusht Afghans." I have previously shown at pages 596, 599, and 602, what they did in the reign of Akbar Bádsháh, and have just related what a portion of them did in Márwár in his father's day.

The Musalmán rulers of Kannúl or Karnúl (*vul.* Kurnool), now a district of the Madras Presidency, who were *manṣab-dárs* or military dignitaries in the service of Akbar Bádsháh's grandson, Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh, who ascended the throne of Hindústán

* The Ráj-pút chief, while the Afgháns were in power, was careful to keep on good terms with them; now, he thought their power was completely broken, and that this was an opportunity for plundering the fugitives.

† This affair will not be found recorded in Tod's "Rajast'han."

‡ *See* note ‖, page 626.

§ *See* page 596 for a proof of it.

in the sixth month of 1037 H. (February, 1628 A.D.), were of the tribe of Parní, and the branch or clan of Borízí, sprung from Sangá, son of Parnaey, in which branch the chieftain-ship of the tribe centered. "This tribe, likewise," says the author from whom I take this extract, writing in southern India, "like the Míárnahs, claim descent from "Khálid, son of Walíd."*

When the Prince, Muhammad-i-Aurang-zeb, Bahádur, was despatched by his father, Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh, into the Dakhan in the year 1066 H. (1655–56 A.D.), and reached Ahmad-nagar, otherwise 'Amdá-nagar, he was waited upon by Bahlúl Khán, the Míárnah of Bíjá-púr, who entered Sháh-i-Jahán's service. At this time, Khizr Khán of the Borízí Parnís,† who held the *mansab* of commander of 2,000 horse, came in the Prince's train. "Thus," says the historian, "after many years of "separation, did two old friends meet again, whose fathers and grandfathers were of "the same country and of the same people, and who had been neighbours and school-"fellows together."‡ Bahlúl Khán put up in Khizr Khán's tent in the camp of the Prince; and one day, in the year 1067 H. (1656–57 A.D.),§ when in the presence of the latter along with the Khán-i-Jahán, the then Khán-i-Khánán [Sháistah Khán], Bahlúl Khán, Míárnah, who had great influence at the time, induced the nobleman in question to aid him in obtaining an addition of rank, and a fief in that part for his old friend, Khizr Khán, Parní. Accordingly, the *sarkár* of Kannúl, called in the Hindí language Kand-núl, which, in former days had been the seat of sovereignty of the Chhatrís of Bídr, and then included in the State of Bíjá-púr, was conferred upon Khizr Khán. It yielded a revenue of 34 *lakhs* and 40,000 *rúpís*, and had just before been ruled by Muhammad 'Uláwal ‖ for the 'Ádil Sháh-í government. He held the fortress, and ruled the territory, with a contingent of 4,000 horse and 7,000 foot, and enjoyed its revenues under certain stipulations. From this time Kannúl came into the possession of the Borízí Parnís. Bahlúl Khán accompanied Khizr Khán to his fief, stayed with him some time in order to assist him in settling the affairs thereof satisfactorily, and returned to his own fief of Sháh-núr.¶

After the final surrender of Bíjá-púr in the eleventh month of 1097 H. (October, 1686 A.D.), and downfall of the 'Ádil Sháh-í dynasty and kingdom, Dá'úd Khán, son of Khizr Khán, who had been Fowj-dár,** or military commandant, of Bíjá-púr for some three years, was appointed Súbah-dár of the Karnátik (*vul.* Carnatic)-i-Pá'ín-i-Ghát

* He might have added, like all Afgháns, but he was not acquainted with Afghán history generally, and did not pretend to be. He merely records what he knew of the members of these two tribes dwelling in those parts.

† This is more than a century before the date, 1762 A.D., quoted by Mr. Duke; and it proves, beyond a doubt, that they "possess" a greater "antiquity" than he was aware of. The tree of the "Barozais," as he calls them in his "Report," is also shown, from the translation he gives of a "parwana" of Ahmad Sháh, to be incorrect, and can only be a mutilated or defective portion of the correct one. The "Baro Khan" mentioned by him as the father of his "Ismail," who lived, and was a grown up man, in 1762 A.D., cannot possibly have been "the founder of the family," from the fact that Khizr Khán, the Borízí, here mentioned, was a grown up man, and a person of distinction, a century before that date; and, of course, his clan or section of the Sangá Parnís must have had a founder long before that period.

‡ The tracts occupied by the Míárnahs and Parnís lay contiguous to each other in the Afghánistán.

§ Another history says 1062 H. (1651 A.D.).

‖ I have reason to believe that this person was a Tarín Afghán. At the present time there is still a branch of the tribe living at Sholá-púr in southern India.

There were Afgháns in the Dakhan five centuries and a half ago, as early as 730 H. (1329–30 A.D.), and in 745 H. (1344–45 A.D.), they took part in a rebellion against Sultán Muhammad Tughlak Sháh, whose governor of the Dakhan they expelled from Daulat-ábád. The rebels set up a Sultán of their own, an aged Afghán Amír named Ismá'íl, brother of Mullá Ikhlás, and another brother, Malik Makh, was one of Sultán Muhammad Tughlak Sháh's Amírs, and commanded the troops stationed in Málwah, and they hoped that he would join them, but he did not, and remained faithful. Ismá'íl assumed the title of Sultán Násir-ud-Dín; and although Sultán Muhammad Tughlak Sháh marched in person into the Dakhan at the head of a large army (and Malik Makh was with him), to quell the rebellion, he was unable to effect it. After one undecisive battle before the walls of Daulat-ábád, grave disorders at the capital and parts around compelled him to return, and Guzarát had been in a state of rebellion for a long time previous.

The Afghán Sultán, Násir-ud-Dín, despatched a force against Bídr under Hasan-i-Gángo, one of Sultán Muhammad Tughlak Sháh's Amírs, whose title was Zaffir Khán, who had joined the rebels, and who had a body of Afghán soldiers under his command. He was successful, and overthrew Sultán Muhammad Tughlak Sháh's commander with great loss, and returned to Daulat-ábád in triumph, and with vast booty. The Afghán Sultán, Násir-ud-Dín, assembled his Amírs, and requested them to choose another sovereign, as he found he was too old to lead them, while the state of affairs required a younger and more active leader, and proposed to resign the authority into the hands of Hasan-i-Gángo, the successful leader. Hasan, whose rise to power had been foretold by the Astrologer, Gángo, after whom he is so called, was chosen by acclamation; and, on Friday, the 24th of Rabí'-ul-Ákhir, 748 H. (August, 1347 A.D.), he assumed the sovereignty with the title of Sultán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Hasan-i-Gángo; and as he claimed descent from Bahman, son of Isfandiyár, he assumed the name of Bahmaniyah, by which name the dynasty he founded is known.

¶ *See* the account of these Míárnahs at page 518.

** A fowj-dár commanded the military forces of a district, and was the chief executive officer.

(*vul.* Ghaut), that is, the Karnáṭíks below the Gháṭs or Passes. Subsequently, his father was summoned to Haidar-ábád to attend 'Álam-gír Bádsháh; and, on that occasion, he happened to reach the gateway called Bharkal, at the same time that the Shaikh, Minháj, one of the great Amírs of the late 'Ádil Sháh-í dynasty, who held the rank of commander of 5,000, and had been received into the Bádsháh's service, also arrived there. This Shaikh Minháj was notorious as the most hot-headed, intrepid, quarrelsome, and most abusive of the Dakhanís. A dispute arose between Khiẓr Khán and him as to who should enter first, during which the Shaikh suddenly drew his dagger and stabbed Khiẓr Khán, and he fell lifeless on the spot.

Dá'úd Khán, his son, hastened back from the Karnáṭíks to avenge him, even at the risk of incurring the Bádsháh's anger, and who, on finding Dá'úd Khán had arrived, commanded him not to take the law into his own hands, and that full inquiry should be instituted and justice done. The details are too long to be narrated here, but my History of the Afgháns will contain them. Suffice it to say, that, although Dá'úd Khán had 5,000 Afgháns* at his back, and sought every opportunity for taking his revenge, the Shaikh, who, likewise, had a large following of Dakhaní warriors, never gave him the opportunity. Shortly after, however, on the occasion of making up the accounts of his contingent of troops, his *mutaṣaddí* or clerk, for making a trivial mistake, was so grossly abused by the Shaikh, and afterwards struck by him, that the clerk, who had his reed pen in his hand at the time, in return for the blow, thrust at him with the pen, which struck the Shaikh in the side. Although the blow was so trivial, he died from its effect on the third day, "and Dá'úd "Khán was cheated of his revenge."

The Ma'áṣir-i-'Álam-gírí, under the events of 1116 H., the forty-ninth of the reign (1704 A.D.), states, that that brave soldier, Dá'úd Khán, Parní, who was at Jinjí as the governor of the territory depending on it on the part of the Bádsháh, along with Bahádur Khán, his brother, and a large following, joined the Bádsháh in the eleventh month of that year, before the strong fortress of Wákan-Kírá,† which was assaulted on the 14th of Muḥarram, 1117 H. (end of April, 1705 A.D.) on two sides, one of which assaulting parties was led by Dá'úd Khán and his brothers, and the fortress was taken. Among the rewards conferred for this service, Dá'úd Khán was presented with a horse and a sword, and his brother, Bahádur Khán, with an increase of rank, and a *naḳárah* or kettledrum. Ikhláṣ Khán, the Míárnah, was also present in the capture of this stronghold, which was afterwards named Raḥmán-Bakhsh.

Dá'úd Khán continued in attendance on 'Álam-gír Bádsháh; and only fifteen or twenty days before the death of the Bádsháh, at Aurang-ábád, namely, on the 28th of Ẕí-Ḳa'dah, the eleventh month, 1118 H. (21st February, 1707 A.D.), he had been appointed Ṣúbah-dár of Khán-des, and had set out for Burhán-púr. He took the side of the Prince, Sulṭán Muḥammad-i-A'ẓam, who was then in the Dakhan, in the struggle for the succession, which was the main cause of the break up of the Mughal power in India. Another Parní, Sulímán Khán, Dá'úd Khán's brother, was on the side of Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh,‡ the eldest son, and heir to the throne, and was in the van of Muḥammad-i-A'ẓam's army in the battle at Já-jíw Saráe on the 18th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 1119 H. (June, 1707 A.D.), when no less than fifty-two Amírs of note, riders on elephants, including several Afgháns, among whom was the famous Munawwar Khán, bit the dust, on the side of Muḥammad-i-A'ẓam.

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* Both the Parní and Míárnah chiefs of these parts could muster bodies of their own tribesmen, as well as other Afghán *manṣab-dárs*, at this time, and in previous times, up to the number of 5,000 horse, which was the highest number they were allowed to entertain, without special permission.

See Mr. O. T. Duke's "Report," pages 118 and 119, and compare paragraphs 10 to 16.

† Wákan-Kírá is the name of a village, a dependency of Sakkar, and is situated on a hill. It was occupied by Priyá Náyak, brother of Pem Náyak, a Dheṛh, of Ráe-chor, who had given serious trouble for a long time past. This stronghold had been invested several times before, and the Náyak had managed to stave off its capture by coming to terms which he never meant to carry out. 'Álam-gír Bádsháh marched against it, and appeared before it in the tenth month of 1116 H. (February, 1705 A.D.). The Marhaṭahs sent a large force to the aid of the Dheṛh, but the place was stormed and captured, as stated above, in April, 1705.

Elphinstone, in his "History of India," refers to this affair without giving any date. He says (p. 591), that, "the grand army still went on taking the forts; but its last success was scarcely less ignominious than a "defeat: it was the taking of Wákinkerá, which though only a fortified village, belonging to a chief of banditti, "required the presence of the emperor and a siege of several months to subdue." This is incorrect, and Kháfí Khán, the historian, whom Elphinstone often quotes (but not here), describes the great strength of the place. Elphinstone appears to have thrown all previous investments into one; for the Bádsháh arrived before it in the tenth month of 1116 H., and it was assaulted and captured in the middle of the first month of 1117 H., at the farthest not more than two months intervening.

‡ His title before he came to the throne was Muḥammad-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, and his younger brother's title was as above mentioned. The former, on assuming the throne, added the title "Sháh" to Bahádur.

In 1120 H. (1708–9 A.D.), Dá'úd Khán was made Ṣúbah-dár of the six Ṣúbahs of the Dakhan, as the lieutenant of Ẕú-l-Faḳár Khán, Bahádur, Nusrat-i-Jang,* as well as holding his previous appointment of Ṣúbah-dár of Burhán-púr or Khán-des. Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, left the Dakhan in the beginning of the eighth month of 1121 H. (end of September, 1709 A.D.); and in the last month of the following year, 1122 H. (January, 1710 A.D.), the commencement of the fifth year of the reign, while still acting as Ṣúbah-dár of the Dakhan for Ẕú-l-Faḳár Khán, Dá'úd Khán, along with one or two others, received an increase of rank, a dress of honour, a jewel, an elephant, and a horse.† The Bádsháh died on the 20th of Muḥarram of the following year, 1123 H.‡ (27th February, 1711 A.D.), and a fresh struggle for the throne began. Jahán-dár Sháh,§ eldest son of the late monarch, having acquired it after the defeat of his brother, Á'ẓim-ush-Shán, near Láhor, about seven months before,‖ was defeated in battle towards the close of the year, on the 13th of Ẕí-Ḥijjah, 1123 H. (30th December, 1712 A.D.), by Muḥammad-i-Farrukh-Siyar, son of the Prince, Á'ẓím-ush-Shán, the most worthy of Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh's sons, and, after the victor reached the capital, Jahán-dár Sháh, who had taken refuge there, was put to death.

Farrukh-Siyar Bádsháh, or rather his chief ministers, the Bárah Sayyids, 'Abd-ullah Khán, and Ḥusain 'Alí Khán, in whose hands he was but a puppet, appointed Dá'úd Khán, Parní, Ṣúbah-dár of Guzarát; and Chín-Ḳulích Khán, who received the title of Niẓám-ul-Mulk, Bahádur, Fatḥ-i-Jang, was made Ṣúbah-dár of the six Ṣúbahs of the Dakhan in Dá'úd Khán's place, in the first month of 1124 H. (February, 1712 A.D.).

The Niẓám-ul-Mulk, Chín-Ḳulích Khán, who was the first to receive that title, in connection with the Dakhan, from the sovereign of Dihlí, and was the ancestor of the present Niẓám-ul-Mulk,¶ had scarcely reached his government, when the Sayyid, Ḥusain 'Alí Khán, the Amír-ul-Umará, asked to be made Ṣúbah-dár of the Dakhan, not intending to proceed thither in person, but, with the intention that Dá'úd Khán, Parní, should administer the affairs of those provinces as in Ẕú-l-Faḳár Khán's time, paying to him a fixed sum annually. The Bádsháh, on the other hand, sought to separate the brothers, who had assumed the chief power in the State; and the keeper of the royal signet, the Mír Jumlah, was as thoroughly hostile to the two Sayyids as they were towards him. This person, 'Abd-ullah by name, and a Túrání by nation, who had formerly been chief Ḳáẓí of Ḍhákah, had been made Mír Jumlah, and received the title of Khán-i-Khánán, and the rank of commander of 7,000 horse. He had acquired complete influence over Farrukh-Siyar Bádsháh, and, such being the case, the Sayyid brothers did not deem it prudent to leave the Mír Jumlah at Court while

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* Ẕú-l-Faḳár Khán was the son of Asad Khán, Fírúz-i-Jang, who had been 'Álam-gír Bádsháh's Wazír. He was subsequently raised to the title of Áṣaf-ud-Daulah by Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, and made his Wazír. When the Prince, Muḥammad-i-Kám-Bakhsh, assumed sovereignty in the Dakhan, and Bahádur Sháh had to move against him, Muḥammad-i-Kám-Bakhsh was encountered near Ḥaidar-ábád by Ẕú-l-Faḳár Khán, who commanded a division of the Bádsháh's forces, and Dá'úd Khán, Parní, commanded the van of Ẕú-l-Faḳár Khán's troops, and greatly contributed to the successful issue.

† I was wrong in styling Dá'úd Khán, at page 7 of this work, "one of the free-lances of the period." The term was not correct. A contemporary writer, the Mír, Ghulám Ḥusain Khán, describes him correctly, as "a man famous in these parts for his wealth and liberality, his bodily strength, and his personal prowess, in "such wise, that there was no Amír of the Dakhan who could be compared with him. He was constituted "director of all public affairs, had control over the finances, and had authority to undertake any military ex-"peditions he might deem necessary." In fact, he was one of the most distinguished *manṣab-dárs* of the Mughal empire.

‡ Elphinstone has, Moharram, A. H. 1124, and Briggs, in his translation of "The Siyar-ul-Mutakherin," has "19th of Muharrem, A.H. 1124," but Kháfí Khán (whom the former often quotes as well as "Briggs"), and other native historians, have as above, namely, the 20th of Muḥarram, 1123 H.

§ The Prince, Muḥammed, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, the same who had been Ṣúbah-dár of the *Súbahs* of Multán and Thaṭhah. *See* page 619.

‖ The elephant on which Á'ẓim-ush-Shán was mounted, having been struck by a cannon ball in the trunk, became furious and unmanageable, and rushed towards the bank of the Ráwí, near which the action took place, and plunged in. Neither the elephant nor his rider ever appeared again, and it was supposed that they sank into the mud never more to rise. Both Elphinstone and Briggs again make a mistake of one year in the account of these affairs, in having 1124 H., instead of 1123 H.

¶ Niẓám-ul-Mulk is merely a title, not a man's name, and without the person's name, just the same as Khán-i-Khánán or Amír-ul-'Umará, is, really, meaningless. Niẓám-ul-Mulk, which was by no means a new title, simply means "Composer, Arranger, or Administrator of the Country or Kingdom." Since the seizure and appropriation of the six *Ṣúbahs* of the Dakhan by Chín-Ḳulích Khán, who then bore that title, and which his sovereign was unable to recover from him, this title has continued to be used by his descendants, who have continued in possession of the territory down to this day. The independent kings of Aḥmad-nagar in the Dakhan, also used this title, and they are called Niẓám Sháh-ís in history.

As early as the reign of the Turk Sulṭán, Shams-ud-Dín, I-yal-timish at Dihlí, his Wazír bore the title of Niẓám-ul-Mulk.

they were separated. At last, when matters had become serious, and an open outbreak imminent, it was agreed that the Mír Jumlah should proceed to 'Azím-ábád Patnah as Súbah-dár, that he might not be left alone with the Bádsháh, and should leave first, after which Husain 'Alí Khán was to start for the Dakhan, with full powers to place or remove Kala'dárs* as he chose. In the meantime, the Nizám-ul-Mulk, Chín-Kulích Khán, was informed that Nijábat Khán, the then Súbah-dar of Burhán-púr or Khándes, was to be Husain 'Alí Khán's deputy, that he, the Nizám-ul-Mulk, was superseded, and that all revenue matters should be assigned to Haidar Kulí Khán, the Díwán of the Dakhan, and himself repair to the capital. The Nizám-ul-Mulk, accordingly, set out for the Court early in Safar, 1125 H. (February, 1713 A.D.).

Command had been sent to Dá'úd Khán, at the same time, that he was to leave Ahmad-ábád and proceed to Burhán-púr and await the arrival of the new Súbah-dár of the Dakhan, whose instructions he was to obey, but, at the same time, Farrukh-Siyar Bádsháh sent him secret instructions to collect as many troops as he could at Burhán-púr, and use his utmost endeavours to destroy Husain 'Alí Khán, and that, if successful, the rule over the Dakhan should be conferred upon him; and thus was Dá'úd Khán to be made the victim of these intrigues of a weak monarch.

The Sayyid, Husain 'Alí Khán, the Amír-ul-Umará, reached the Narbadá, and crossed at Akbar-púr, in the sixth month of the same year, where news reached him, that Dá'úd Khán had been removed from Ahmad-ábád and made Súbah-dár of Khándes by the Bádsháh's command, and that he was then at Burhán-púr, the capital of the province. There, likewise, the Sayyid heard that Dá'úd Khán had been secretly directed not to bow his head in submission to him, and not to wait on him, but use his utmost endeavours to destroy him, and further, that Dá'úd Khán boasted of his independent command. On this, Husain 'Alí Khán wrote to him, informing him, that, as he, Husain 'Alí Khán, had been appointed the sole Súbah-dár of the Dakhan, Dá'úd Khán should not place his foot beyond the bounds of obedience, but come forth to receive him, otherwise to betake himself to the Bádsháh's presence, and prevent sedition and the shedding of Musalmán blood.

Dá'úd Khán, who despised his enemy, declined to do either; and when the Sayyid arrived near Burhán-púr, he found that the former had come out of the fort and encamped outside, but not with any intention of submitting to him. Moreover, as a good understanding and amity existed between Dá'úd Khán and the *Sar-dárs* of the Marhatahs, and seeing that Nebá, Síndhiyá, who was supposed to be one of the Bádsháh's most trusty subjects, had arrived, along with several other *Sar-dárs* and their followers, and had taken up their quarters around Burhán-púr, it began to be noised about, that, although they were going forth to receive the Sayyid, in reality, they were going to support Dá'úd Khán. This was not the case, however: they, with their usual treachery, were going to look on, and then join whichever party proved the strongest. A deal of communications passed between Husain 'Alí Khán and Dá'úd Khán, which continued for some time, until, at last, in the beginning of the month of Ramazán, the ninth month of 1127 H. (August, 1715 A.D.), hostilities commenced.†

The forces of Husain 'Alí Khán numbered about 15,000 cavalry,‡ all tried and veteran troops, composed of Sayyids of Bárah officered by his relations, the best forces of the Bádsháh, and led by some of the greatest leaders of the Dihlí kingdom, together with a train of artillery, while Dá'úd Khán had no more than from 3,000 to 4,000 horse, Afgháns chiefly; and the smallness of this number even his enemies do not deny, most writers, indeed, mention the lesser amount. Dá'úd Khán, who did not despise Hindús, but treated them with fairness, for which he is abused by Kháfí Khán§ and others, made Híráman, Bakserrah, who had risen in his service, and was experienced in the wars of these parts, and called Dá'úd's Mír-i-Shamsher or Lord of the Sword, leader of the van of his small force, and advanced into the plain, to a

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* Commandants of fortresses.

† The Ma'ásir says on the 10th of Ramazán, 1127 H. (August, 1715 A.D.).

‡ Briggs, who, in his "Siyar-ul-Mutakherin," styles him "Daud-khan Peni," says Husain 'Alí Khán's force amounted to 26,000 horse, but these were not all, merely such as could keep up with him on the march, and were present on this occasion. Others say 20,000, and Dá'úd's force 3,000. The rest of his Afghán troops were dispersed about in different parts, and had not had time to join him.

§ Kháfí Khán, the historian, whose name was Muhammad Háshim 'Alí Khán, was a Dakhaní, and in the Díwání or Revenue Department of the first Nizám-ul-Mulk, and a great enemy of Dá'úd Khán, who had preceded Chín-Kulích Khán, as the lieutenant of Zú-l-Fakár Khán in that part.

place known as the La'l Bágh of Burhán-púr* to encounter the Sayyid's army. A desperate engagement ensued. Dá'úd Khán's chief endeavour was to encounter the Sayyid personally, and he made great efforts to get near him for the purpose. In the meantime, Híráman, who was also called the first arrow in Dá'úd's quiver, threw himself with the van upon the guns of the Sayyid, and had thrown that part of his army into confusion, but, in doing so, he was killed, and numbers of Afgháns of name and renown had fallen killed and wounded round his elephant. Seeing this, Dá'úd Khán, with a small body of his Afgháns, some 200 or 300 in all, who were armed with battle-axes, made repeated charges into the thickest of the foe, he himself, from his elephant, discharging his arrows with effect. He commanded his driver to take his elephant direct to that on which Ḥusain 'Alí Khán was mounted; and, calling out to the latter to meet him, endeavoured, with his devoted band, to hew a way to the spot where the Sayyid's cavalcade of elephants was collected together. This threw the enemy's ranks into great disorder, for several Amírs of note and many men had fallen. At this point of the struggle, the Mír-i-Mushrif, who was renowned throughout Hind for his valour and prowess, and who was a man of gigantic size, covered with armour from head to foot, and "shining," as the historian says, "like "the mountain of Alburz,† in the *ḥauẓah*‡ of his elephant," advanced to meet Dá'úd Khán, with an arrow fitted to his bow. The latter, who never wore defensive armour of any kind, but dressed in the lightest material, muslin chiefly, cried out to his antagonist, "Why conceal thy face in a *burḳa'* like a woman? At least raise thy "visor that I may see who thou art!" for he imagined it was the Sayyid who had heard his challenge. Thus saying he discharged one of his unerring arrows—for he was one of the most expert archers of his time—which struck his antagonist in the throat, inflicting a desperate wound, and the Mír-i-Mushrif, with his bow and arrow in his hand, fell senseless on the hind part of the *ḥauẓah*. According to the account of Dá'úd Khán's elephant-driver, the two animals were so close together at the time that he was himself able to strike the Mír-i-Mushrif some blows in the back and side with his *kajak*. The driver of the other elephant then succeeded in separating his animal from that on which Dá'úd Khán was mounted; and every one in the Sayyid's army concluded that the Mír-i-Mushrif's affairs in this world were over. Disorder fell on their ranks, and they were on the point of breaking into flight, indeed, many of the principal *Sar-dárs*, excepting those most devoted to Ḥusain 'Alí Khán, had already retired, when a bullet from a firelock struck Dá'úd Khán in the forehead and killed him.§ His elephant-driver, and the few Afgháns now remaining of those who had followed him in this charge, faced about, and fled from the field. Thus ended the career of the gallant Boṛízí Parní, famed throughout the Dakhan and Hindústán for his reckless courage, his generosity, and liberality, and whose memory still survives in the traditions of southern India.

The Sayyid caused the body of Dá'úd Khán, whom he had not dared to encounter in the field, and who had been merely carrying out the instructions of his sovereign, to be fastened to the tail of an elephant, and dragged round the city of Burhán-púr.|| The Marhaṭah *Sar-dárs*, who had gone over, almost at the outset, to the Sayyid's side, making sure that that was the strongest one, when they saw the disorder caused in the ranks of his troops by Dá'úd Khán's charge, retired to a safe distance,

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* The L'al Bágh belongs to the L'al Ḳala', or Red Fort, so called from the colour of its bricks. Its ruins may still be seen.

† A mountain near Hamadán in Persia, famous for the numerous fire temples of the Gabrs or Fire Worshippers found there.

‡ From *ḥauẓ*, the 'Arabic word commonly used in Persian, signifying "a tank," "a reservoir." *Haudah* or *haudaj*, also 'Arabic, but quite a different word, signifies an elephant litter, and an open seat on an elephant's back. The word *ḥauẓah*, however, is used in the original as I have used it here.

§ It is said by some that the shot was fired by Himmat Khán, son of Ṭurrah-báz Khán, the Wazír, and which latter Khán's titles were Khán-i-Zamán, Bahádur, Ẓafir-i-Jang. Others again state that it was a *zambúrak* ball that killed Dá'úd Khán.

|| When the news of this affair, and the fall of Dá'úd Khán, reached the ears of the weak Muḥammad-i-Farrukh-Siyar Bádsháh, he, as well he might, expressed great sorrow, and said to the Sayyid, 'Abd-ullah Khán, the Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk, brother of Ḥusain 'Alí Khán, that, to slay such a renowned Sar-dár was wholly uncalled for, to which the other, sneeringly, replied, "Had my brother fallen by the hand of that Afghán it "would have been to you a source of joy, and considered a very proper act."

Farrukh-Siyar having been deposed, blinded, tortured, and murdered by the two Sayyids in 1131 H. (1719 A.D.), they set up two youths in succession, who died within a few months of each other, and after them a third, who succeeded under the title of Muḥammad Sháh Bádsháh. Soon after these events, in the seventh month of 1132 H. (June, 1720 A.D.), Chín-Ḳulích Khán, entitled the Niẓám-ul-Mulk, son of Ghází-ud-Dín

ready to fly, but, now, seeing the upshot of affairs, they hastened to offer their congratulations to the Sayyid, and their followers to plunder the effects of the deceased.

When first Dá'úd Khán entered the service of the Mughal government, he was in charge of the fortress of Nal-drúg; and on giving it up to the Khán-i-Jahán [Sháistah Khán], Kúkah, he was raised to the dignity of commander of 4,000 horse, and despatched to the Ṣúbah of Birár to Z̤afar-Nagar. In the 26th year of the reign (1093 H., 1691 A.D.), when Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír Bádsháh reached the Dakhan, Dá'úd Khán presented himself with his brother, Sulímán (some call the latter his brother's son), and others of his kinsmen, and received a gracious reception. He was subsequently sent along with the Prince, Muḥammad, Mu'izz-ud-Dín (who was afterwards Ṣúbdah-dár of Multán, and subsequently Bádsháh with the title of Jahán-dár Sháh), on an expedition against the Marhaṭahs. After that he acted as Deputy for Z̤ú-l-Faḳár Khán, the Amír-ul-Umará, as Ṣúbah-dár of the Dakhan, and greatly distinguished himself in the operations and fighting resulting in the capture of the great fortress of Jinjí. In the 43rd of the reign (1110 H., early in 1699 A.D.), he was made Fowj-dár of the Karnáṭík of Haidar-ábád also as Z̤ú-l-Faḳár Khán's Deputy; and, two years after that, the Fowj-dárí of the Karnáṭík of Bíjá-púr was added thereunto. In the 48th year (1115 H., 1704 A.D.), he was made Deputy of the Prince, Muḥammad-i-Kám-Bakhsh, over the Ṣúbah of Haidar-ábád. In the following year, when Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gir Bádsháh moved against Wákan-kírá, Dá'úd Khán was sent for secretly, and the place was captured, chiefly through his efforts, as has been previously related.

After the decease of the Bádsháh, in the third year of his successor, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, he again acted as Ṣúbah-dár of the Dakhan for Z̤ú-l-Faḳár Khán, while still holding his own Ṣúbah of Khán-des, and the districts Pá'ín-i-Ghát̤, or "Below the Gháts." After the death of the Khán-i-Khánán, Mun'im Khán, he was made Ṣúbah-dár of Burhán-púr and Birár Pá'ín-i-Ghát̤; and in the first year of Muḥammad-i-Farrukh-Siyar Bádsháh, he was, as already related, transferred as Ṣúbah-dár to Gujarát. His sister's son Bázíd (Báyazíd) acted as his deputy at Haidar-ábád for some time, and another, 'Uláwal, acted for him elsewhere.*

After the death of Dá'úd Khán, his brother, 'Alí Khán,† ruled over the fief of Kannúl, conferred upon their father, Khiẓr Khán, for a period of five years, when he died a natural death. As the late Dá'úd Khán, who was the elder brother, left no son born of an Afghán lady,‡ Ibráhím Khán, eldest son of 'Alí Khán, who, through his late uncle's interest and interference, had held Adhoní in fief, was, after his father's death, raised to the *masnad* of Kannúl by the Boṛízís. After a short time, leaving his son, Alif Khán, in charge of the fief, Ibráhím Khán repaired to Aurang-ábád, to the presence of the then Niz̤ám-ul-Mulk of the Ṣúbahs of the Dakhan; and, after expending large sums of money among the officials, and presenting a *nazaránah* of five *lakhs* of *rúpís* to the Niz̤ám-ul-Mulk himself, he succeeded in obtaining a *sanad* of confirmation as before. He rebuilt the fortress of Kannúl or Karnúl, and founded the town of that name.

I have no space here for more—but shall give the history of the family in my

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Khán, of 'Álam-gír Bádsháh's reign, who had lately been deprived of the subordinate government of Málwah, resolved to return to the Dakhan, where he had friends, and seize it for himself. As possession is nine points of the law, in Russian particularly, he was allowed to hold what he had thus appropriated because it could not be taken from him; and it was confirmed to him, and his descendants still hold it. He was made Wazír in 1134 H. (1721–22 A.D.), after the downfall of the Sayyids, but did not retain the office long.

Both the Niz̤ám-ul-Mulk, and Sa'ádat Khán of Awadh (*vul.* Oude), are said to have been in treasonable correspondence with Nádir Sháh previous to his invasion of Hindústán.

* Another writer says: "Dá'úd Khán had formerly been for three years Fowj-dár or Commandant of the "troops in the district around Bíjá-púr; fifteen years Ṣúbah-dár of the Karnáṭíks; seven years, at different "times, in attendance in the camp of 'Álam-gír Bádsháh; besides being the lieutenant of Z̤ú-l-Faḳár Khán "over all the Dakhan, Ṣúbah-dár of Khán-des, and also of Guzarát."

† Other brothers are also mentioned in the history of these parts, one whose name was 'Umar Khán, and another, Sulímán Khán. He was on the side of Muḥammad-i-A'z̤am, the rival of Bahádur Sháh, and was killed in the battle of Já-jíw Saráe in 1119 H. (1707 A.D.).

‡ Kháfí Khán says: "Although it has been generally stated that Dá'úd Khán was impotent, yet it is "affirmed, that, at the time he was Ṣúbah-dár of Guzarát, he was presented with the daughter of a Hindú "Zamín-dár, or native chief, as is the custom in that part towards the governor of the province. He con-"verted her to the Musalmán faith, and married her according to the rites of that religion. At the time he "set out to obey the command of his sovereign respecting the Sayyid, Ḥusain 'Alí Khán, she was seven "months gone with child. At the time of his departure, she took the *jamdhar* (dagger) from his belt, with "his permission, under the plea of examining it, and retained it. On hearing that her husband had been "killed, she ripped open her stomach therewith, brought forth the child alive, and became herself the fellow-"traveller of Dá'úd Khán on his final journey." Whether the child survived or not is not stated in history.

Afghán History—beyond mentioning, that the Boṛízí Parnís continued to hold the fief of Kannúl, as previously described, for several generations, and became mixed up between the French, English, and the Niẓáms, in their quarrels and wars. The historian from whom I take this, mentions the French commanders as "Músá "Bhúsí and "Músá Dubligs," referring, of course, to MM. Bussy and Dupleix. "Being the weakest party in these affairs, the Parnís were ruined and sacrificed, until, "in the month of Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 1215 H. (July, 1800 A.D.), Colonel Thomas "Munro [afterwards Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras], Collector of Adhoní, "Balárí (*vul.* Bellary), Anígúndí, Harín-phalí, Panú-Gandah, Antipúr, Kaṛappah "(*vul.* Cuddapah), etc., at the head of a considerable army, appeared before the walls "of Kannúl, under new arrangements of the country. The last Khán of the Boṛízí "Parnís, Alif Khán, son of Munawwar Khán, offered no opposition; the previous "evening he had caused all his family and kinsmen, and the people generally, in- "cluding the females, to be assembled in a garden belonging to the place, and everything "which he inherited from his ancestors to be brought forth. Keeping for himself "and family but a single change of plain white raiment, he distributed everything he "possessed among those assembled there, and retained nothing for himself but a pure "faith, the purest intentions, and the blessings attending good works."

Thus passed away the fief of Kannúl, bestowed by 'Álam-gír Bádsháh upon Khiẓr Khán, the Boṛízí Parní.

There were other Parnís who held prominent positions in these parts, as well as the Míárnahs, and Afgháns of other tribes, such as Baiṭnís, Doṭárnís, Dilazáks, Daulatzís, Sheránís, Khalíls, and others,* more respecting whom I have no space for here.

The Nághar Tribe of Afgháns.

The Nághars, like the Parnís, Kákaṛs, and Dáwís, are of the Ghor-ghas'ht division of the Pus'htúns or Afghán people, being descended from Nághar, one of the four sons of Dánaey, son of Ismá'íl, nicknamed Ghor-ghas'ht, son of Ḳais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd, the progenitor of this people; and Kákaṛ, Dáwaey, and Parnaey were Nághar's brothers.

Nághar had two sons, Yúnas, and Dumash, or Dumas. Yúnas had six sons, Palkaṭ, Kháẓo, Matro or Mataro, Chandran or Chandro, and two others whose names are not given. Dumash or Dumas, son of Nághar, also had six sons, Bihzád, called Bihrand by some, Tṛak, Randak, Salín, by some called Saltaey or Salataey,† Sílánch, and 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán.‡

Less, possibly, is known of the history of this tribe than of any other among the Afgháns. The Nághars appear never to have been very numerous, probably less than 10,000 families when in the height of their prosperity, and in their most flourishing state. They held in former times all that mountain tract of country from near the Nigáhah or Sakhí Sarwar Pass southwards, constituting the southernmost parts of the Koh-i-Siyah or Range of Mihtar Sulímán, where it begins to bend westwards, and is much mixed up with the lower ranges of the Koh-i-Surkh or Sor Ghar adjoining it on the outside, and including those lower ranges, and the dara'hs or valleys which likewise bend westward, to which, in after times, the Balúch people gave the names respectively of Kálá Roh and Rátá Roh, and which were known to the Hindús of the Multán territory and of Sind as Kálá Pahár and Rátá Pahár, as already described.

The tracts held by the Nághars adjoined the country of the Dáwís on the west, and on the north and north-east they had the Kihtrán Kásís and the Míárnahs respectively, the plain of Kachchhí and the valley of the Indus on the south, and the *maḥálls* of the Berún-i-Panj-Nad district of the Multán *sarkár* of the Multán *ṣúbah* on the east, or, in other words, the hill tracts now in the possession of the Bozdár, Khasrání, Khosah, Laghárí, Ghurchání, Lashárí, Búghṭí, and Mazárí Balúchís; while their Dáwí kinsmen separated them on the west from the Spín Taríns and the Parnís.

When in the height of their prosperity, the Nághars appear to have spread out eastwards and south-eastwards into the plains in the valley of the Indus, and they are

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* *See* note *, page 643.

† In one MS. Salanaey. The points of 'Arabic "*t*" are apt to be run into one, and "*n*" is the result, and *vice versâ*. There is still a small dara'h, in the present Kihtrán country, called Salanah.

‡ Ḥai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, in his book, in taking names from the "Makhzan-i-Afghání," has, besides writing some of them incorrectly, reversed the names of the fathers, and given the sons of Dumash to Yúnas, and *vice versâ*.

said to have once possessed the tracts around Harand, Siw Síṭ-púr,* and Kin Koṭ near that river. Their strength having declined, probably when that of their Parní kinsmen began to wane, after being dispossessed of Síwí in 1003 H. (1594–95 A.D.), at which time a garrison of Akbar Bádsháh's forces was placed therein, as related at page 603, the Nághars, now without the support of strong allies, had to retire within their hills; and about this time, likewise, the Balúch interlopers began to appropriate the plain country ner the Indus and at the skirt of the hills. In the course of time, growing still weaker than before, they were unable to hold their own, and year by year their possessions were appropriated by their more powerful neighbours, and themselves reduced to comparative poverty and obscurity. The Balúch tribes, especially the Dúdá'í Máris, have, during the last century or century and a half, greatly broken and injured some of the weaker Afghán tribes and branches of tribes of these parts, whose lands they have appropriated, especially those once belonging to the Parnís, Nághars, and Dáwís.

When the Nawwáb, Háfiẓ Raḥmat Khán, the Barets, wrote his account of the Afgháns, the remnants of the Nághars were still dwelling "in the tracts between the "Kákaṛs and the Sind Balúchís, to the westward of the Dera'h of Ghází Khán, "between the present Kihtrán country, the level tract of the Kachchhí, and the "Taríns and Kákaṛs, but adjoining the Parnís, which tribe in former times held an "extensive tract of country in the extreme south-eastern parts of the Afghánistán."

It is very evident that the people styled "Nahars" by the local authorities in these parts are no other than these Afghán Nághars, whose name has been thus vitiated or misunderstood; and the fact that the remnants of these so-called "Nahars"† are, at this day, dwelling as *ham-sáyahs*‡ among the Kásí Kihtráns, who hold some of the tracts formerly possessed by the Ghor-ghas'ht Nághars, is a proof of it. There are a few likewise dwelling among the Du-maṛ Kákaṛs, who are also Ghor-ghas'hts.

For the reasons above given the Nághars are, at present, but little mentioned; and being so reduced in point of numbers, the names of most of the offshoots descended from Nághar's two sons, are, with the exception of the Silánchís,§ not generally known, and the names of some of them may have become vitiated and not quite correctly written. The remains of them still dwell in, and around, their old country, and they could no doubt be traced, but the inquiry should be made by some one at least acquainted with their descent, and the localities in which the Pus'htúns settled after spreading out from the Ghar or Kasí Ghar, but the inquirer, instead of recording nonsensical fables, should be able to distinguish probable fact, aided by history, from palpable fiction, and leave Herodotus and his times, and Hindú genealogies alone.||

The Nághar Afgháns are not mentioned separately in Indian history, although some of them certainly did join their Ghor-ghas'ht kinsmen, the Kákaṛs, and Parnís in Hindústán, Bengal, and in the Dakhan.¶ They have had saints among them like the other Afgháns, the most venerated of whom was the Shaikh, Mián Kházo, one of the six sons of Yúnas, son of Nághar, who was contemporary with Dzár, son of

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* *See* page 593.

† Mr. Duke refers to them in his "Report," page 128, as "*Nahrs*," who were "long under the protection "of *a powerful Tarin tribe*." There is but one tribe of Tarín, however. *See* page 593 and note ¶.

‡ Mr. Duke says that the "Biluchis" understand "hamsaya" as a "sharer in good or evil fortune," in one place, and, in another, as corresponding to "dwellers in tents," as among the children of Israel. The word is a compound Persian word, and means simply "a neighbour," or literally, as "residing under the same "shade, shelter, or protection." The position of the *ham-sáyahs* in a tribe has been already explained.

§ They possessed a village called after them some fifty years ago, in the neighbourhood of Síwí on the north-east, the head-man of which was named Aḥmad Khán, but I fail to trace the name in the most recent maps. Whether its name has since been changed, or it has passed into other hands, I am unaware. Masson refers to these people as *Shelánchis* and makes them "*Baloch*."

|| One writer endeavours to make them out to be "Biloches," and another asserts, that the Nághars "are "expressly designated as Rájpúts, and by the Afghans are commonly called Baroh." The writer has mistaken the word Boṛí in the name of the Parní clan of Boṛízí for "Baroh," and applied it to the Nághars. It would be interesting to know *who* expressly designates these Afgháns to be "Rájpúts," for, certainly, their Afghán kinsmen do not turn them into Hindús.

Another makes out the notorious Marí Balúchís to be "Patháns," and the Ḥasaní Afgháns of the Dáwí tribe, under the name of "Hassani," to be "Marris"!

¶ There are a number of places in Hindústán, and also in the Dakhan, which are described as peopled by Afgháns of the Ghor-ghas'ht division of that people, but to what tribes of the Ghor-ghas'hts they belong to is, unfortunately, not mentioned; and, at present, I am unable to prosecute inquiries about them. There are also a number of them in Hazrao and near it, north of Aṭak, and some, besides Jzadúns and other Parnís, in the Hazárah district of the Panj-áb, as already mentioned at pages 31, 271, and 272.

Among those Ghor-ghas'hts will be found, in all probability, some of the descendants of Nághar and Dáwí, and of the descendants of those sons of Parní who are now so little known.

Sheránaey, the progenitor of the most numerous branch of the Sherání tribe. Another Nághar saint was the Shaikh, Moná, who was likewise highly venerated among the Afghán people.

The Dáwí Tribe of Afgháns.

This tribe likewise are Ghor-ghas'hts; and Dáwaey their progenitor was the brother of Nághar, Kákaṛ, and Parnaey, sons of Dánaey. Dáwaey appears to have been the third son of his father.

We have only come into contact with some of the branches of this tribe, since a large portion of the southern part of the Afghánistán, extending westwards as far as the boundary of the territory or district of Púshang and Shál, otherwise Kwaṭa'h, was annexed, and particularly during, and since, the last Afghán campaign. Respecting the descent and antecedents of these branches, and the tribe to which they belong, as well as respecting other Afgháns, the utmost unconsciousness is displayed. It appears to be a general rule, in cases where the descent and antecedents of Afghán tribes and sections of tribes (and in many instances with respect to non-Afghán people) are unknown, to style them "Pathans;" while the large and numerous tribes of which some of these very "Pathans," so called, are sections, are called "Afghans." Thus we have "Zarkhan Pathans," "Jafar Pathans," "Luni Pathans," "Kakar Afghans," "Dumar Pathans," and "Chilgheri Pathans;" while some tell us that "Pathans" are not Afghans, nor Afghan Pathans."*

Ḥai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, in his book, entitled "Ḥai'át-i-Afghání," says the Dáwí tribe is very small in point of numbers, and that the Nághars are considered to be connected with, and dependent on, the Kákaṛs. This statement, however, is not correct, even by his own account, and the tree of their descent given by him. The Dáwís, like the Pární, Nághar, and Kákaṛ Ghor-ghas'hts, have always dwelt near to or adjoining each other; and while the Parnís greatly increased, and subsequently became much weakened through certain numerous branches separating from the parent stock, and seeking new homes in other parts, and other causes, the Dáwís and Nághars, who were never very numerous, still continued to dwell in their old localities, along with their remaining Parní kinsmen, with the exception of those, who, like others of the Ghor-ghas'hts of these parts, took service in India during the time of the Afghán sovereigns of Dihlí—for the Dáwís and Nághars, like their Kákaṛ and Parní kinsmen, also furnished their quota—where they remained, and where their descendants are still to be found.

When Aḥmad Sháh, Abdálí, Sadozí, Sháh Durr-i-Durrán founded his kingdom, and settled the lands depending on what previously constituted the province of Ḳandahár under the Ṣafawís and the Bádsháhs of Dihlí, and fixed the contingents of each tribe to the forces of that part of his dominions, and assigned lands for their support, the Dáwís (they are not made '*Dádís*' of by their sovereign) received their share, and had to furnish 45 horsemen to the Ḳandahár forces. At the same time the Kákaṛs subject to Ḳandahár, and they were few in proportion to their tribe, furnished but 30 horsemen. Through the vast increase of the Kákaṛ Ghor-ghas'hts, these others have been overshadowed in a measure by them; and the Dáwís have had, in recent times, to unite themselves with their nearest Kákaṛ kinsmen for support against the encroaching Balúchís, and the Tarín Sharkhabún Saṛa'h-barns, with whom they have an hereditary feud. The Dáwís, who are not even mentioned by name either by MacGregor or Duke, reside in part of the tract previously mentioned as forming a portion of the

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* In order to make an Afghán name fit his "Dadicæ of Herodotus," Mr. Bellew turns the name of this Dáwí tribe into *Dádí*, and then tells us that they are "incorporated with the Kákar," which they certainly are not. Then, of course, the Kákaṛs are turned into "Gakkar or Ghakkar," and the Hindú theories, previously referred to, follow, and yet, what he calls "Ghirghisht," as he writes the compound word Ghor-ghas'ht, is, according to his account, merely "an altered form of *Cirghiz* or *Kirghiz*." He then adds, that, "as to the "*Dádí*, their history is lost in the obscurity to which they have sunk, and nothing more seems to be known "about them now than that they have become absorbed into the Kákar tribe, and attached themselves to an "immigrant colony from Khojand, with whom they are generally known as Khojandi or Khundi."

Nothing need be remarked respecting the above other than, that the Dáwí Afgháns are not, and never were, called *Dádí*. Mr. Bellew appears to have been unaware of the existence of the Du-maṛ Dáwís, and some others. The "*immigrant colony* from Khojand," will be found in the text, a little farther on, in the shape of a widow woman and a male child.

The Ḳirghíz, referred to by the same writer under the name of "*Cirghiz*" or "*Kirghiz*," are a race of nomad Turks. The word is sometimes written Ḳarghíz and Ḳírghíz. It is certainly very like *Ghor-ghas'ht*.

country of the Parnís, namely, Sangán or Sáng-Mandáhí, and in the Zarghún* Dara'h or Green Valley, adjoining it on the west, and a few to the eastward.

Dáwaey, whose descendants are known by the general name of Dáwí, had five sons according to the Sulímání, two full and three adopted sons, namely, Du-maṛah and Hu-maṛah, full sons, and Khwandaey, Zamar, and Samar adopted.† Other genealogists mention three sons only, two full and one adopted, namely, Du-maṛ, Hu-maṛ, and Khwandaey, the latter being the adopted son, but the statements of the Sulímání are entitled to great weight. The descendants of the last-mentioned adopted son, are alone known to history under a separate name, and are of Sayyid descent, and consist of four branches, descended from as many sons, Músá, 'Alí, Sikandar, and Balíl.

The descendants of Du-maṛ and Hu-maṛ, the full sons of Dáwaey, are known only as Du-maṛs and Hu-maṛs. It is with the Du-maṛ branch, who number a little over three hundred families, that we have come into contact lately, and wonderful are the mistakes made, the guesses, and reasonings, respecting their origin, and as to what they are and what they are not, while the matter lies in a nut-shell. The Du-maṛs here referred to are Dáwís, in no way connected with a branch of the Kákaṛs called by the same name, descended from one of Kákaṛ's sons.‡ A judicious inquiry instituted on the spot, and in an intelligent manner, will show what has become of the rest of Dáwaey's descendants, who will be found dwelling along with their Du-maṛ kinsmen, some, probably, as their *ham-sáyahs,*§ and some as *ham-sáyahs* of the other Ghor-ghas'hts, having been reduced to this through the encroachments of Taríns on one side, with whom they have been at feud for generations, and of Balúch interlopers on the other. Some of them, in all

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* Zarghún, is the correct way of writing this Pus'hto word which signifies *green,* and not "Zargun," as it appears in Mr. O. T. Duke's map.

† In his mention of the Dáwís, Ḥai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, follows implicitly the Makhzan-i-Afghání, which he abuses so much. The Sulímání is the only genealogist who gives the names of the second and third adopted sons of Dáwaey, but they do not appear to have been of much account.

‡ The Du-maṛs of Smá'ílán and those of the Zarghún Dara'h or "Green Valley" are branches of two totally distinct tribes; while Mr. Duke makes them one section of the Kákaṛ tribe. He says:—"They [the native officials] "say that the Dumars claim to be descended from Dumar, one of the sons of Kak; this may or may not be "true, but the country people all inform me that the Dumars are not looked upon as the *sials* or equals of the "Kakars; they have no active enemies, except the Marris, with whom they are at perpetual feud, but they "regard the Vanechi Tarins as their hereditary foes."

Here, the first part of the sentence refers to the Du-maṛ branch of the Kákaṛ tribe, descended from one of the sons of Kákaṛ, brother of Dáwaey—there is no progenitor of any Afghán tribe called "Kak"—whose descendants will be noticed in their proper place in the account of the Kákaṛs. The last half of the sentence refers to the descendants of Du-maṛ, one of the two full sons of Dáwaey, who, consequently, belong to the Dáwí tribe of Afgháns, who, as mentioned in the text above, have an hereditary feud with a branch of the Tarín Afgháns, and are the mortal foes of the Marí Balúchís, who robbed them of their lands.

Immediately after the same writer states, that "the Dumars of Smalan [that is the Kákaṛ Du-maṛs] state that "the Zargun Dumars are of the same *sept* as themselves, but the latter announce that they came from Zobe "[the Jzíob or Jzíoba'h, perhaps] about six generations ago."

This statement is perfectly true, only it was not perceived what was meant thereby. Both Kákaṛs and Dáwís are included in the Ghor-ghas'ht *sept;* and the Dáwís, as mentioned in the text above, in ancient times, but more than "six generations ago," dwelt, not in "Zobe," but in the Boṛa'h or table land of the Jzíob or Jzíoba'h.

Yet, after this, Mr. Duke writes:—"I venture to think that both sections [here, they are said to be different "sections, it will be observed] are the offspring of a slave of the Kakars, indeed, the Kakars themselves say this "plainly," a statement which I may be permitted to doubt.

In a foot-note "P. J. M." (whoever these letters may refer to), asserts, on the contrary, that "the Dumars "are descended from a *Dúm* or musician who was a slave or dependent of Sanzar (or Sanjar), progenitor of "the Sanzar Khel or Saran Kakars of Zhob and Bori. Sanzar is said to have been fourth in descent from "Abdul Rashid, second son of Kak," and he refers to the "Péshín Gazetteer" for more.

It so happens that the word used in the Pus'hto language for a musician is not "*dúm*" but *ḍum*—a corruption of the Hindí *ḍom* or *ḍomrá*—while the name of the branch of the Dáwís to which I refer, as well as that of the Kákaṛ branch, is written Du-maṛ. One might just as well attempt to make them out a clan of the *Dúmkí* Balúchís. Ḍums are a "caste" of dancers and singers, but the Afgháns are not divided into *castes,* and the Dáwí Du-maṛs are neither public dancers nor singers.

The Dáwí tribe is not mentioned in MacGregor's "Central Asia."

The Dáwís, as a tribe, are not even mentioned in the "Péshín Gazetteer," but the name occurs in one place, and appears to have puzzled its compiler. Under the heading of "Diláwar," which refers to "three huts and "a tree or two," it is stated, that, "the people of Diláwar are Kákars, and call themselves *Dáwé,* Yákúbzáí. "*The compiler has not the least idea to what branch of the Kákar race they can belong.* They are hamsayahs, "and gain a livelihood by the carrying trade."

It is not to be wondered at that the compiler was at a loss to find to what Kákaṛ race they belonged, seeing that they are not Kákaṛs. Their race is Dáwí, descended from a brother of Kákaṛ, and, like his descendants, are Ghor-ghas'hts. Being a weak tribe they have been deprived, from time to time, of their lands by stronger neighbours, first, by Tarín Afgháns, and afterwards, by Marí Balúchís, and now dwell as *ham-sáyahs* or denizens with their Ghor-ghas'ht kinsmen, the Kákaṛs, and some with the Kihtráns. *See* note **, page 630.

§ The meaning of *ham-sáyah* has been given at page 550, note ‖, which see.

probability, took service in Bengal with their Kákaṛ kinsmen, who were very powerful in that part, and there their descendants will be found. I have said before, that there are numbers of Afgháns called by the general name of Ghor-ghas'hts in different parts of the Indian peninsula, whose real descent could be traced. One reason why any difficulty exists in this respect is the loose way in which native historians put down names. If they do not know what tribe it is they are writing about, without taking the trouble to make inquiry, they put down "Afghán" simply, or "Rohelah;" while some again, like the Dakhaní historian, Kháfí Khán, suppose the latter word to be actually the name of a tribe of Afgháns. On the other hand, if the name of the tribe is mentioned, such as Níází, Baiṭní, Lodí, Parní, or the like, they never think it necessary to add that they are Afgháns, and the consequence is that the inexperienced reader, unacquainted with the Afgháns, their descent, and their different tribes, and not knowing them as such, seeing them mentioned in Indian history, imagine that they are native Indian tribes, and know not what an important part the Afgháns have, for centuries past, played in the affairs of India.

I have mentioned that one adopted son of Dáwaey was called Khwandaey. It is related that Dáwaey, who, like all Afgháns, showed a great keenness for commerce, when on a journey which he undertook for the purpose of purchasing horses, overtook, on his return homeward, a female, who, with her infant son, was endeavouring to make her way to Multán.* She stated that she was the widow of a Sayyid, a native of Khujand, and was trying to reach Multán, where her eldest sister resided, the wife of another Sayyid dwelling there. Dáwaey became interested, and as he was proceeding with his party in the same direction—the territory dependent on Multán extended westwards to the Afghán country—he offered to take her along with them and put her in the way of reaching that city; and he subsequently conducted her thither. Arrived there, through the interference and advice of the elder sister, a match was made up between the widow, who was young and comely, and her protector, Dáwaey, who married her; and he took her and her boy into the Boṛa'h or table land of the Jzíoba'h, in which part his father and brethren were then dwelling.

Dáwaey adopted his wife's son, whose name was Hasan, who, when he grew up, turned out a most dissolute fellow and a robber, in such wise that the Ghor-ghas'ht people used to style him the "Ghal," which in the Pus'hto language signifies robber. After a time he repented of his evil ways, and proceeded to Multán, a famous seat of Muḥammadan learning at that time, where he became the disciple of a holy man of that city, and devoted himself to a religious life.

By his piety and austerity he attained the odour of sanctity; and, in time, at the request of his teacher, he returned to his own people and became their teacher and spiritual guide, and that of other Afgháns. As his father was a native of Khujand, he was called the Khujandí, but, as the pronunciation of this word did not come readily to the tongues of the common people, they used to style him Khúndí, because in the Pus'hto or Afghán language, it means "protected," "preserved," "taken care of," and which they thought an appropriate name at the time he first came among them.

He married an Afghán wife, by whom he had four sons, Músá, 'Alí, Sikandar, and Balíl, who became known as Ḥasanís and also Khúndís, the substituted form of Khujandís, who are at this time greatly dispersed,† and, being of Sayyid descent, they dwell among some other tribes as their spiritual guides.

The Dáwí tribe formerly possessed the tract of country lying immediately adjoining the Parní territory on the east, including what is now known as "old Káhan," and extending towards the north-east as far as the dara'hs of Nasá'ú and Philáwar,‡ which

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* It is not be supposed that she was wandering alone or unattended. She probably hired a camel to carry her on her journey, and had some companion or servant with her, and also the camel driver, but it was dangerous to undertake the journey except in the company of other travellers.

† Not to be confused with the Níází Kúnḍís. *See* the account of the Ghalzí Afgháns farther on.

‡ A few years before the surveys contained in this work were made, the caravan route to Síwí and Ḍáḍhar led through this dara'h, which is most fertile, every here and there well wooded, and containing good pasturage. It runs in a direction of nearly east and west, and is about sixteen miles long, and between three and four miles broad, in some places less. The depredations of the Balúchís closed the route; and since the Ḥasanís were compelled to leave it, it has remained in a state of nature. *See* pages 14 and 15, and note ||, page 649.

In the *sanad* of Aḥmad Sháh, Durrání, previously quoted at page 637, which was granted to Maḥmúd Khán, the Boṛízí Parní, respecting the government of Síwí and its *'aláḳahs* or dependencies, and the collection of the revenue of them, the *'aláḳah* of the Ḥasanís is mentioned as well as those of Bár-khán, and that of the Kihtráns. This also shows what position the Boṛízí Parnís held in these parts.

dara'hs were peopled by the Hasaní branch of the Dáwís. On the south the Dáwís extended to the skirt of the hills of the Koh-i-Surkh, Sor Ghar, or Rátá Roh, bounding the plains of Kachchhí in that direction. This tract, consequently, comprised about two thirds of the country—the easternmost portion—since appropriated by the Dúdá'í Marís. The Dáwís had on the east and north-east their Nághar kinsmen, who held the whole of the remaining *kohistán* or mountain tracts, as far as the plains in the valley of the Indus on the east, and the plains of Kachchhí on the south, as already described.

The Hasaní Dáwís were dispossessed of their country at the same time that the Nághars, and most of the other Dáwís, also lost theirs, rather more than a century ago, by these before-mentioned Balúch interlopers, aided by the Bráúhís of Kalát-i-Nícharah, although the Hasanís were assisted by their Laurní Miárnah-neighbours, many of whom lost their lives. The Hasanís took shelter with the Kásí Kihtráns, just referred to, whose *ham-sáyahs* they then became, and took up their quarters in the Bar-khán plateau, near the sources of the Káhá river, where they founded Hasaní Kot,* and where they still dwell, and are now in a flourishing condition. A few dwell along with the Mazárí Balúchís who had, some two hundred years before the advent of the Marís and Búghtís, settled in these parts. Others took shelter in the Síwí district, at Gúlú, north of the town of Síwí,† and some with the Laurní Miárnahs, but, subsequently, with the Shádozí Spín Taríns‡ in Tal or Tala'h, in the village of Jalah, where they are still dwelling, and are now flourishing and increasing in number, which cannot be said of other branches of the Dáwí tribe.

These Hasaní Dáwí Afgháns are what Mr. O. T. Duke in his "Report," styles "the most powerful of the so-called Biluch tribes of Sewistan," and states, that they are "by origin Tor Tarins, and their ancient home was in Peshin."§ I have, however, shown who they are and where they formerly dwelt. Many persons, not acquainted with their descent, call them "Shaikhs" and "Sayyids"; and their progenitor was a Sayyid according to the records of the Dáwí tribe of Ghor-ghas'hts. I have no means of verifying it at present, but I believe that the Kaherís of this part, mentioned in another place,|| are an offshoot of these Hasanís.

It will thus be seen, that the Parní, Dáwí, and Nághar Afgháns held all the *kohistán* or hill tracts between the district of Shál on the west, and the plains of the Dera'h-ját east, the extreme southern portions of the range of Mihtar Sulímán, otherwise called the Koh-i-Siyah or Tor Ghar or Kálá Roh or Kálá Pahár, and the Koh-i-Surkh or Sor Ghar or Rátá Roh or Rátá Pahár, and that the Nághars and part of the Dáwí tribe had the Kihtrán Kásís, and some branches of the Miárnahs, on the north and north-east, but which tracts have since been appropriated by Marí, Búghtí, Mazárí, Lashárí, Ghurchání, and other Balúchís. On the west the Dáwís joined the Kásís of Shál, as the Du-mar Dáwís still do, having continued to hold their own in the Zarghún Dara'h, or Green or Verdant Valley, up to this time.

There have been others among the Dáwís besides Hasan, the Khujandí, who are regarded as saints by the Afgháns as well as by other Musalmáns. The greatest, probably, is the much venerated Shaikh, Hasan, the Dáwí, who attached himself to the Shaikh-ul-Islám, the Shaikh, Bahá-ul-Hakk wa ud-Dín, Zakaríyá, of Multán,¶ whose humble and devoted disciple he continued for very many years, and was greatly regarded by his spiritual guide. The Shaikh, Hasan, was buried at a place between

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* "Hasni Kot" of the maps.

† *See* page 632.

‡ Liable to be mistaken for Shádozí Kákars, descended from 'Alí, son of Sanjár *alias* Sandzar, son of Taghrak, son of Kákar, especially by those unaware of the existence of a branch of the Taríns being also called Shádozí. The similarity of names is apt to lead one astray.

§ It does not seem to have occurred to the writer how it was possible for Tor Taríns to grow into "*Biluchis*," but it only shows the hazy ideas entertained respecting the Afgháns, and the Balúch race too. MacGregor, on the other hand, in his "Gazetteer," states, that these Hasaní Afgháns of Sayyid descent, "*were formerly a distinct Baloch tribe.*" Had they been Balúchís, they could not have grown into Afgháns, nor would the Kihtrán Kásís, Laurní Miárnahs, and others, have given them shelter. In another place in the same work he says they are "Khetráns," as he writes the name of the Kihtráns.

|| *See* page 584.

¶ He is the Saint of Multán, commonly known as Bahá-ul-Hakk wa ud-Dín. He died in 664 H. (1265–66 A.D.), at the age of just one hundred years. He was the son of Muhammad, son of Zakaríyá, son of Abú-Bikr, son of the Kází, 'Alí, and was the disciple of the Shaikh-ul-Kámil, the Shaikh, Shiháb-ud-Dín, son of Abú-Hifz, 'Umar-us-Sahar-wardí. I have mentioned the date here, because it was centuries anterior to the time when, according to the statements of Mr. Bellew, the Afgháns "began to concoct their "genealogies."

The Shaikh, Bahá-ud-Dín, Zakaríyá, was in his twenty-fifth year when Dihlí was first taken, and made the seat of government by the Muhammadans, in 589 H. (1193 A.D.), by Malik Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, afterwards Sultán of the Dihlí kingdom. Zakaríyá was dwelling at Multán, and had attained the height of his fame and

Tal or Tala'h and Sambar, which is a place of pilgrimage, and used to appear in our maps as "The Tomb of Shekh Hassan."* The earliest mention of "thought reading," perhaps, is recorded of this Afghán saint. He one day entered a *masjid* at Multán to say his prayers. The Mu'azzin had proclaimed the *takbír*, or profession of faith, an Imám came forward to officiate, and the service commenced, when all worldly thoughts are forbidden. Shaikh Hasan, likewise, followed the Imám in the *namáz*. After the service was over, and the congregation had withdrawn to their homes, Khwájah† Hasan approached the Imám, and said to him quietly: "O Imám! when thou didst "commence the service I followed thee;‡ and thou from this place didst [in spirit] "go to Dihlí, and didst purchase female slaves, and those female slaves thou didst "convey into Í-rán and didst sell them. I also was following behind thee; say, "therefore, what sort of *namáz* is this?" The Imám was dumbfounded, and fell at his feet, and knew, for certain, that it must be the Shaikh, Hasan, the Dáwí, who was addressing him.

A second Dáwí saint was the Shaikh, Nek-nám, a man held in great veneration. A third was the Shaikh, Hájí Abú-Isḥáḳ, respecting whom it is written, that, "although he was a Sayyid by descent, nevertheless, as his mother was a Dáwa'í§ "Afghán, on this account, he, and his descendants likewise, are accounted Afgháns. "He was contemporary with Sulṭán Sher Sháh, and his son, Islám Sháh, whom he "survived." This saint was held in the highest veneration, and many of the great Amírs of Hindústán were his disciples. He dwelt at Kaithal, and had two sons, who were also Shaikhs of great repute; and at Kaithal, in all probability, some of his descendants will still be found.

Before I begin to describe the routes leading from Kábul to Ghaznín and Kandahár, and from thence to Shikár-púr by the Dara'h of the Bolán river, it will be necessary to describe some cross routes between the Dera'h of Ghází Khán, Ḍádhar, and Shikár-púr, which are connected with the route by the Dara'h of the Bolán. Having described these, I shall leave the banks of the Indus, and its vicinity, altogether, and describe the routes in the western and north-western parts of the Afghán State, and the tracts on the Oxus as far east as Chitrál.

Ninety-fifth Route. From the Dera'h of Ghází Khán to Lar-kánah and Shikár-púr, a distance of one hundred and ninety-three kuroh.

"Setting out from the Dera'h of Ghází Khán, and going in the direction of south-south-west, you proceed a distance of thirteen kuroh to Chhotí-i-Pá'ín, a small village belonging to the Balúch clan of Laghárí (previously noticed in the account of the passes in this direction), and from thence go on for another eight kuroh, in the same direction as before, to Ará'ín, a small *ḳasba'h* or town under the jurisdiction of the Ḥákim or Governor of the territory dependent on the Dera'h of Ghází Khán. Leaving it, you continue to proceed, in much the same direction as before, for a distance of nearly ten kuroh, and reach Harand,|| a large *ḳasba'h* or town under the sway of Naṣír Khán, Balúch;¶ and on the way to it you meet with excess of sandy

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veneration as a saint, during the time that Sulṭán, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah—who, like Í-bak, was a Turk, and had been the *mamlúk* or slave of the Shansabání Tájzík Ghúrí, Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám—ruled over Sind and Multán. *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 470—544. Ḳabá-jah was contemporary with the author of that historical work. *See* also page 665, note *.

* By some, this is considered the burial place of Ḥasan, the Khujandí, the adopted son of Dáwaey, but, from inquiry, I prefer what is mentioned in the text above, which I believe to be correct. *See* also the account of the march of Prince Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, page 23. These two persons having been both named Ḥasan, they are liable to be confused.

† Khwájah and Shaikh are of much the same signification here.

‡ The congregation follow the Imám in his genuflexions during the service. Shaikh Ḥasan was one of the congregation.

§ Dáwa'í is the feminine form, signifying a female of the Dáwí tribe.

|| *See* the account of the Passes in the Lower Dera'h-ját in the First Section of this work.

Burns in his "Caubool," page 73, has :—"Hurrund, near Dajel, is believed to derive its name from Huree, "one of the slaves of Alexander." By whom such is believed is not said. He must have meant this for a joke. Harand is not even mentioned in the Á'ín i-Akbarí, under that name, at least.

¶ Masson (Vol. 11, page 99) says :—"To Ahmed Shâh succeeded his son, Taimúr Shâh, who lived on the "reputation of his father, and passed his reign in pleasure, or the gratification of his sensual appetites. "Coeval with him, at Kalât, was Máhmúd Khân, son of Nassír Khân, precisely under the same circumstances, "neglecting his government, and immersed in hésh" [his mode of writing *'aish*, "pleasure," apparently] "or "enjoyment."

The writer is in error here. The account of the above survey was written near the close of the reign of

desert tracts, in which there is paucity of inhabitants and scarcity of water. The Sind river or Abáe Sin flows on the left hand, distant about twenty kuroh; and on the right hand are the hills forming the outer range of the Koh-i-Surkh, Sor Ghar, Ŗátá Pahár, or Ŗátá Roh, which you draw near to on approaching Harand, beyond which are the highest parts of that range, and behind them again the great range of Koh-i-Siyah,* or Range of Mihtar Sulímán, or Kálá Roh, or Kálá Pahár, as it is also called by the Balúch and Hindí people of this part respectively, in which parts the Afgháns and Balúchís dwell.

"Leaving Harand, you set out in the direction of south-south-west, as before, and enter a dara'h among the low hills of the outer range of the Koh-i-Surkh, and proceed for a distance of ten kuroh to the halting place of Saurá Chauddahah, the name of that part of the range which rises on the right hand of the road as you go along; and travellers have to provide themselves with water and provisions, none being procurable by the way.

"From this place you go another stage of ten kuroh, in a more southerly direction than before, to Páhaní,† which is so called after a solitary tree standing there. The next stage of fourteen kuroh takes you to Kálá Pání, named after a spring containing much water,‡ which comes from the right hand, out of the mountains on that side of the route; and by the way (on this last stage) you meet with many ascents and descents over the mountain ranges, and there are no inhabitants to be met with. Mount Gandhárí, the most southern detached ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah or Kálá Roh, rises to a great height away on the left hand.

"From this halting ground the route takes a more westerly course, and you have to go a distance of fourteen kuroh to Pír Chhatá,§ the name of a village, or collection of dwellings, near the tomb of a holy man, and you wend your way along the course of the afore-mentioned river. The Balúch people, who are *íláts* or nomads, graze their cattle and flocks in this neighbourhood.

"From this place routes branch off to the right and left. By the first or right-hand route Harand can be reached by a longer road, more to the northwards than the one here traversed, and which joins the route leading into the country of the Kihtrán Afgháns of the Kásí tribe. The other or left-hand route leads southwards into the Dera'h-ját, and into Sind.

"Moving from this place, you proceed a distance of eleven kuroh, still in the direction of west, but inclining a little to the west-north-west, to Sanghh Silá,‖ a village of considerable size, under the sway of Naṣír Khán, Balúch, before mentioned, and, by the way, still follow the course of the Kálá Pání, with high mountains

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Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí Durrání, Bádsháh of Kábul, and, as is stated above, Naṣír Khán was still living. The worst part of Tímúr Sháh's character was natural indolence and love of tranquillity, not the vices ascribed to him by Masson.

* Tor Ghar of the Afgháns. The Koh-i-Surkh they call Sor Ghar. *See* page 458, and note ‡.

† This route crosses the Shúm plain towards its south-eastern corner, then follows the course of the Súrí river and pass, west of Mount Gandhárí, until the Súrí river turns from S.S.W. to nearly S.E. towards the Indus, when the route turns to the westward. The place called "Abband" in our maps may probably be meant for Páhaní.

It is possible that this is more correctly Táhaní, instead of Páhaní, but the MS. is as above. *See* page 17.

‡ Pure and clear water, first flowing from a spring and running over dark stones, or in a dark stony bed, appears dark to the sight, and so does pure water when deep, hence "dark or black water," as the words signify. It is the "Iliásí" river of former maps, but in the recent ones of this part it is nameless.

§ This place, as well as all the preceding ones after Harand, do not appear in our latest maps. Pír Chhatá is a well known, I may say, a famous place. It lies some distance west of the Dera'h, the chief place of the Búghṭi Balúchís, who do not appear to have been located in this part when these surveys were made. The dara'h in which this tomb is situated, and in which Dera'h-i-Búghṭí lies, was first entered by our troops in 1839, in October of which year Major Billamore of the Bombay army, at the head of a small force, marched against Dera'h, which was captured and sacked; and the notorious Bíbrak, the Búghṭi chief, was captured.

Under the name of the "Valley of the Tomb," this very locality was the scene of some of the operations during General Sir Charles J. Napier's hill campaign in 1844–45, which was chiefly undertaken against the Jakrání Búghṭís and the Dumkís; for the stronghold of Tarakí (*vul.* Tṛakí), or "the Cleft," which, likewise, does not appear in our latest maps, lay a little off the road between Pír Chhatá and Sanghh Silá, on the right hand. Major-General Simpson, Sir Charles Napier's second in command, with his division, marched over part of the very route above described, and, for a time, the "Valley of the Tomb," as it is called in the report of the operations, was his head-quarters.

The force under Sir Charles Napier consisted of from 6,500 to 7,000 men of all arms, and some rather heavy guns, and a siege train, accompanied the troops. No great difficulty was experienced, especially in the part of the route traversed by the force; and thus its practicability has been proved.

‖ "Sangsila" of our maps. Silá, is the Sanskrit for a flat stone or rock, a flat stone on which condiments are ground, but it does not mean a rock or stone of this description set *upright*, but lying flat. Sang is the Persian for *stone*, but the word first here is not Sang but Sanghh, a Sanskrit word evidently from the mode of spelling, but what it signifies I cannot say. The name of the place is evidently a Sindian name.

near by on either side. This river flows away from here towards the left hand, and becomes expended in the irrigation of the lands of the Balúch people dwelling in that part. In this stage you meet with many ascents and descents; and the few villages that there are, lie away some distance off the route on the right and left hand.

"Departing from Sanghh Silá, the next stage, distant ten kuroh, in much the same direction as before, with the afore-mentioned river some distance on the left hand, takes you to the halting place of Sihw-wab,* which is the name of a mountain; and the road is of much the same description as in the preceding stage. From this halting place, another stage, also of ten kuroh, brings you to Gorhí, which is the name of a river dependent on rain. It comes from the hills on the right hand, runs to the left, and such water as it contains is expended in the irrigation of the land under cultivation. This stage, likewise, contains several ascents and descents, but you now enter the plain of Kachchhí.

"Another short stage of five kuroh, in a direction more to the north-north-west, takes you to Lahrí, also written Láhrí, which is a small town of Kachchhí, under the rule of the before-mentioned Khán. The lands around are well cultivated, and some trees grow here. The territory of Síwí, belonging to the Parní tribe of Afgháns, lies to the north-west, the chief town of the same name being distant about eighteen kuroh, and Dádhar about twenty-two kuroh, but more to the westward.

"The town of Lahrí† is situated on the banks of a considerable river, known as the river of Lahrí, which issues from the mountain range on the right hand [north], and flows towards the left [south]. The Kálá Pání, previously mentioned, unites with it about three kuroh to the southward, and then separating into two branches, after flowing some twenty kuroh farther in that direction, becomes lost in the thirsty soil among dense *jangal*. When in flood this river contains a great volume of water.

"Departing from Lahrí, you proceed in the direction of south-west, and, after going a distance of twelve kuroh, reach Shahr-i-Wuzará,‡ which is a large town in the territory of Kachchhí, now belonging to Naṣír Khán, Balúch. From thence, the next stage of thirteen kuroh, in the direction of south, takes you to Makhan Welá,§ also called Makhan Belá, '*w*' and '*b*' being interchangable. On the way you have the Nárí river‖ about three kuroh distant on the right hand; the country is well inhabited, and you pass by a considerable extent of land under cultivation. Next you proceed seven kuroh, with the Nárí river near by on the right hand, and in the direction of south, to Muḥammad Manjhú,¶ another large place, and you pass through much the same description of country as on the preceding stage.

"From this place two roads branch off, the left-hand one leads to Shikár-púr, and will be subsequently described. The last-named place will be about twenty-eight or thirty kuroh distant, and by the way there is a considerable amount of cultivation, and many inhabited places.

"The right-hand road is as follows. From Muḥammad Manjhú you go nine kuroh south, as before, with the Nárí river, now nearly dry, on the left hand, and reach Tanbbú,** another large village, under the government of Nasír Khán, Balúch. There is the tomb of a holy man here, with a cupola over it. Setting out from this place, and proceeding a distance of fifteen kuroh in a direction a little to the east of south, crossing the *Pat* or Dasht-i-Bedárí, or 'desert tract in which watchfulness is required,'†† you reach Mango dí Kol, a considerable village, under the sway of Mír Fatḥ 'Alí, son of the Mír, Hájí Bijjar, Tál-púr, after which another stage of ten kuroh takes you to Dátí dí Kol, the name of a *ḳaṣba'h* or town‡‡ under the rule of Nasír Khán, Balúch.

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* Neither this, nor the following name, appear in our maps. The correct pronunciation is doubtful, as there are no vowel points, and it may be Síhúbb, but I believe the above is correct.

† Incorrectly called Lerí and Lehrí, in the accounts of these parts, and in our most recent maps. The Dumkí tribe of Rind Balúchís now dwell about this place, and the chief resides there. In former times it belonged to the Langáhs, called Jaṭs by some writers, but considered to be a branch of the Solánkí Ráj-púts by others It was from this place that Rá'e Sihras, the Langáh, otherwise "Budhan, the Sindí," the head of that tribe or clan, came, who usurped the sovereignty of Multán. At this period Lahrí was a dependency of the *maḥáll* of Síwí, which was a district of Bakhar, then dependent on Multán.

‡ Not in our maps, but it is about four miles west of the fort of Khíá of the Dumkís, and there Bijjar's family dwelt. "Wazírah" is mentioned by Eastwick as "the village of Bijjar." Wuzará is the plural form of Wazír.

§ "Makhanbela" of the maps.

‖ For a notice of the Nárí river, *see* page 659.

¶ Perhaps the "Gai Manju" of the maps is meant for this.

** "Tumboo" of some, and "Tambú" and "Tambu" of others.

†† *See* Mír Ma'ṣúm's account of the Kaur Zamín, as this tract was formerly called, page 584.

‡‡ This place I fail to trace now, but there is a canal running from Laṛ-kánah in the direction of about north-west known as Dátí dí Kor, "*l*" and "*r*," in Sindí, being interchangeable, and the canal referred to, doubtless,

Another stage of twelve kuroh in the same direction as before brings you to Laṛ-kánah, the name of a large town, and also of a *pargana'h* or sub-district, rich and fertile, within the tract known as the Zamín-i-Kachchh or Kachchhí, and under the sway of the Mír, Fatḥ 'Alí, son of Mír, Ḥájí Bijjar, the Tál-púr Balúch, whose father, Mír Bahrám, was assassinated by the Laṭí or Kalhorah ruler of Sind, Ghulám Nabí, in consequence of which the Kalhorah dynasty was lately overthrown. From this town the Sind river lies distant nearly twenty kuroh* on the left hand [east], from which river the governors of these parts, from time to time, have opened large canals, and have thereby distributed the water for the purpose of irrigating the lands.

"From Haraud to Lahrí the territory through which this route runs is called Rohe, because it lies at the skirt of, or near to, the mountains.† In the dialect spoken by the Balúchís, mountains are called Roh, the vitiated form of Tájzík Koh, and the inhabitants dwelling therein are called Rohelahs, and the skirt of such mountains they call Rohe.‡ Likewise, the country from Lahrí to Laṛ-kánah is called Kachchh or Kachchhí. Some of it is *chúl* or uninhabited waste, as that word signifies, and is called *paṭ* by the Sindís, but the greater part of it is inhabited and under cultivation."

The Mír, Fatḥ 'Alí, eldest son of Mír, Ḥájí Bijjar, here referred to, is one of the Tál-púr Balúch chiefs, who, after their overthrow of the power of the Laṭís or Kalhorahs in 1786—just one century since—tendered their allegiance to Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, the Durrání Bádsháh, the suzerain of Sind, and were by him confirmed§ in the government. Mír Fatḥ 'Alí held nearly all upper Sind, and his three brothers held charge of other parts of the country. These were the ancestors of the Amírs of Sind who were set aside after the conquest of the country by the British in 1843. I have already given a brief account of the rise and fall of the Laṭís or Kalhorahs at page 617.

Ninety-sixth Route. From the Dera'h of Ghází Khán to Kandahár by way of Dádhar, to which last-mentioned place is a distance of one hundred and eighty-six kuroh.

"Starting from the Dera'h of Ghází Khán, you proceed a distance of eight kuroh and a half in the direction of west, inclining north-west, to Waḍḍoṛ (وڈور)||, the name of a large village so called after a clan of the Balúch tribes, and on the way thither there is scarcity of water, and much sandy desert. From thence you proceed in the direction of south-west for a distance of nearly ten kuroh, through a rough and stony tract of country of much the same description as before, with the low parallel ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh, or Rátá Roh, or Rátá Paháṛ, near by on the right hand, and reach Nigáhah. This is a large village, situated at the skirt of the range of the Koh-i-Surkh above mentioned; and, on the summit of a spur or hill, a part of that range, to the north of the village, there is a structure of some size, containing the tomb and shrine of that holy personage, Ḥaẓrat-i-Sarwar Sulṭán, also known as Pír Sulṭán Káno.¶

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passed by Dátí's *ḳaṣba'h* or town. This canal appears in recent accounts of Sind as "Kur Datu," "Dáte-jí kur," "Datojo Koor," and other fantastic names.

* Now only seven miles, equal to four kuroh.

† Wilford, nearly ninety years since, mentioned, that the Balúchís called the mountain tracts as far up as the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán by the name of *Roh*, while the Afgháns style them *Ghar*, which has been mistaken by some recent writers for Ghúr.

‡ *See* note *, following page.

§ Not by a "firmán" from "Zamán Sháh, the King of Kandahar," according to the "Gazetteer of the "Province of Sindh," by Mr. A. W. Hughes, Bombay Uncovenanted Civil Service. Sháh-i-Zamán, son of Tímúr Sháh, succeeded his father in June, 1773, and he was Bádsháh of Kábul, by which general name the Afghán State has been called, but "King of Kandahar" is unknown to history. Tímúr Sháh died in May, 1793.

|| The above, the vowel points of which are given, is correct, not "Vidor" nor "Widor." *See* page 11.

¶ This place Lumsden (H. B.) calls "Makani (also called Sakhi Sarwar, two marches from Dera Ghazi "Khan," and "*a small zearat with one or two Fakirs' houses*, and a few trees near a spring, at the entrance to "the hills, and on our own frontier." This was written in 1857–58, and is, certainly, not from personal observation.

Makán is an 'Arabic word signifying "a place," "station," "abode," "local habitation," also a "tabernacle," "ark," etc., and in this latter sense is applied to any tomb and shrine, but it is not the proper name of this place. As to the "one or two Fakirs' houses," the Majáwirs, or attendants at the shrine, not Faḳírs, number some 1,600 souls. They are of the Khokhar tribe chiefly, which Jaṭ people have been turned into Gakhars in all instances, by persons unaware of the difference, and, in some instances, into Kákaṛ Afgháns. The other Majáwirs are Langáhs, the heads of which once ruled over the Multán territory, and some Shaikhs. *See* page 361, and also MacGregor's article "Sakhi Sarwar," in Vol. III., pages 59 to 62, of his "Central Asia,"

This village belongs to the same Balúch tribe, and on the way thither from Waḍḍoṛ there are no inhabitants, and water is not procurable. In the month of Baisákh [the first solar month of the Hindú year—Libra and Scorpio—April–May] thousands of people from long distances wend their way thither, and make their pilgrimage to the Saint's shrine. For two or three days it is astonishing to behold the crowds assembled there, and valuable and precious commodities to the amount of *lakhs* of *rúpís* are disposed of.

"In the hills near Nigáhah there is a *kol-i-áb*, or reservoir of water, which the attendants at the shrine and the inhabitants make use of.

"From Nigáhah to Harand, mentiôned in the previous route, is a distance of just twenty kuroh in the direction of south-south-west, over a very rough and stony desert tract of country intersected with watercourses, consisting of rough hillocks and flat-topped mounds. These are composed of stones and pebbles embedded in the peculiar yellowish-red earth or clay, which, in the course of ages, has been washed down from the Koh-i-Surkh, Rátá Roh, or Rátá Pahár, and from which colour the range takes its name. This rough tract, the outer and lowest ridges of which lie near by on the right hand, extends from near Waḍḍoṛ on the north, to Harand on the south; and from near Jám-púr on the east, to the outer and lowest ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh between the Ziárat of Sulṭán Sakhí Sarwar and Harand on the west. In the language of the Hindí people of this part of the Dera'h-ját, such a rough and stony tract is called Rúṛhí, and by this name it is generally known.* On the way there are no inhabited places. Dájal, likewise, is distant from Nigáhah nineteen kuroh, and for about half the distance the road leads through much the same style of country as between that place and Harand, but the last half is through a more inhabited tract.

"Nineteen kuroh from the Dera'h of Ghází Khán in the direction of south-south-west is Jám-púr, above mentioned, which is a considerable village, with several shops, and some large and lofty houses, unusual in these parts. Much indigo is cultivated around here. This place [and its lands] is the extreme boundary of the *parganah* of the Dera'h of Ghází Khán in this direction; and between the two places there is much cultivation, and numerous villages and hamlets.

"From Jám-púr the next stage of eight kuroh in the direction of south-west brings you to Dájal, which is a large town standing on a mound, and is also under the sway of Naṣír Khán, Balúch. At a considerable distance above [north of] the Dera'h of Ghází Khán, a great canal, called the Mánká Canal, has been cut from the Sind river, and its water utilized for the irrigation of the lands of this district. From this place to Muḥammad-púr, referred to in a subsequent Route, is a distance of seven kuroh in the direction of south-east, inclining east; and the *ḳaṣba'h* or town of Harand lies away on the right hand, distant nearly nine kuroh to the west.

"From this place seventeen *karwán* stages, averaging eight kuroh each, take you to Lahrí, which is a small walled town belonging to the Balúchís; and by the way, from Dájal to that place, there is great scarcity of water, and excess of sandy desert, in which the inhabitants are few, and little or no cultivation is to be seen; all is bare, barren, and inhospitable. The mountains show themselves at a distance on the right hand, and the Sind river flows on the left, at a distance of some eight or ten kuroh.

Part I., and compare with my account of the place, which I visited in April, 1853, in the "Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society" for 1855. In his article the author has taken several paragraphs, word for word, from that account, without acknowledgment, and in some places the quotations are incorrect. For example, I do not state that Ẕain-ul-'Abadain was buried at Sialkot, which is in the northern Panj-áb, but at Sháh-Koṭ, fourteen miles south of the city of Multán.

Nothing, I believe, was ever written in the English language on the subject of Sulṭán Sakhí Sarwar and his shrine before I wrote it after visiting the place.

The name Nigáhah is evidently derived from the Persian or Tájzík *nigáh*, signifying "observation," "watching," "regard," contemplation," "any thing or place to which one's regards or one's eyes are "directed."

Ḍhoḍá, brother of Sakkí Sarwar Sulṭán, or Pír Sulṭán Káno, who was martyred by the infidels at the same time as his brother, is said to have been buried at Waḍḍoṛ.

* *Ruṛh*, in Sanskrit, means, "hard," "stiff," "rigid," "strong," etc., and *rúṛá*, "a stone," "fragment of stone," and the like. In the Multán dialect of the Panj-áb, or country of the Five Rivers (and, it must be remembered, all these level tracts up to the skirt of the mountains south and west as far as the Síwí district, constituted *maḥálls* either of the Multán *Sarkár* or Bhakhar *Sarkár* of the Multán *Ṣúbah*), Rúṛhí means "rough," "hard," "rigid," "sterile," etc., derived from the above Sanskrit word.

The name of the town opposite Bakhar, Rúṛhí or Lúṛhi (the people of Sind often substitute "*l*" for "*ṛ*"), standing on the rough, stony hills, as it does, is, no doubt, derived from the same Sanskrit word; and it is not improbable that the word Roh, supposed by some to be derived from the Tájzík word *Koh*, is really derived from the Sanskrit *ruṛh*, the pronunciation having become vitiated. A Tájzík could not pronounce the word properly, nor could many Europeans. *See* preceding page.

This route they call the Arant route, and, although much longer than the preceding one, it traverses a more level tract of country.

"In the difficult *kohistán* or hill tract, which you pass on the right hand coming from Dájal, there dwells a tribe of the Balúch, which tribe they call Ḳurchání and Ghurchání, "*k*" and "*gh*" being interchangeable, who have a name for valour and intrepidity. Next to them there is another tribe of the Balúch, and these they call Drí-shak.*

"From Lahrí the next stage leads in the direction of north-west to Mitrí,† distant a little more than sixteen kuroh. The low hills of the Kaur Zamín rise close by as you proceed, and other hills rise a short distance away on the right hand for nearly the whole distance, and still loftier ranges show themselves a long way off, both on the right and left hand, as you draw near to Mitrí. Mitrí also is a small town with a wall of unburnt brick, and is the name of a section or branch of the Balúch, who dwell on the Áb-i-Jibál, or mountain stream, on which Mitrí is situated. This stream is known in Sind and Kachchhi as the Nárí river, which rises in the mountain tracts, part of the outer or southern slopes of the range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah or Tor Ghar, immediately north of the Síwí district, in the country of the Spín Taríns, and threads its way through the ranges of the Koh-i-Surkh or Sor Ghar. In former times it flowed close by the *ḳaṣba'h* and fort of Síwí, but now passes some distance west of it. It flows to the south by Bhág, also known as Bhág-Nárí—Bhág on the Nárí river—Makhan-Belá, and Tanb-bú, referred to in the preceding route.

"The town and fort of Síwí, now in a dilapidated condition, belonging to the Parní tribe of Afghbáns, lies away to the north of Mitrí, distant eight kuroh, but their territory extends farther north, and for a considerable distance east and west, as previously mentioned.

"To return to the account of the route. Leaving Mitrí, you go on to Ḍáḍhar, a distance of rather more than eight kuroh in the direction of north-west. About half way on the road, you have to cross the range of low hills separating the dara'h of Ḍáḍhar, through which one of the three branches of the Bolán river, here known as the Sih Áb or Three Streams,‡ flows towards the south, and which range separates that dara'h from the plain of Kachchhí in which Mitrí is situated. Ḍáḍhar is a large village, or rather a small town, and took its name from a small branch of the Shim'únzí Sandzar division of the Kákaṛ tribe of Ghor-g'hasht Afgháns, who once possessed it, who are called Ḍáḍar and Ḍáḍhar, and, by some, are erroneously, supposed to be Balúchís.§ It is surrounded with much cultivation, and date and other trees grow around, a somewhat unusual feature in the sandy, sterile tract traversed in this route.

"From Ḍáḍhár, Ḳandahár is just one hundred and forty-five kuroh distant by the route subsequently to be described. From the Dera'h of Ghází Khán to Ḍáḍhar, after leaving Dájal, the route takes a westerly course, and on the way there is great scarcity of water, and excess of sandy desert to be traversed. In the time of the late Bádsháh, Aḥmad Sháh, Sadozí Durrání, father of the present Bádsháh, Tímúr Sháh, the Ḳurchání or Ghurchání tribe was responsible for the safety of the Arant, or Dájal-Harand route to Ḍáḍhar, and for the safe conduct of *karwáns* of traders as far as their boundary ran, when the next tribe adjoining them became responsible. The chief of the Ḳurchánís or Ghurchánís received, by way of a *já-gír*, half the transit dues levied on these traders, at the rate of half a *rúpí* on each camel load of goods, and on other smaller loads in proportion. Since these parts have been transferred to the charge of Naṣír Khán, Balúch, the same arrangements are in force."

At the period when these routes were traversed the Dera'h of Ghází Khán, then

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* The Drí-shak tribe of Balúchís, who formerly held territory farther west than they do at present, used to levy dues, like the Ghurchánís, on merchants and traders passing through their territory, who brought wool, sulphur, *gúr*, assafœtida, some intoxicating drugs, a little dry fruit, and small quantities of *barak*, cloth made from camel's hair, and *pashmínah*, made from *pashm*, or fine wool of the Afghán territory. They generally arrived in October or November, and returned in April, in which month, as above stated, the Sakhí Sarwar *melá* takes place, taking back with them indigo, chintzes, white cotton fabrics, shoes, and other articles. They came and went by several of the passes described in the First Section of this work.

† It is not called "Mitarí," as it appears in some books. The word is written as in the text above.

‡ On issuing from the dara'h, the Bolán river separates into three branches, one of which runs close under the town of Ḍáḍhar on the west and south; the second runs towards the north; and the third or main branch flows away towards Mahesar, beyond which it disappears in the plain of Kachchhí. A great deal of the water is drawn off for irrigation purposes.

§ Prince Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh sought assistance from the head-man of this branch, Malik Jíwan by name, whose life the Prince had on a former occasion saved by interceding for him with his father, Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, and the base wretch betrayed him to the partisans of Muḥammad-i-Aurang-zeb, who had, at that time, imprisoned their father and usurped the throne. More respecting this Jíwan will be found in the account of the Bolán route farther on.

under the sway of the Durránís, carried on a considerable trade, and was visited by Bábar and Núhární merchants.

A short time after the period in question, the anarchy which arose in the Afghán State, subsequent to the death of Tímúr Sháh, Bádsháh of Kábul,* and also in the territories dependent on Kalát-i-Nicharah or Nícharah, consequent on the decease of Naṣír Khán, Balúch, here mentioned, this trade became diverted into safer channels than through the tracts inhabited by the marauding Balúch tribes, though by longer routes, through Kachchhí to Shikár-púr, and from thence to the Panj-áb.

Trade revived a little during the time that Díwán Sáwan Mal, and his son, Díwán Mul-ráj, were Náẕims of the Multán province, which included the Dera'h-ját; and Afghán traders used to come from Ḳandahár by Púshang and Kwaṭa'h and the Harand route to the Dera'h of Ghází Khán, and pass on to Multán and other parts of the Panj-áb, but it was again stopped through the excesses of the Balúch tribes.

Ninety-seventh Route.—From the Dera'h of Ghází Khán to Shikár-púr and Sakhar, a distance of one hundred and forty-eight kuroh.

"Leaving the Dera'h of Ghází Khán, you proceed in the direction of south-south-west, inclining south, for rather less than three kuroh, to Samín,† a small village surrounded by date groves, and from thence go on another two kuroh to Chhuṭí, the road taking a more south-westerly course. The Sind river flows four kuroh on the left hand;‡ and the village of Mahtamí§ lies one kuroh distant on the same side. From thence you go one kuroh to 'Alí-Wálah, after which, still continuing in the same direction as before, another four kuroh bring you to Chhúṭí dá Koṭ,¶ which is a small village, inhabited by Balúchís, Jaṭs, and others, and there is a considerable amount of cultivation. A good deal of indigo is produced here.

"From Chhúṭí dá Koṭ, still following much the same direction as before, you proceed three kuroh to Nútak Fahmíd,‖ a small hamlet, so called after a clan of the Balúch. Next you go rather more than three kuroh, in a direction more southerly, to Ṭáhir dá Koṭ, also a small village;** and another five kuroh, or rather less, in the same direction as before, to Jám-púr. By the way from the Dera'h of Ghází Khán you pass through a well cultivated tract of country containing many villages; and the mountains of the Koh-i-Surkh or Ráṭá Roh, with the lofty range of the Koh-i-Siyah or Kálá Roh overtopping them, appear away distant on the right hand.

"Jám-púr is a large *ḳaṣba'h* or market town, containing a number of shops. The houses are lofty, and many are built of kiln burnt bricks. This place is under the sway of Naṣír Khán, Balúch; and the Sind river flows some twelve kuroh distant on the left hand.††

"Leaving Jám púr, the next stage of eight kuroh in the direction of south-south-west, brings you to the village of Muḥammad-púr, and then another six kuroh and a half, still keeping the same direction as before, to Dunyá-púr, a small hamlet dependent on Jám-púr. From thence you go twelve kuroh, in the same direction as heretofore, and reach Rájan-púr, which is a large and flourishing *ḳaṣba'h* or market town, being situated in the trade route between the Dera'h of Ghází Khán and Sind. It is, with the district around it, inhabited by Jaṭs as well as Balúchís, and there are Hindús in the town. It is under the sway of Naṣír Khán, Balúch. In these parts mirage prevails, and in the direction of the hills on the right hand all is waste; here, too, the *gor-khar*, or wild ass, is often seen, and the *samúm* blows in the hot season.

"From Rájan-púr you proceed another stage, in the direction of south, to Miṭ-hí dá

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* There was also a constant change being made in the Ḥákims of the province dependent on the Dera'h of Ghází Khán. Owing to this, rebels and plunderers often escaped with impunity.

† "Sumeena" of the maps.

‡ The river is nearly double that distance from it now.

§ "Mehtum" in the maps.

¶ "Kot Choota" of the maps. It is now a considerable village.

‖ "Notuk Puranee" of the maps probably.

** It is now a town of considerable size, containing upwards of 3,000 inhabitants.

†† Now, about as many miles from the Indus, thus showing how much the river has encroached eastwards. 'Alí-púr, and Jaṭú-í, mentioned farther on, and also Ghauṣ-púr, were on the banks of the Indus when these surveys were made, and now 'Alí-púr is ten miles east of the Indus. At the period in question there was no long stretch of river, as there is now, between the junction of the united Jihlam, Chin-áb, and Ráwí, and the Ghárá, as far south as Cháchar, called the Panj-Áb and Panj-Nad; for, then, the Indus united with the Panj-Áb or Panj-Nad, or the Five Rivers, a little to the west of Úchchh, and has since changed its course.

Kot,* distant nearly nine kuroh, a large village standing on a mound, situated on the banks of the Sind river; and by the way you have several watercourses to cross, cuts from the afore-mentioned river, but which are dry in the cold season. There is a good deal of cultivation around this place, and considerable quantities of indigo are produced, besides grain. You next go seven kuroh, in the direction of south-west, to Bhág-Sáh, a small village, also situated on the banks of the Sind river. Between this place and Jám-púr the mountains of the Koh-i-Surkh or Rátá Roh, show themselves away in the distance on the right hand, and likewise parts of the Koh-i-Siyah or Kálá Roh, beyond or behind them, but, now, in that direction, they appear much higher, particularly one part of the Koh-i-Siyah which towers considerably above the rest,† after which they all appear to die away in the direction of south.

"From this place the next stage, a long one of nearly fourteen kuroh, in the direction of south-west, brings you to Rúján of the Mazárí Balúch tribe.‡ You pass, on the first part of the road, near the village of Amar Kot, lying away on the right hand, and then go by Budlí, just half way, because water is obtainable there. The road for the first part of this stage lies through *gaz* or tamarisk *jangal*, after which cultivation succeeds, and there are many inhabited places. Rúján is a large fortified place, with a wall of unburnt brick and round towers, and is larger than Miṭ-hí dá Koṭ, but the dwellings are chiefly huts, built of reeds like the generality of the dwellings of this part.§ The cultivation depends on rain, nevertheless, considerable quantities of various sorts of grain are produced. As this route becomes dangerous hereabouts, on account of the lawless Balúchís of the hills to the westward, and the scarcity of water, it is usual to make long stages. The next stage, therefore, is to Kashmúr, which is in Sind, in the direction of south-west, inclining west, distant seventeen kuroh. About three kuroh and a half from Rúján you pass Kin,‖ a small village of the Mazárí Balúch tribe. There is a little cultivation, chiefly towards the banks of the Sind river, which flows about five or six kuroh¶ on the left hand, and a good deal of low *jangal*, but, on the right hand, with the exception of scanty *jangal* of the same description, all is bare and sterile, until you reach Kashmúr, around which a few trees grow. After passing Kin you have to cross a deep canal conveying water from the Sind river.

"The next stages are shorter than the two preceding ones. Setting out from Kashmúr, still keeping the same general direction as before, you have to go nearly eight kuroh to Buḍánah, which is a *ḳaṣba'h* or market town of some size, dependent on Shikár-púr,** and on the way you have to pass through much *jangal*. A man, lightly equipped, can reach it from Bhág-Sáh, above mentioned, in a couple of days. Leaving Buḍánah, and proceeding in the direction of nearly west-south-west for a distance of five kuroh, you reach Kháe, a small village of the Bulídhí Balúchís, and from thence continuing onwards in the same direction as before for another five kuroh and a half, you reach Kand-Kot,†† a village surrounded by a wall of unburnt brick, and inhabited by Afgháns of the Parṉí tribe.‡‡ It is situated close to the old bed of the Sind river, which branches off from the present bed some three or four kuroh south-east of Kashmúr. There is a good deal of cultivation on the left hand as you proceed, but, on the right, there is little or none.

"The next stage of eleven kuroh, in the direction of south-west, and with the old bed of the Sind river near by on the left hand,§§ and the large village of Ghauṣ-púr, and its tombs beyond, you reach Kaho.‖‖ From thence you go eight kuroh, in the same direction as before, and reach Khán-púr, another *ḳaṣba'h* of considerable size.

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* "Mithun-Kote," "Mittun Kot," "Mithankot," and the like, of maps and Gazetteers.

† Mount Gandháṛi. *See* page 17.

‡ This place (the name of which is sometimes written Rújzán), and its dependent lands, were assigned by Sháh-i-Zamán, Bádsháh of Kábul, as an act of charity, upon Mián 'Abd-un-Nabí, one of the Laṭí or Kalhorah chiefs, after his expulsion from Sind by the Tál-púrs, and he enjoyed it for some time. *See* page 624, and note *.

§ Ibn Ḥauḳal, referring to Nudhah or Nudhiyah, which tract of country I have noticed at length in note * to page 563, says, that the dwellings of the people of this part near the banks of the Mihrán, through part of which this route runs, are constructed of reeds.

‖ In former days, Kin or Kin Koṭ, belonged for some time to the tribe of Nághar Afgháns, which the Sindí writers called Náhars, who now dwell along with the Kihtrán Kásí Afgháns farther north-west.

¶ Kin is but two miles from the Indus according to latest surveys; and here the Indus makes a sudden bend towards it, and, soon after, bends back again.

** But there is no mention of it in the "Gazetteer of the Province of Sindh." It is the "Budanee" "Badanee," etc., of the maps, and is *now* close to the Indus, but was then some miles from it.

†† Not mentioned in the above "Gazetteer," although the telegraphic wire runs by it.

‡‡ *See* note †, next page, and the account of Mírzá Khán, Parṉí, at page 634.

§§ Kand-Koṭ is now more than twelve miles west of the Indus.

‖‖ These last-named places are not noticed in the "Gazetteer" in question.

Just after setting out from the last halting place you cross a large canal, which comes from the left hand from the Sind river, and runs away to the right for a great distance. A short stage of rather less than five kuroh, still following the same direction as before, brings you to Shikár-púr. Between this town and Kaho you pass through a well cultivated and well peopled tract of country.

"From Shikár-púr the next stage of little over thirteen kuroh, in the direction of south-south-west, takes you to Sakhar; and the Sind river flows some three or four kuroh on the left hand.* At about the fifth kuroh on the way you pass Lakhhí, an ancient town, once populous and flourishing, which existed long before Shikár-púr, which is quite a modern place, was founded, but, since that time, Lakhhí has gone to decay.†

"Sakhar was, in former times, a flourishing place, and is situated on the banks of the Sind river, opposite to Bakhar and Lúṛhí or Rúṛhí.‡ It will be noticed in another route.

"The road traversed between the Dera'h of Ghází Khán and this place, passes generally through a well cultivated and well peopled tract of country, producing indigo, rice, sugar, and other valuable commodities."

Ninety-eighth Route. From the Dera'h of Ghází Khán to Sakhar and Shikár-púr, a distance of one hundred and twenty-seven kuroh.

"Leaving the Dera'h of Ghází Khán, and proceeding two kuroh and a half towards the south, inclining south-south-west, you reach Samín, referred to in a previous route, from which place you go on to Massiṭ, a small place containing a few dwellings, distant two kuroh in the same direction as before. Continuing onwards for another kuroh and a half, you reach Mahtamí,§ a large village peopled by Jaṭs. The next stage of seven kuroh, still following the same direction, brings you to Sherú, a small village from which two roads branch off. The left-hand one leads to Úchchh-i-Sharíf, and the right-hand one is as follows. Leaving the halting place at Sherú, you go eight kuroh in the direction of south-south-west, inclining south, to Rattá,

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* Not in these days: the Sind river or Indus, at present, is some eighteen miles distant from this route until you reach within about seven miles of Sakhar.

† The following is a brief account of the founding of Shikár-púr. Bahádur Khán, son of Fírúz Khán, the Dá'úd-pútrah chief, obtained a grant of land in the Lakhhí *jangal*, which extended for a considerable distance to the north and north-west of the town of that name, then in the possession of the Jaṭ tribe of Mahr, a numerous and powerful race of those parts, from the Nawwáb, Mírzá Khán, the Boṛízí Parní Afghán, of Síwí, who held a large tract of country towards the Indus or Sind, on the part of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír Bádsháh (*see* the account of the Parní tribe, page 634). At this time the Dá'úd-pútrahs dwelt in Upper Sind (as at present constituted), and paid their attention to agriculture.

The chief of the Mahrs of Lakhhí and the Dá'úd-pútrah chief were hostile to each other, and this grant of land in their neighbourhood, and in a part which they considered their *shikár-gáh*, or game preserve, added to the previous enmity. The Mahrs resolved to prevent the Dá'úd-pútrahs from occupying it; and the result was an obstinate fight in the *jangal*, in which the Mahrs were overthrown, and hotly pursued to their town of Lakhhí, which was entered by the victors, and sacked. On the site of his victory, Bahádur Khán, Dá'úd-pútrah, built a town, which, on account of its being situated in the *jangal* or *shikár-gáh*, he named Shikár-púr. It was not in 1617, A.D. *See* note ||, page 620, and note †, page 622.

Subsequently, Bakht-yár Khán, Parní, son of the Nawwáb, Mírzá Khán, succeeded to the authority on the death of his father; and he founded the town of Bakht-yár-púr, and ousted the Dá'úd-pútrahs from their newly founded town of Shikár-púr. Not long after, Bakht-yár Khán was, by the intrigues of others, including the Dá'úd-pútrahs, induced to oppose the authority of the Prince, Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dín (afterwards, Jahán-dár Sháh), grandson of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír Bádsháh, the then Ṣúbah-dár of Multán, upon which the Prince sent a force against him, and a Dá'úd-pútrah contingent accompanied it. Bakht-yár Khán, Parní, who endeavoured to oppose them, was captured and killed, and his followers dispersed. This, as I have previously noticed, may be considered the downfall of the power of the Boṛízí Parnís in these parts. This was in 1113 H. (1701–2 A.D.). The Dá'úd-pútrahs, for their services, were restored to Shikár-púr, but they were again deprived of it by the Laṭís or Kalhorahs, descended from one and the same stock. When Nádir Sháh, ruler of Í-rán, came into Sind to settle the affairs of that country, after the cession by the Bádsháh of the Dihlí empire of all the territory west of the Indus, and Sankrah river or Hakṛá, he assigned to the Dá'úd-pútrahs Shikár-púr, Laḍ-kánah or Laṛ-kánah in the Siw-istán *Sarkár* of Ṭhaṭhah, and tracts in Kachchhí, as far north as Chatar. After this the Dá'úd-pútrahs were again ousted from Shikár-púr by the Sar-dár, Ṭhamásib Beg, the Jalá'ir, who was in charge of the provinces on the Indus for Nádir Sháh, on account of the murder of Shaikh Ṣádiḳ, who was in charge of the then Bakhar district, with the connivance of Ṣádiḳ Khán, the Dá'úd-pútrah, father of the first Baháwal Khán, but they again succeeded in getting possession during the distracted state of the country not long after; and, subsequently, about 1160 H. (1747 A.D.), but, according to other accounts, in 1167 H. (1753–54 A.D.), the Dá'úd-pútrah chief made Kakh, now Baháwul-púr, his residence, and Shikár-púr was left in other hands.

Lakhhí, along with its dependent lands, is said in former times to have contributed about a *lákh* of *rúpís* to the revenue. Many of the houses of the town, in 1848, were entire and habitable.

‡ *See* note *, page 658, and note ¶, page 326.

§ "Mehtum" of the maps.

also called Rattá-Mattá, which is a large *kaṣba'h* or market town, and at which place is the tomb and shrine of Saif-ul-Mulúk, who is famous among all people.*

"From Rattá, the next stage, a short one of three kuroh, takes you to Jaṭú-í,† in the direction of south. This is a very old place, the chief town of one of the *maḥálls* or sub-districts of the *Sarkár* of Bakhar, so called after a tribe of the Balúchís, once powerful, and who are still to be found in all the parts adjoining. The place has now much decayed. Leaving Jaṭú-í, you proceed in the direction of south, inclining a little westward, to Khair-púr, distant nearly seven kuroh and a half, and about half way pass by Fatḥ-púr, about half a kuroh on the right hand, and 'Alí-púr lies away rather less than three kuroh on the left. Khair-púr is but a small village.

"From thence you go four kuroh in the direction of south and reach Síṭ-púr,‡ a

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* Saif-ul-Mulúk is the name of the great and rich merchant, who, according to the tradition, towards the close of the second century of the Ḥijrat, brought about the ruin of Alor. The country then dependent on it was ruled by a Rájah, who is called Dalú Rá'e, who was a great tyrant and deflowerer of maidens. The merchant arrived at Alor with his merchandise, which was of great value, laden in vessels on the river, and was accompanied by a beautiful handmaid named Badí'-ul-Jamál. Not content with plundering the merchant of a portion of his goods, the Rájah also demanded that the handmaid should be given up to him. Finding what a tyrant he had to deal with, the merchant resolved, with God's help, to make a bold endeavour to escape from him. He asked to be allowed three days grace—some say eight days—after which he would comply with the demands made upon him, and deliver up the damsel. In the meantime, by means of his wealth, having got together a number of artisans and numerous labourers, he set to work day and night to raise a great dyke above Alor, and by making a new channel, to divert the waters of the Hakṛá or Wahind towards Bakhar. This he effected, and, on awaking on the morning of the day on which the days of grace expired, instead of a deep river running by Alor, what did the tyrant discover, but its bed full of mud and a little muddy water. The river had left it, and was running towards Sihwáṇ and the Lakhhí mountains, and the merchant and his vessels had been wafted thereon far beyond his reach, and Alor ruined.

Such is the tradition; and in all traditions there are, I conceive, some portion of truth.

According to another slightly different version, the merchant was on his way to Makkah; and, after his return from thence, he took up his residence near Rattá, which was once a great city, and here he was buried. It is added, that, by this handmaid, Badí'-ul-Jamál, he had two sons, one Rattá, the other Mattá, and that the tombs of all three are at this place, Rattá or Rattá-Mattá.

However, the raising of a dyke and diverting thereby the course of the river is not so difficult or so impossible as might appear at first sight. Dr. Lord, in his "Memoir on the Plain of the Indus" previously quoted—and the country through which the Hakṛá or Wahind flowed at this particular part was of exactly the same description—says, that, "its nature is such that a slight obstruction raised in the bed of the river "may, in a very short time, diverge the stream into another channel, and thereby ruin towns and villages, and "by the change render what was just before a waste, a fruitful tract of country." Consequently, if this Saif-ul-Mulúk had the means at command, he might, in the time mentioned, according to the above theory, have been able to divert the course of the Hakṛá or Wahind as the tradition affirms.

The Alor *band*, attributed to Saif-ul-Mulúk, is still standing. When excavating a portion of the great Nárá canal some years ago, and by means of which water has since been brought from the Indus into the old bed of the Hakṛá, on the extremity of a rocky hill, the massive ruins of an old town, known to the natives as Hakṛá, were discovered buried in mud. These ruins were similar to those of Alor near by, and among them many articles of domestic use were found. The *band* was repaired, at the time I refer to, with bricks taken from these very ruins.

A village in the neighbourhood still bears the name of Hakṛá.

Among the strange parts of the above tradition is, that the father should have borne a Musalmán name ans not the sons—at least, their Musalmán names, if they had any, have not transpired—and that the town near which the father took up his residence should be called after his sons.

† This was the chief place of the *maḥáll* of Jaṭú-í, one of the twelve constituting the Bakhar *Sarkár* of the *Súbah* of Multán, and was so called after a Balúch tribe of that name. They paid revenue to the amount of 2,346,873 *dáms;* held free grants to the amount of 156,841 *dáms;* and had to furnish 500 horsemen and 800 foot as militia when required.

‡ This was the chief place in the *maḥáll* of that name, one of the seventeen constituting the district called Berún-i-Panj-Nad of the Multán *Sarkár* of the Multán *Ṣúbah*. Siṭ-púr was the stronghold of the Nághar tribe, called Náhars by the Sindís, in the time of Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán, the governor of the Bakhar territory under the last of the Arghúns. After the Arghúns died out, and the Tar-Kháns succeeded, Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán appropriated the territory for himself. Subsequently, consequent on the contumacious Balúchís having been driven out of the adjoining districts of Jíjah Wá'han, Bhaṭí Wá'han, and Úchchh by the officers of Akbar Bádsháh, to whose territory of Multán these districts belonged, the Bádsháh made them over to Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán of Bakhar, who, for political purposes, the Bádsháh was endeavouring to gain over, as already referred to at page 593. After this, in 966 H. (1558–59 A.D.), Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán, finding that the Nághars would not pay revenue, resolved to move against them. He accordingly invested Síṭ-púr; and after some fighting, being reduced to extremity, the Nághar chief came out on the walls of that place, wrapped in a winding-sheet, and with a sword hanging about his neck, made his submission, and agreed to pay the sum demanded of him, and Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán withdrew.

It was many years after, it must be remembered, and subsequent to the surrender of Bakhar after the above-mentioned Khán's death, that the Bakhar territory was formed into a separate *Sarkár* and attached to the Multán *Ṣúbah*, and the district Berún-i-Panj-Nad, or Extra Panj-Áb, constituted, upon which, Síṭ-púr was assessed at 4,608,000 *dáms* of revenue, and was rated as able to furnish 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot for militia service. This district, as its name indicates, lay without the area embraced in the Five Rivers, the Panj-Nad or Panj-Áb. It is this tract of country respecting which Mr. O. T. Duke, in his "Report" to Government on "Thall-Chotiali and Harnai," page 2, mistook the Persian preposition, "*berún*"—"without," which he calls "Perom," for a *maḥáll* or district, and Panj-Nad, the name of the district, which he called "Panjnud," for

place famous in the history of the Balúch people, and the chief *kasba'h* or market town of a *maháll* of the former Berún-i-Panj-Nad district, dependent on Multán. You then proceed nine kuroh in the direction of south-south-west to Rasúl-púr, a small village situated on the banks of the Sind river. From that halting place you go seven kuroh in the direction of south, and reach Ghaus-púr,* a village inhabited by Dá'úd-pútrahs, likewise situated on the banks of the Sind river; and Miṭ-hí dá Koṭ lies away between five and six kuroh on the right hand, also situated on the banks [the word used is *lab*, verge, margin, edge, lip, etc.] of the same river. Having crossed the great river here by means of a boat, you have to proceed for rather less than eight kuroh in the direction of south, inclining slightly to the eastward, and reach the Gaṛhí of Ikhtiyár Khán, and the Sind river flows about four kuroh on the right hand. Gaṛhí or Fortlet of Ikhtiyár Khán† is the name of a *kasba'h* or market town of considerable size, formerly known as Khwándí or Khándí, and so called after the Hájí, Ikhtiyár Khán, one of the followers of Bahával Khán, the Dá'úd-pútrah, about the same time that the above-mentioned Khán founded the town of Baháwal-púr, named after himself.‡ The ferry where you cross from Ghaus-púr on the way to this Gaṛhí is known as the Ghaus-púr *paṭan*.§

"Between the Dera'h of Ghází Khán and this place the country is populous and well cultivated, producing large crops. From the Gaṛhí afore-mentioned you proceed in the direction of about south-west towards Bakhar and Rúṛhí by the route presently to be described."

Ninety-ninth Route. From the Dera'h of Ghází Khán to Úchchh-i-Sharíf, a distance of thirty-six kuroh.

"The route from Rattá, or Rattá Mattá, has already been described. From that halting place you proceed seven kuroh and a half in the direction of south, inclining a little to the south-south-east, to 'Alí-púr, situated on the banks of the Sind river;‖ and at about one third of the distance as you proceed, you pass Jaṭú-í about a kuroh and a half on the right hand. This place, likewise, is situated on¶ the banks of the Sind river, as has been previously mentioned; and from that place you go eight kuroh in the direction of east, and reach Úchchh-i-Sharíf, or Úchchh the Sacred or Holy, and, by the way, have to cross the Sind river, the Chin-áb, and the Haríárí,** in three or four places by means of boats.

"There is said to be a more direct way by going from 'Alí-púr in the direction of south-east, a distance of rather over nine kuroh, leaving Síṭ-púr some five kuroh on the right hand, and, after proceeding about five kuroh, there is a great ferry to be crossed, and the only one met with by the way, but the route by Síṭ-púr is that generally followed.

"Of the seven large villages constituting the present Úchchh,†† that in which the tomb and shrine of the Sayyid, Jalál-ud-Dín, Ḥusain, Bukhárí,‡‡ is situated, is called

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another *mahåll*, and the whole of the vast province of Síw-istán of the *Śúbah* of Ṭhaṭhah or Sind for the district of Síwí in the *Sarkár* of Bakhar of Multán *Śúbah*.

* Thus Ghaus-púr, at this period, lay on the other or west side of the Indus, and now it is a long distance from the east bank. According to a map issued from the Surveyor General of India's Office in 1859, Ghaus-púr, under the name of "*Ghospoor*," was *nine* miles from the east bank, and according to another issued in 1871, and both, no doubt, correct at the time of survey, it is just *seven and a half* miles from it.

† The town of Khwándí or Khándí was near the Gaṛhí of one, Shádí Khán. Ikhtiyár Khán, a chief of this part, got possession of it, and called the two places after himself.

‡ This Bahával Khán died shortly after, in 1163 H. (1749–50 A.D.).

§ The nearest *paṭan* or ferry, at present, is that of Cháchar, and that is nearly six miles from Ghaus-púr.

‖ It is now fifteen miles east of the banks of the Indus according to the map of 1859, just referred to.

¶ It is now five miles and a half from the main channel according to the map of 1871, but, at this point, it then flowed in five channels, one of which, the least of the five was within a mile and a quarter of Jaṭú-í, and four miles and three quarters west of Jaṭú-í, on the same map, is marked the "*old Pattun.*" All these facts tend to show what vast changes are constantly taking place. Directors of railway lines in this part would do well to remember that these changes may again occur.

** Above its junction with the Bíáh (*vul.* Bias), this river is called the Sutlaj, but, after the junction, both rivers lose their names, and the united streams receive the above name, and is also known as the Ghárah.

†† Anglicised in our maps, and in Gazetteers, "Ouche," "Ootch," "Uch," "Ooch," "Uja," and the like.

Under the revenue system of Akbar Bádsháh, Úchchh was one of the seventeen *mahálls* constituting the Berún-i-Panj-Nad district, previously noticed. It paid 1,910,140 *dáms* of revenue; no free grants are mentioned; the inhabitants were Shaikh-Zádahs, or descendants of Shaikhs or Muḥammadan teachers and ecclesiastics, and Bukhárí Sayyids.

‡‡ Úchchh is the burial place of several saints much venerated by the Muḥammadans of all the parts around, who were Sayyids, and came from Bukhárá into these parts after the destruction and depopulation of that city by the Mughals under the Chingiz Khán, hence they are styled Bukhárí or of Bukhárá. During the time of

Úchchh-i-Sharíf, as before stated, and Úchchh-i-Jalálí; and that in which is the tomb and shrine of the famous Makhdúm-i-Jahánián-i-Jahán-gasht is known as Úchchh-i-Makhdúm.* The village in which the governors on the part of the Bádsháhs of Dihlí dwelt is named Úchchh-i-Mughal, and so on, all seven places having separate names, but the rest are quite local, those by which the places are known, and which are really the most important, are those given above.

"The rivers Hariárí or Ghárah, the Chin-áb, and the Sind, unite about six kuroh to the north of Úchchh, and the combined waters are known under the name of the Sind or Áb-i-Sind, which, flowing through the country of Sind, finally reaches the salt sea. The ancient name was Mihrán.

"These seven villages constituting the present Úchchh are in the possession of the Sayyid's descendants and those of Shaikhs, and they hold them rent free, and have no taxes whatever to pay. They are under allegiance to Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí Durrání, Bádsháh of Kábul, as are, likewise, the rulers of Sind, and the Chief of Baháwal-púr, who is a Dá'úd-pútrah."

At the present time Úchchh consists of but three small towns, the principal ones named above, which stand on high artificial mounds, the neighbourhood having been at all times liable to be swept away by the Indus, which, as related by the writer of the above account, in his time, as in former years, flowed much nearer to Úchchh than it does at present. Such an inundation threatened to destroy it in the time of the Khwájah, Yaḥyá-i-Kabír, the Bakht-yár Afghán saint, at the time he was the disciple of the Sayyid, Jalál-ud-Dín, Ḥusain, Úchchh's greatest saint. These three places are contiguous to each other, and are connected by a wall of brick, now, or which lately was, in a dilapidated state.

All round the place vast ruins of the former city and fortifications lie scattered about, and testify to the solidity of the buildings. They are constructed of burnt bricks, like all the solid structures of these parts, where stone is not procurable; and some of the buildings, even in these days, are in a good state of preservation.

During the latter years of the Laṭí or Kalhorah power in Sind, and the rise of the chiefs of Baháwal-púr, shortly before the time these surveys were made, there used to be constant hostility between the Makhdúms of Úchchh and the Dá'úd-pútrah chiefs, but, subsequently, they made up their differences.

Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, as has been mentioned farther on, many ecclesiastics, learned men, and men of rank, from various parts of Central Asia, on account of the ruin of their countries by the Mughal hordes, found refuge and homes in Sind and Hind, and there their descendants are still to be found. It was at this same period that several Sayyids took refuge among the Afghán tribes in the Afghánistán, and took to themselves Afghán wives.

The sacred tombs of Úchchh are five in all, one of which, is said to be that of the oldest saint, the Sayyid, Saif-ul-Ḥaḳḳ wa ud-Dín, but what his name was, and the place and time of his death, I have been unable to discover.

The tomb and shrine of Jalál-ud-Dín, Ḥusain, is situated *now* just outside the present Úchchh, within a domed building, and a few years ago it was in a dilapidated condition. Over the tomb is a canopy, very ancient, and in a state of decay. Sayyid Jalál-ud-Dín, Ḥusain, lived to a very great age, but the exact date of his birth is not known. The inscription on his tomb gives in letters, as the date of his death, the year 685 H. (1286 A.D.). On either side of his tomb are other graves, presumably those of his wives and children.

The tomb in the best state of preservation, and which, when complete, must have been an elegant domed sepulchre, is that of the Bíbí or Lady, Jind-Waddí, which is built of kiln-burnt bricks, like all permanent buildings of these parts. It stands on high ground, artificial apparently, and is ornamented with glazed tiles, like other ancient tombs in Multán and Sind, and is richly ornamented inside after the same fashion. Between fifty and sixty years since, consequent on great changes in the course of the Indus and the Panj-Áb or Panj-Nad, a flood swept over the country round, and several houses of Úchchh were carried away, and part of the Bíbí's tomb. That it did not succumb altogether is a proof of the solid nature of the structure.

Burnes, who pronounced upon the Indus and its course without any special knowledge of its antecedents, appears to have thought that it has continued to flow exactly in the same bed as in the days of Alexander, but contrary to known facts, says ("Travels," Vol. 1, p. 85):—"The nature of the country between Ooch and the "Indus has been mistaken, *as it is never flooded;*" and he takes Major Rennell, who appears to have known a good deal about the former changes in the course of the Indus, and other rivers in this part, to task, for "conducting that river" (the "Chenab") "into the great stream, so many miles above the true point of union, "until the geographical error was rectified by the mission to Cabool."

See what Postans says on the Indus, "Personal Observations," pages 17, 18. Rennell was quite correct at the time he wrote, and when Burnes wrote all had been changed.

* The Makhdúm here referred to was the teacher and spiritual guide of the famous Afghán saint, Yaḥyá, the Bakht-yár Sheráni, who subsequently acquired, through his sanctity, the title among his contemporaries of Khwájah Yaḥyá-i-Kabír, or the Great Khwájah Yaḥyá. He is accounted one of the greatest saints among the Sara'h-barn branch of the Afgháns, who, with his Pír, the Makhdúm above mentioned, the Sayyid, Jalál-ud-Dín, Ḥusain, was the contemporary, for the greater part of his life, of Pír Sulṭán Káno, otherwise Sulṭán Sarwar, *alias* Sulṭán Sakhí Sarwar, and of Khwájah Khiẓr, and the Shaikh, Bahá-ul-Ḥaḳḳ wa ud-Dín, Zakaríyá of Multán, who died 664 H. (1265–66 A.D.).

Khwájah Yaḥyá, the Bakht-yár Sheráni, died in the year 734 H. (1333–34 A.D.), at the age of 127 years, having been born in 607 H. (1210–11 A.D.). We can thus conjecture as to the correctness or absurdity of

Úchchh is a place of considerable antiquity.* As early as the time of Sáhí, ruler of Sind, son of Sihras Ráe, who was killed in battle with the 'Arabs, as related at page 567, previous to the Muhammadan conquest of that country by Muhammad, son of Kásim,† the Sakifí, Úchchh was one of the six principal fortified cities of Sind, the strength of which Sáhí increased, according to the Sindí annals, by raising the height of the mounds on which they stood. The other frontier fortresses referred to are Máthí-lah, Síwrá-í, and Ma'ú, the other two were Alor or Aror, the capital, and Sindú-stán or Síw-istán, subsequently, and now generally, called Sihwán.

In after times, when Sind and Multán formed separate Muhammadan provinces, and were subject to Ghaznín and afterwards to Dihlí, also when Sind formed an independent state under Sultán Násir-ud-Dín, Kabá-jah, and likewise after the invasion of Hind by Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, Úchchh was not included in Sind, but formed an integral part of the Multán province.

According to Mír Ma'súm, of Bakhar, the historian, referred to at page 583, Mahmúd, son of Sabuk-Tigín, Sultán of Ghaznín, is said to have acquired possession of Úchchh in 416 H. (1025–26 A.D.), having previously possessed himself of Multán, and, that he subsequently despatched his Wazír, 'Abd-ur-Razzák, to subdue Sind. Mír Ma'súm adds, that the Wazír, having settled the affairs of Bakhar, in 417 H. (1026 A.D.), advanced towards Síw-istán and Thathah, but, by his own account, as well as that of other historians, the *town* of Thathah was not founded until the time of the Jám, Nizám-ud-Dín, *alias* Jám Nandah, upwards of four centuries and a half after this period. The year 417 H. was that in which Sultán Mahmúd undertook the expedition against the idol temple of Somnáth, and returned through Sind by Mansúrah, and, doubtless, on that occasion, he possessed himself of the cities of Sind and reduced parts of the country, at least, under his sway, the reduction of which was subsequently completed by his officers.

The Ghazníwí sovereigns after the time of Mahmúd had so much to contend with on their northern and north-western frontiers, consequent on the invasions by the Saljúks and other "divine figures from the north," that they could pay little attention to Sind; and, after the reign of Sultán 'Abd-ur-Rashíd, the seventh sovereign of the dynasty, who occupied the throne of Ghaznín from 441 to 443 H. (1049—1051–52 A.D.), their hold over Sind became still more relaxed. Subsequently, in the time of the fourteenth sovereign, Sultán Khusrau Sháh, son of Sultán Bahrám Sháh, who reigned from 552 H. to 559 H. (1157 to 1163–64 A.D.), a horde of the Ghuzz Turks, the same who had overthrown and made captive, his great uncle, the Saljúk Sultán, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Sanjar, in 535 H. (1140–41 A.D.),‡ took Ghaznín, Bust, Tigín-ábád, and the whole of the Zamín-i-Dawar; and Sultán Khusrau Sháh had to abandon all his western possessions, cross the Indus, and retire into Hind, making Loháwar or Lohor, now Láhor, his capital.

Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muhammad, son of Sám, the Shansabání Tájzík ruler of the Ghúrián empire, in 569 H. (1173–74 A.D.), with some difficulty, expelled the Ghuzz Turks from Ghaznín and its dependencies, after they had been twelve years in possession, after which he conferred the sovereignty over that State upon his brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad, who had previously been in possession of Tigín-ábád and its dependencies. This Sultán, in 574 H. (1178–79 A.D.), some say in the following year, possessed himself of Úchchh, when on his way against Nahrwálah of Guzerát.

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the statement, lately put forth, that the Bakht-yár Sheráni Afgháns came into their present country (or were brought into it) from Persia, along with Nádir Sháh. *See* note *, page 531, and next page, note **.

* It is a curious fact, that Muhammad, son of Kásim, the 'Arab General, who, after obtaining possession of all Sind, marched against Multán, never once refers to Úchchh which lay directly in his way. That it existed under that name for a long time prior to the period in question is certain.

Úchchh cannot be the "Askalanda" of the Sindián annals, as Elliot imagined, and which he supposed to be the Alexandria of the Greeks, because *both places* are mentioned separately in the same histories. He also confounds "Sikka," of other places in his work, near Multán, written "us-Sikka" by 'Arab writers, which he, or his editor, probably, sometimes writes *Alsaka*, with this same "Askalanda." The Greek theorists appear not to have known how much the Indus, and other rivers of these parts, have changed in the course of ages. Even the old 'Arab geographers do not mention Uchchh.

† Always misnamed "Mahommed Kasim," and "Kasim" by history compilers, and even some translators, as in Elliot's "Historians," make the same error, not a trivial one in mistaking the dead father for the living son. The "Gazetteer of the Province of Sindh" also assures us (page 23), that the invader of Sindh was "Muhammad Kásim Sakifi;" that "Muhammad Kásim Sakifi" was son-in-law of Hajjáj; and that "Muhammad "Kásim left Shiráz in H. 92." Kásim was in his grave long before that time. Sakifí is the name of the family. Hajjáj was a Sakifí as well as his nephew and son-in-law, Muhammad. *See also* the "*History of the* "*Caliphs*," by Jalál-ud-Dín, as-Suyútí, translated by Major H. S. Jarrett, in the "*Bibliotheca Indica*," page 229, note **, where "*Kásim's conquests*" in Sind are referred to instead of those of his son Muhammad.

‡ *See* Tabakát-i-Násiri, page 154.

At this time Úchchh was in the possession of a chief of the Bhaṭí tribe of the Jaṭs, and in the tracts around, and as far east as Bhaṭindah, they are still located.

In 578 H. (1182–83 A.D.) the same Sulṭán led an army into lower Sind, and possessed himself of Díwal, and the whole of the territory lying along the sea coast. In this campaign he acquired vast wealth, and returned to Ghaznín.*

After the assassination of this Sulṭán, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, in 602 H. (1205-6 A.D.), by the Khokhars, another tribe of the Jaṭs (who have been invariably turned into "Gukkurs" and "Gickers," and the like, by history compilers),† his favourite *mamlúks* or slaves succeeded to his dominions, with the sanction of his nephew and successor, Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd, son of Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, before mentioned. One of them, indeed, his favourite, Malik Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, also written Yal-dúz, was nominated by the Sulṭán himself, before his death,‡ his successor to the throne of Ghaznín, and all his western possessions, and Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, son-in-law of I-yal-dúz, over Dihlí and his eastern possessions.

The feudatory of Úchchh, Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Aetamur (or Ai-timur), having been killed in the battle with the forces of Khiṭá and the Maliks of Turkistán near Indá-khúd, also called Andkhúd, in 601 H. (1204–5 A.D.), in which Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, was defeated, he, on his return to Ghaznín, conferred the fief of Úchchh upon another of his slaves, Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah. He was Í-bak's son-in-law, and, as before stated, Í-bak was the son-in-law of I-yal-dúz, for the Sulṭán promoted these matrimonial connections among his *mamlúks.*

After the sudden death of Sulṭán Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, at Lohor, from an accident he met with whilst playing at Chaugán,§ Ḳabá-jah assumed independence and the title of Sulṭán at Úchchh, and possessed himself of Multán, Sindú-stán (otherwise Síw-istán, also called Sihwáṇ) and Díwal or Díbal, and their dependencies, as far as the sea coast, and brought all Sind, as well as the country east of the Wahind or Hakṛá, as far as the limits of Tabarhindah, Kuhṛám, and Sursutí, under his sway.‖ He was ousted from Multán and Úchchh on one occasion by Sulṭán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, who, for a time, held possession of Lohor, but, after the latter's defeat, imprisonment, and death, at the hands of Shams-ud-Dín, I-yal-timish, the slave, son-in-law, and successor of Sulṭán Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, after the short reign of Sulṭán Árám Sháh, who was the adopted son of Í-bak, but who is, by some historians, called his son, Ḳabá-jah recovered those cities and their dependencies once more.¶

Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, soon after this, had to contend with an army of infidel Mughals, under the Nú-ín, Turtáe, who invested Multán for a period of forty-two days. He came from the northwards down the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, in which, it is necessary to remember, both Multán and Úchchh were at this time situated; for those rivers of the Panj-áb, which *now* flow west of Multán, *then* united many miles to the northward of it, and passed both it and Úchchh some distance on the east. They united with the Bíáh about twenty-eight miles below Multán, and with the Hakṛá or Wahind about twenty-five miles south-east of Úchchh. The excessive heat, for it was the hot season, drove Turtáe to abandon the investment, although the place must have surrendered in a few days more; and he retired, plundering the provinces of Multán and Lohor, re-crossed the Indus, and marched towards Ghaznín.

Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, having now established himself over the territories of Úchchh, Multán, and Sind, during the calamities which arose in Bukhárá, in Khurásán, Ghúr, and Ghaznín, consequent on the overthrow of the Musalmán sovereigns by the infidel Mughals, a great number of the chief men, Amírs and Ecclesiastics, of those parts, took shelter in Sind as well as at Dihlí. Those who came into Ḳabá-jah's dominions were amply provided for. It was at or about this period that one of the most venerated of the saints of Úchchh, the Sayyid, Jalál-ud-Dín, Ḥusain, of Bukhárá,** who is also known as Shah Jalál-ud-Dín, and Durr-i-

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* *See* Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, page 453.

† *See* page 361.

‡ *See* Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, page 500.

§ Something similar to Polo of the present day.

‖ Compare a "Memoir of the Synds of Roree and Bukkur," by Captain F. J. Goldsmid, submitted to the Bombay Government in November, 1854, quoted by the author of the "Gazetteer of Sindh."

¶ *See* Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, page 532.

** This is the Makhdúm from whom Úchchh is also known as Úchchh-i-Jalálí, entitled Sháh (he was not a "king," I beg leave to say, any more than the Sayyid, Akbar "Sháh" of Sathánah on the Indus, referred to at page 251, was "king of Swat") Jalál-ud-Dín, which words signify, the Sayyid, the Glory of the Faith or of Religion. He is also known familiarly by some as Sháh, Durr-i-Jalál, or, the Sayyid, the Pearl of Glory or Magnificence.

Jalál, came into these parts and took up his residence at Úchchh. At this time the Shaikh of Shaikhs as he is styled, the Saint of Multán, Bahá-ul-Ḥakk wa ud-Dín, Zakaríyá, was alive. I shall refer to Sayyid Jalál-ud-Dín, Ḥusain, again presently, but, for the present, must finish with Ḳabá-jah.

He had scarcely been rid of Turtác and his Mughals than Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, the Khwárazm Sháh, who, after he had escaped from the meshes of the Mughals by plunging into the Indus,* had received shelter with the Rá'e or chief of the Khokhar Jaṭs of the Koh-i-Júd, Namak-Sár, or Salt Range—who was hostile to Ḳabá-jah, whose territory extended in that direction—sent a force against Ḳabá-jah. Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, to whom the Ra'e had given his daughter in marriage, had re-assembled a number of his dispersed followers around him, and he now despatched them under one of his chief officers, and the Khokhar Rá'e's son, with a body of his tribe, accompanied the Sulṭán's forces. They, making a forced march, made a night attack upon, and surprised, Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, who was encamped near† Úchchh with his forces. Upon this, the latter embarked on board a vessel, and made for his strongholds of Akar and Bakar,‡ which were "two fortresses on two islands in "the river of Sind," according to the generality of historians, but, in one history, the Jámi'-ut-Tawáríkh, it is said that these two fortresses were on *one* island; and Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín himself afterwards came to Úchchh. Ḳabá-jah managed to get back from those strongholds to Multán again, after having to pay down a considerable sum of money to Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín as tribute; and the hot season approaching, the latter returned to the territory of the Khokhar chief again.

In the meantime, the Chingiz Khán had despatched an army of Mughals across the Indus in quest of Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín; and his presence being required in Kirmán and 'Iráḳ, he left the Koh-i-Júd, and set out towards Sind, with the intention of entering Kirmán through Mukrán. On reaching Multán with his small force, he sent to demand a contribution, but Ḳabá-jah, aware that the Mughals were on the move, refused to comply, and Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, who could not delay, moved towards Úchchh, which, also proving hostile, he remained before it for two days, and then set fire to it. From thence he passed on, possessed himself of Síw-istán, and subsequently of Díwal or Díbal, and Damrílah, and from thence passed out of Sind into Mukrán. This was in 621 H. (1224 A.D.); and he had been in Sind and the Koh-i-Júd since his defeat on the Indus in 618 H. (1221 A.D.).

.According to some accounts he had a brother, the Sayyid, Ḥasan, entitled Sháh Jamál-ud-Dín, signifying, the Sayyid, the Splendour of the Faith or of Religion, and familiarly styled, Sháh, Durr-i-Jamál, or Pearl of Splendour, or Magnificence; and he is said to have been the progenitor of that section of the Tarín tribe of the Afgháns, who claim Sayyid descent, and who are known among us as Sayyids of Púshang, the particulars respecting which descent I have given in my account of the Tarín tribe farther on.

Other relatives of the Sayyid, Jalál-ud-Dín are also venerated as saints, one of whom, his grandson, is famous as the Ḳuṭb-i-'Álam or "Pole Star of the Universe," who came into Guzarát and became the spiritual guide of the people of that part. He is buried at Tewah, three kuroh from the city of Aḥmad-ábád. Another of the family was the Sayyid Muḥammad, styled Sháh-i-'Álam, the "Sovereign of the Universe," who is buried at Rasúl-púr just outside the city of Aḥmad-ábád.

* *See* my Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, pages 291–294.

† The Fanákatí says, within a *farsakh*, or league. He also states that Akar and Bakar "was a fortress on "two islands" in the Jíḥún of Sind.

‡ This was in 620 H. (1223 A.D.), and this is the earliest date, I find it specifically mentioned in history, but there can be no doubt that it was built long before this period. Alor is mentioned in the Masálik-wa-Mamálik, written some three hundred years before; and Alor also appears in the map of the valley of the lower Indus contained in that excellent work, but neither Sakhar, Bahkar, nor Rúṛhí appear therein.

Mr. A. W. Hughes, of the Bombay Uncovenanted Civil Service, in his "Gazetteer of the Province of Sindh," under the head of "Bukkur," says:—"*So early* as A.D. 1327, when Sindh was an *appanage* of the Delhi empire, "Bukkur seems to have been a place of note, from the fact of trustworthy persons being employed by the "emperor Muhammad Toghlák to command there."

Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, threw himself off its walls, and perished in the Indus, more than a century before Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, Tughluḳ Sháh, for that was his correct name and title, ascended the throne of Dihlí.

The Shaikh, Ibn Baṭúṭah of Tangiers, came into these parts just a hundred and ten years after Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah's death, namely, in Muḥarram, 734 H. (1333–34 A.D.). He came from Kábul by the Bangas'h route, and through the Chúl-i-Jalálí, mentioned at page 338. He mentions that it is impossible to travel through it except at one season on account of the *samúm* or hot wind. He says:—"We reached the "Panj-Áb safely. This is the place of junction of five rivers, the waters of which irrigate the tracts around. "We were comfortable enough when we reached this river. . . . . The river is the Sind. It is the greatest "of the rivers of the world, and like the Níl (Nile), in the hot season, it overflows its banks, and after this the "people sow their lands. . . . . I next went to Bakár, which is a fine and handsome city, divided by *an arm* "*of the Sind* [he, of course, refers to Bakhar]. Here I met the venerable and pious Shaikh, Shams-ud-Dín, "Muḥammad, of Shíráz. He was remarkable for his great age, which, he informed me, was upwards of one "hundred and twenty years. I then went on to the city of Úchchh," etc. I have inserted what he says about it farther on. Shams-ud-Dín was buried at Multán, where his tomb is still to be seen.

Two years after this, in 623 H. (1226 A.D.), a remnant of the Turk tribe of Khalj, a portion of which tribe had been settled for a long period prior to this time, some three centuries and more, in the Garm-sír of Hirát—but they were not "Ghiljis," nor "Ghilzáes," I beg leave to mention*—and had been in the service of the Khwárazm Sháhs, and whose chief had lately held a fief in the Hirát province, in consequence of the breaking up of the Khwárazmí empire, had to abandon their country, and had now moved towards the Indus and the country of Hind to which their sovereign, the Sulṭán, Jalál-ud Dín had retired, in search of a new home.† Under one of their chiefs, Malik Khán‡ by name, they appeared on the north-west frontier of Sind, from the direction of the country of Bál-yús, which was subsequently known as Ḳandahár, and entered the district of Mansúrah, or Manṣúríah, as it is also called, which is one of the dependencies of Síw-istán, possessed themselves of that district, and appeared before the city of Manṣúrah, after which the district was named.

Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, marched against them with all his available forces, defeated them, and Malik Khán was killed in the engagement, and the Khalj were routed. They fled into the Dihlí territory, and sought the protection of Sulṭán Shams-ud-Dín, I-yal-timish, the rival and enemy of Ḳabá-jah. Making the cause of the Khalj Turks one of his excuses, and a demand for tribute another, in 624 H. (1227 A.D.) I-yal-timish marched against him.§

In this same year, and shortly before the hostile movement of I-yal-timish, the author of the Tabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, flying from his country north-east of Hirát, the whole of the territories around having been ruined, devastated, and depopulated by the infidel Mughals, reached Úchchh from Ghúr and Khurásán by way of Ghaznín, and from Banián, by boat, on the 27th of the month Jamádí-ul-Awwal, 624 H.‖ (May, 1227 A.D.). Being an ecclesiastic of note, the charge of the Fírúzi College of Úchchh, and the Ḳáẓí-ship of the forces under Malik 'Alá-ud-Dín, Bahrám Sháh, Ḳabá-jah's son, were conferred upon him, and thus he was the eye-witness of much that he relates.¶

I-yal-timish moved by way of Tabarhindah, first having despatched the feudatory

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* The Ghalzís were then a comparatively small tribe, dwelling near the skirts of the great western range of Mihtar Sulímán, in the direction of Kasí Ghar, the cradle of the Pus'htúns (mistaken for Ghúr), and which tract they did not leave for some two centuries after this period. *See* Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, pages 548, 583, 1016.

† Communications being interrupted on account of the state of these countries, consequent on the convulsions which arose on the inroad of the Mughals, they probably expected to have joined the Sulṭán in these parts, and were unaware that he had left it, and retired by Mukrán and Kirmán into 'Iráḳ-i-'Ajam.

‡ Afgháns did not adopt the purely Turkish title of Khán for centuries after this, and not until the Lodí Sulṭáns of the Dihlí kingdom began to bestow such titles upon their Afghán supporters. *See* Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, last para. of page 861.

§ It is stated in the Táríkh-i-Ibráhímí that I-yal-timish, with the aid of these Khalj Turks, was able to move against Ḳabá-jah and Úchchh; and, curious enough, as late as the reign of Akbar Bádsháh, the inhabitants of the *maḥáll* of Lakhhí Yúsḳání, in the Bait-Jálandhar Do-ábah of the Multán *Ṣúbah*, were Bhaṭís and Khalj, who furnished, or were rated as able to furnish, 100 horsemen and 1,000 foot for militia purposes.

Three sovereigns of this Turk tribe, and very probably descended from some of these very invaders of Sind, reigned over the Dihlí empire from 689 H. (1290 A.D.) to 715 H. (1315 A.D.), and several as Sulṭáns of Málwah, but many of the Khalj Turks came into Hind with the Sulṭán, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, one of whom was the conqueror of Bengal.

‖ In another place he says, in 625 H., and, apparently, the correct year.

¶ The first person of rank of the Dihlí kingdom with whom the author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí came in contact after his reaching Úchchh, was the Malik, Táj-ud-Dín, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khán, a man of gigantic size, who had arrived there in command of the advanced troops of I-yal-timish. Táj-ud-Dín, Sanjar, at this period had been placed in charge of Wanj-rúṭ (more correctly Wanjh-rúṭ), a district dependent on the territory of Multán. The place which appears in our latest maps as "Winjrote," eleven miles south-south-east of Úbárah, and eight miles east of Khair-púr Dahr ke, is the place referred to. There is another Wanjh-rúṭ some miles farther east, which is also on the old bed of the Hakṛá, the "Beejnote" of Tod, and "Beejnot" of others.

This place (Wanj-rúṭ) was once a city of considerable importance, and lies on the old channel of the Hakṛá or Wahind. It appears to have gone to decay and ruin after the Hakṛá disappeared, or rather, after its feeders and tributaries had been led or deviated into other channels. This must have been at the same time that the course of the Mihrán, which received great part of its waters, also became so greatly changed. The site of Wanj-rúṭ (as the name is written in the original), a few years ago, consisted of a number of dark looking mounds of some fifteen to twenty feet in height, but, embedded in alluvial deposits from inundations, either ancient or recent. The whole site of these mounds would embrace an area of three miles probably. Like Síw-ráhí, the buildings were constructed of bricks of very large size. The same sorts of relics were found here as at Bahman-ábád, such as pottery, glass, coins, particularly the diminutive copper ones found among the ruins of the last-named city. There was likewise the remains of a stone-built idol temple, standing about the centre of what was the town or city, which stone must have been brought from a vast distance, since none is to be found in the country round. The people of the places in the vicinity have, for a long time, been in the habit of carrying away the materials for building purposes, but now, since the same line of railway runs near which has tended to obliterate all traces of Síw-ráhí, mentioned at page 673, note ‖, Wanj-rúṭ is not likely to escape a similar destruction.

I may mention that Malik Táj-ud-Dín, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khán, who was removed from Wanj-rúṭ, after the seizure of Ḳabá-jah's dominions by I-yal-timish, to take charge of Úchchh and its dependencies, died and was buried there. He was succeeded by Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Í-bak, who is styled "of Úchchh," to distinguish him from another Malik of the same name and title.

of Lohor to secure Multán, which he having accomplished, in the month of Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 625 H. (February–March, 1228 A.D.), I-yal-timish appeared before the fortress of Úchchh.

On becoming aware of these hostile movements, Ḳabá-jah, who, throughout his career, does not appear to have been of a very warlike temperament, or the military power of his State was too weak to oppose I-yal-timish in the field, embarked his forces and treasures on vessels, and on the approach of his rival, leaving a garrison in Úchchh, retired to his fortress of Bakhar, I-yal-timish, having completely invested the place, despatched his Wazír, the Niẓám-ul-Mulk, Muḥammad, son of Abú-Sa'íd, the Junaidí, against Bakhar. This was in the hot season of 625 H. (1228 A.D.); and the Wazír, having marched down the river, and reached it, the fortress was invested. Bakhar must have been a very different place then from what it is at present, even if the investing force had all the vessels on the river at command, for him to have invested it effectually; but Kabá-jah appears to have had the vessels at *his* command, With few exceptions, all writers on the subject say, that Bakhar was a *jazírah*, which in the usual acceptation of the word means an island, but it is also used to signify a promontory, and it is doubtful whether the last meaning, coupled with what Ibn Baṭúṭah says, is not the correct one. This, at least, is certain, that there must have been greater facilities for investment at this period, as the context shows, than existed in after years when Humáyún Bádsháh invested it for a long period.

In the meantime, Úchchh having held out for a period of two months and twenty-seven days, surrendered on the 27th of Jamádí-ul-Awwal, 625 H. (May, 1228 A.D.). When news of this disaster reached Ḳabá-jah in Bakhar, he despatched his son, Malik 'Alá-ud-Dín, Bahrám Sháh, to I-yal-timish, to sue for terms of peace, but his son was treacherously detained, and the investment of Bakhar pushed on with vigour, and Ḳabá-jah, having been driven out of the town, had to retire to the citadel. This statement would not be applicable to Bakhar as it exists at present, for the whole island is but 800 yards in length and 300 in breadth, and, at the period in question, the island must have been of much greater area or the town must have been on the main land, on the west.* Finding that his overtures were of no avail, and that his son was detained by his rival, he offered to capitulate, if permitted to send away his other sons and his treasures, but this also was refused. Preferring death to surrender and captivity, and to be subjected to the same treatment as the unfortunate

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* I cannot help thinking, after reading all the different events which have happened at Bakhar, Rúṛhí, and Sakhar, which latter name is written in various ways — سکر — سکهر — and even شکر — that for some considerable time after the Haḳrá or Wahind, became diverted from its old channel, by whatever means accomplished, Bakhar, which name is also written بکهر — بهکّر — and بکر — was a peninsula, and joined the main land on the Sakhar side; that, in course of time, the strength of the current cut its way through the peninsula, and made Bakhar an island, but much larger than at present. After this, the same causes, by wearing away the softer parts through which the stream flowed, formed the smaller islands near it. Having thus, in course of time, cut channels sufficiently large to carry its waters away easily, the current has not since had such an effect on these obstacles in its course, or, all the softer parts having been washed away, the resistance is much greater, and the action of the water not so perceptible.

It is plainly stated that, when Sháh Beg Khán increased and strengthened the former fortifications, Bakhar was an island; for when he, in consultation with his son, took into consideration that it was commanded from the limestone hills on either side, he declared, that he did not mind that, since it was surrounded by water, but there is no mention of any other islands near it. I believe, therefore, that when Ḳabá-jah was invested therein it was a peninsula. If an island, he, having the command of the river by his vessels, might have held out for a considerable time; and it is, moreover, plainly stated that, when the Wazír of I-yal-timish invested it, it was the hot season, when the river is at its highest. Is it conceivable that, at a time before gunpowder was used, any one would or could attempt to assail Bakhar from vessels while the current was running as we know it runs at that season? Another reason why I conceive it must have joined the main land on the west side at this period is, that Ḳabá-jah, driven out of the town or city (*shahr*) as it is called, had to retire to the fortress. This "*shahr*," from all accounts, was of considerable size, but where is there room for a town or city on the island as it now stands? The whole area is comprised in 800 yards of length and 300 of breadth, and if large enough for a town as well as a fortress—but I have never heard that any traces of such a town have been found—where was there room for the investing army even to *stand* upon?

Another subject for consideration is, that the place must have been attacked on the west or city side, and thus, with the exception of down the river, there was no way of escape open to Ḳabá-jah. Some writers state that he attempted to do so, and that, from being overladen, the vessel in which he embarked sank under him, after he had succeeded in getting away in safety.

With regard to the derivation of the name Sakhar, the fact of a dam or dyke having been mentioned in connection with the diverting of the river Haḳṛá or Wahind, from its former course, the word *sikr*, "a mound," "dam," or "dyke for keeping out water," would naturally arise, but that is an 'Arabic word, and not likely to have been used in a Hindú country, before the 'Arab conquest at least. Al-Bálázarí or Báládarí (*vul.* Al Biláduri), the historian, mentions the "Sikr-ul-Med"—not *Sakr*, as in Elliot—but he does not state where it was situated. He mentions Alor immediately after, but Ḳuṣdár immediately before. The Meds are mentioned by him as a people, but it is a strange coincidence that the Hindí for a dam or dyke is *menḍ*.

Sakhar was also known in former times, but not very anciently, I believe, as Chiprí Bandar.

Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, had been subjected to by his rival, I-yal-timish, Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Kabá-jah, cast himself from the walls of the fortress on the night of Thursday, the 19th of Jamádí-ul-Ákhir (June), and was drowned, after the investment had lasted for one month and nineteen days. He had reigned over Sind, Úchchh, and Multán for a period of twenty-two years.*

Subsequently, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Khashlú Khán, who appears to have been nearly connected with, or related to, the Shamsíáh Sulṭáns, seeing that he was always treated with great leniency, notwithstanding his rebellions and disaffection, received the investiture of the territories of Úchchh and Multán, early in the reign of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh. Some time after he again became rebellious, and at last threw off his allegiance to the Dilhí throne, undertook a journey into 'I-rák, to the camp of Hulákú Khán, and finally received a Shaḥnah or Commissioner from the Mughals, and became their vassal. At this time the whole of the present Panj-áb, as far as the banks of the old bed of the Bíáh, was in the possession of the Mughals, who retained possession of the greater part of it for a considerable time.

Úchchh remained subject to Dihlí, together with Sind and Multán, for a long period of time, and figures in history upon several occasions, but space forbids my going into much further detail. Mírzá Pír Muḥammad, grandson of the Amír, Tímúr, the Gúrgán, after having taken Multán, acquired possession of Úchchh, and also of Bakhar, at which time the Laiṣí Sayyids, now known as the Sayyids of Rúṛhí and Bakhar, were dwelling in the latter place, and the chief among them, Abú-l-Laiṣ, came forth with others to receive Pír Muḥammad, who conferred upon him the district of Alor or Aror as a rent-free grant.†

Soon after the retirement of Amír Tímúr beyond the Indus, Sind became independent for a time; and Multán and Úchchh, and their dependencies, fell into the hands of the Langáh Jaṭs, several rulers from which tribe ruled over them for four generations. Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, son of Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún Mughal, referred to in the account of Síwí at page 587, took Úchchh from the Langáhs and their Balúch supporters, and made the Ghárá the boundary between Sind and the Multán territory; for the Bíáh had then deserted its old bed, and the Sutlaj its bed also, and both flowed in one channel. Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain commanded that a new fortress should be built at Úchchh, and that fortress, Mír Ma'ṣúm, himself a Sayyid of Bakhar, writing in the year 1007 H. (1608–9 A.D.), says, was still standing.

I cannot afford space to say much more about Úchchh and its sieges, at present, but one remarkable one is worth relating; and what I here relate, and have related, I may mention, will not be found save in this work, and in my Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí.‡

When Kyuk, son of Uktáe, son of the Chingiz or Great Khán, succeeded his father in 639 H. (1241–42 A.D.), he gave directions for the despatch of several armies into different parts of Asia. The Nú-ín, Mangútah, who was at the head of the Mughal *mings* or *hazárahs* located in Tukháristán, Khatlán, and the territories of Ghaznín, was directed to invade the states of Sind, and he accordingly marched his forces towards Úchchh and Multán, and the Musalmán Maliks of Turkistán, who were subject to the Mughals, had to accompany him, and fight against their Musalmán brethren,§ whether they liked it or not.

At this period Loháwar or Lohor was in a state of desolation, it having, some time before, been sacked by another Mughal army. Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Ḥasan, the Ḳárlúgh Turk, at this time, held possession of Multán, which he had lately seized, having been expelled from his own territory by the Mughals; and Hindú Khán, Mihtar-i-Mubárak, the Treasurer, was governor of the city and fortress of Úchchh for the Sulṭán of Dihlí, but he was not present, and the Khwájah Saṛáe (Eunuch), Ṣáliḥ, was the Koṭ-wál in charge. On Mangútah's reaching the banks of the river Sind with the Mughal army, Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Ḥasan, the Ḳárlúgh, abandoned the fortress and city of Multán, embarked on board a vessel, and proceeded by the Bíáh

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* *See* my Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, pages 544 and 612.

† This was in the year 800 H. (1397–98 A.D.), after defeating the Bhaṭí tribe of Bhaṭí-Wá'han. The ancestor of the Laiṣí Sayyids, father of Abú-l-Laiṣ-i-Hindí, who is mentioned in the Chach Námah, came into Sind with the 'Arabs, and was present in the battle in which Rájah Dáhir was slain. When Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún Mughal, took up his residence within the fortress of Bakhar, there not being sufficient accommodation therein, the Laiṣí Sayyids asked to be allowed to take up their residence in Lúṛhí or Rúṛhí, and dwellings were accordingly assigned to them there. *See* note *, preceding page; also compare a "Memoir on "the Syuds of Roree and Bukkur," by Captain F. J. Goldsmid, 37th Madras N. I.

‡ *See* pages 1150 to 1156 of that work.

§ As the Turk-máns of Marw will certainly be called upon to do, and not improbably Afgháns too, along with Tájziks and Hazaráh people.

and Hakṛá, probably, to Sindú-stán [that is, Síw-istán, the present Sihwáṇ], and Díwal. Mangútah advanced to the foot of the walls of Úchchh, invested it, and the fighting commenced. He destroyed the environs and devastated the neighbourhood around the place, but the defenders put forth the utmost exertions and diligence, defended the fortress with vigour, and "despatched," to use the expressive words of the author, "great numbers of the Mughal infidels to hell."

"Notwithstanding all the efforts of the Mughal troops and their Nú-íns and Bahádurs, the garrison continued steadfastly to defend the head of the breach which had been effected, until one of the famous Bahádurs* of the Mughals, who had been away elsewhere on some other duty, returned to Mangútah's presence. He, in his arrogance, began to reproach Mangútah, saying, 'What paltry stronghold and 'fortification is this in the taking of which thou makest so much delay and hesitation? 'I would take it in a single assault.' The following night he made his preparations, put a great number of Mughals under arms, and, suddenly and unexpectedly, in the third watch of the night, under cover of the darkness, at which time the guards on the walls took repose, and the men within the fortress had gone to sleep, he appeared on the top of the breach. The defenders, however, had mixed a vast quantity of water and clay together in rear of the breach, and had prepared a quagmire more than a spear's length in depth. The Mughal Bahádur planted his foot within the breach, under the supposition that it was firm ground, but fell into the quagmire and sank therein. The people of the fortress, who had now become on the alert, raised a shout, brought out torches, and the discomfited Mughals retired." "The next day," again to use the actual words of the historian, "they deputed persons, requesting the defenders to give up the Bahádur who had been taken prisoner the previous night, in order that the army might raise the investment and depart. As that accursed one had gone to hell, and had sunk into the black water and slimy mud, to give him up was impossible; so the people of the fortress denied having taken him prisoner. In short, through the grace of the Most High God, causes were brought about, by means of which the Musalmáns of Úchchh might continue safe and secure from the tyrannical hand of the infidel Mughals. One of these causes was this, that, when the Mughals appeared before Úchchh, the Musalmáns of that fortress sent an account of it to Dihlí, imploring assistance in repelling them, and Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh, animated and inspired by the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam,† assembled the hosts of Hindústán, and moved towards the upper provinces for the purpose of driving off the Mughal invaders. The writer of these words, Minháj-i-Saráj, during that holy expedition against the infidels, was in attendance at the august stirrup of the Sulṭán."

"When the sublime standards reached the banks of the river Bíáh, the army moved along its banks towards Úchchh, as has been previously related and recorded. On the Mughal forces becoming aware of the advance of the forces of Islám, and the vanguard of the warriors of the faith having reached within a short distance of the territory [of Úchchh], the Mughals did not possess the power of withstanding them. They retired disappointed from before the fortress of Úchchh, and went away; and that fortress, through the power of the sovereign of Islám, and the Divine aid, remained safe from the wickedness of those accursed ones."

When this attack upon Úchchh was made, that place lay about mid-way between the east banks of the Sind or Indus and the Bíáh and other united rivers; for, at this period, between Úchchh and the Sind or Indus there was no long stretch of river, consisting of the united Panj-Áb, Panj-Nad, or Five Rivers, running in one stream as at present, *west* of it, and extending from "Puttun Bhukree" of the maps to Miṭ-hí dá Koṭ, a distance of some twenty-five miles or more, but *east* of it, and the Ghárá, here, was then unknown.‡ Multán, likewise, lay west of the united Jihlam, Chin-áb, and

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* Bahádur, among the Mughals, was a degree of rank, next to a Nú-ín or Núyán.

† Who afterwards succeeded his son-in-law, the Sulṭán, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh, to the Dihlí throne, and assumed the title of Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban. The latter is his Turkish name; for he was a Turk of the Ilbarí tribe, and Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín was his Musalmán title. Ulugh means great in Turkish, and A'ẓam, in 'Arabic, greatest or supreme.

‡ This great volume of water (including the united Bíáh and Sutlaj, both of which, after their junction, lose their names and are known as the Ghárá or Haríárí), and known to us as the Panj-Nad or Five Rivers, appears to have taken a course, west of Úchchh, since these surveys were made, and as the descriptions of the routes prove. But the changes which have continually taken place (and are still taking place more or less), makes it impossible to say how long before these surveys were made these rivers may have flowed in a different direction, and how often their courses may have changed since. The signs and proofs of immense changes, however, still remain to prove them, and yet archæologists expect to find towns on their banks mentioned in Alexander's expedition.

The Shaikh, Ibn Baṭúṭah of Tangiers, travelled into these parts, just exactly one century after the

Ráwí, for these streams then flowed on the east side of Multán, therefore, that place and Úchchh lay in one and the same Do-ábah, no river intervening between them. The great army from Dihlí first marched to Láhor and crossed the Ráwí, and then marched towards Úchchh. The united Jihlam and Chin-áb having been crossed above the junction of the Ráwí with them, by keeping along the west bank of the united streams, and lower down, keeping along the line of the Bíáh, the army would have no Panj-Nad to cross in the proximity of the Mughals, who might have opposed it (for the Ghárá or Haríárí was unknown at the time), the relieving army would, by such a flank m vement, not only cover Multán, but cut off the retreat of the enemy in the direction of the Abáe-Sin or Indus. It was the fear of this that caused Mangútah to abandon the siege of Úchchh and precipitately retire.

The Hundredth Route. From the Dera'h of Ghází Khán to Rúṛhí and Shikár-púr by way of Úchchh, consisting of two roads.

" *First Road.*—Setting out from Úchchh, you proceed a distance of twelve kuroh in the direction of south-west, and reach Janín-púr, which is a *ḳaṣba'h* or market town of some size, under the rule of Baháwal Khán, the Dá'úd-pútrah. From thence you go another stage of fourteen kuroh, in the same direction as before, and reach the Gaṛhí of Ikhtiyár Khán, mentioned in a previous route.* This is a town of considerable size under the sway of the Bijjarán.† Leaving it, a stage of seven kuroh brings you to Tarindá, and the Sind river flows about ten kuroh away on the right hand. From that place you have to proceed nine kuroh to Bahádur-púr; then two kuroh and half to Bhaṭí Wá'han,‡ from which you continue onwards, the three last stages being in the same general direction as before, for another five kuroh, and reach the small town of Aḥmad-púr.

" Leaving the last-mentioned place, and proceeding in a direction more to the westward, about west-south-west, for four kuroh, you come to Sarwáhí,§ near which are the remains of a lofty fortress on a mound, and, continuing onwards in the same direction for another four kuroh, you reach Ṣafdar dá Koṭ. Setting out from thence, another stage of seven kuroh takes you to Bádrá. Going another stage of eight kuroh, but in a direction nearly south-west, you reach Mír-púr. From thence you proceed five kuroh and a half, in a direction more to the west-south-west, and reach Máṭhí-lá or Máṭhí-lah‖ which is a very ancient *ḳaṣba'h*, situated on a high mound;

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surrender of Úchchh to Sulṭán I-yal-timish, namely in 725 H. (1324–25 A.D.). He says:—" I then proceeded on to the city of Úchchh, which is a large city, situated on the Sind river [not the Mihrán]. The " ruling Amír, at the period of my reaching it, was Al-Malik-al-Fáẓil-al-Sharíf [signifying the Excellent and " Eminent Malik] Jalál-ud-Dín, al-Kabjí (Kafchí ?), a very brave and generous personage."

* Neither this place, nor the preceding one, appear in our maps.

† A branch of the Jaṭú-í Balúchís.

‡ Another of the *maḥálls* of the Multán *Sarkár* of the *Ṣúbah* of Multán in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí is Bhúrtí Wá'han, but, there is no doubt that this is the identical place, which in those days was so called, and was the head place of the *maḥáll.* It was assessed at 1,336,029 *dáms;* the inhabitants of the district were Bhúlidís and Raj-púts; and they were rated at 200 horsemen, and 2,000 foot for militia purposes.

At the time that the Mírzá, Pír Muḥammad, grandson of Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, was unable to take the field, after he had obtained possession of Úchchh and Multán, through having lost such a number of horses, the people of Bhaṭí Wá'han broke out, and rebelled against his authority. Having, however, received a great number of horses from his grandfather's camp, some 30,000 it is said, he moved against them, and brought destruction upon them. In Elliot's " India," Vol. 1, page 229, the translator turns the name of this *place* into " Bhatti *and* Ahan," and in a footnote has " Aman "—a man's name !

§ This was the chief town of another of the *maḥálls* of the Berún-i-Panj-Nad, or Extra-Panj-Áb district, and was the westernmost of those on the Indus as it flows at present. It adjoined the Úbárah *maḥáll* of the Bakhar *Sarkár* on the east. Close to the present town, which lies about six miles east-north-east from Sabzal-Koṭ, are the ruins of its fortress, which was one of the six strong fortresses of Sind—and this was a frontier fortress—which Sáhsí, son of Sihras Rá'e, strengthened by increasing the height of the mounds on which they stood, as related at page 666. This mound a few years since stood some fifty feet above the surrounding country, and the fortress was upwards of a quarter of a mile around. It was built of bricks of very large size, but some stone pillars and carvings have been found from time to time; and glass, pottery, beads, and other such like relics as are to be found at Bahman-ábád, are also found here, also pottery balls, such as the 'Arabs and others used for their balistas before the invention of gunpowder, and which some innocent people believe to have been " ancient cannon-balls." The great mound on which the ancient town stood lies near by, but it is not so lofty, although of much greater extent. But alas for the ancient sites in this part ! The railway Vandals, I am told, have been tearing down the old walls of the fortress, and carrying off the bricks *for ballast for their railways;* and soon all trace of it will be lost, as well as of other ancient sites not far away.

In the Chach-Náma'h the name of this place is written Síw-rá'í, but, in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, it is Síw-ráhí, and as above written. This *maḥáll* paid but a small amount of revenue, next to the least in the whole Do-ábah, the total amounting to but 28.000 *dáms.* The inhabitants were Dahrs, and they had to furnish 20 horsemen and 200 footmen for militia purposes.

‖ This place, like Síw-ráhí, was one of the six chief fortresses of Sind, standing on a lofty mound, at the

and continuing onwards in the same direction as before for another eight kuroh, you arrive at Chachar.* The next stage, a longer one of ten kuroh in the direction of south-south-west, brings you to Dabar Wá'han; and the last stage of six kuroh in the direction of west-south-west takes you to Rúṛhi or Lúṛhí†, which is a town of considerable size on the east or left bank of the Sind river, under the rule of Mír Suhráb, nephew (brother's son) of Mír, Ḥájí Bijjar, and Shikár-púr lies on the other or right hand as you proceed, distant about fourteen kuroh. Aror, the ancient capital of Sind,‡ lies among the low, rocky hills, which run towards the south from the town of Rúṛhí, about two kuroh and a half on the left hand.

"*Second Road.*—From Úchchh-i-Sharíf you proceed a distance of eleven kuroh in the direction of south-south-west, inclining south, to Khán Belah; and Janín-púr, mentioned in the preceding route, lies away on the right hand about three kuroh distant. From this small town of Khán Belah, the territory of Baháwal Khán, the Dá'úd-pútrah terminates. From thence you go on a distance of five kuroh, still following nearly the same direction as before, to Jijjí Wá'han,§ and another short stage of four kuroh takes you to the Gaṛhí of Ikhtiyár Khán, previously noticed.

"Leaving the before-mentioned Gaṛhí, you have to go a stage of nine kuroh, still following much the same direction as before, to 'Alí Murád Tarandá. From thence proceeding seven kuroh you reach Horal, after which you go five kuroh and reach Bahádur-púr, mentioned in the previous route, and then on to Aḥmad-púr, a distance of eight kuroh, which place is likewise mentioned in the account of the previous road. The next stage of over six kuroh, in the same direction as before, brings you to Ṣafdar-púr, which is also called Sakral-púr, and you then go another stage of the same distance and reach Úbárá or Úbárah, another old place, and the principal one of the district.|| Leaving this, you continue to wend your way in the direction of south-west for a distance of eight kuroh to Mír-púr, also mentioned in the previous route.

"From Mír-púr you have to go by way of Máṭhí-lá or Máṭhí-lah, and Chchar to Dabar Wá'han, described in the previous route. From the last-named place you proceed in the direction of west, inclining to the south-west, for a distance of twelve kuroh, and, leaving Rúṛhí away on the left hand, you reach the banks of the Sind river opposite Bakhar.¶ Another two kuroh, in the same direction as before, crossing

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foot of which used to be an expanse of water. There are numerous ancient ruins lying about near by, and some enormous trees. It was the principal town of the *maḥáll* of the same name, situated south-west of Úbárah. It belonged to the Bakhar *Sarkár* of the Multán *Ṣúbah*, and was the farthest *maḥáll* of Bakhar in that direction. Its revenue was 1,353,713 *dáms;* free grants to the value of 28,944 *dáms;* the inhabitants were Zháríjahs, who had to furnish as militia 500 horsemen and 1,000 foot. In Blochmann's printed edition of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, this name is incorrectly printed *Mánḥílah.*

* Daulat Chachar of the Sind Revenue Survey map.

† Sometimes written with a short vowel Luṛhí and Ruṛhí.

‡ Even as late as the time of Akbar Bádsháh, Aror or Alor gave name to one of the *maḥálls* of the Bakhar *Sarkár* of the *Ṣúbah* of Multán. There was a fort there still occupied; the *maḥáll* paid 1,132,150 *dáms* of revenue; the free grants amounted to the equivalent of 20,550 *dáms;* and the inhabitants of the *maḥáll* were Jháríjahs or Zháríjahs (the name is written both ways) who had to furnish 200 horsemen, and 500 footmen for militia purposes.

§ This place does not appear in recent maps. In other works the name is written Jijh or Jichh Wá'han. *See* page 593.

|| Úbáwarah, as it is also written, was one of the seventeen *maḥálls* of the Multán *Sarkár* of the Multán *Ṣúbah*, and was situated in the Berún-i-Panj-Nad or district outside the Five Rivers, as I have already noticed. The inhabitants were Dhars; they enjoyed free grants to the amount of 4,684 *dáms;* paid revenue to the amount of 915,256 *dáms;* and the *maḥáll* was rated as liable to furnish 30 horsemen, and 500 foot for militia purposes. The place mentioned above was the principal one in the *maḥáll.*

¶ The town dependent on the fortress of Bakhar, which, from all accounts, was a place of considerable extent, was the principal place in the Bakhar *maḥáll*, of the *Sarkar* of, or dependent on, the fortress and town which gave it name, and it was a *Sarkár* of the *Ṣúbah* of Multán. The fortress is described as a strong place in Akbar Bádsháh's time. The revenue of the district was, however, very small in comparison, amounting in all to but 74,362 *dáms;* and the people were Mahrs and Rahárs, who had to furnish 500 horsemen and 1,000 footmen for militia purposes. In Blochmann's printed text of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí the names of the two tribes have been made one word of, thus, "*Mahrorahár.*"

Abú-l Faẓl, in his Á'ín-i-Akbarí, strange to say, makes the great error of mistaking Bakhar, or Bhakkar, as he writes it, for Manṣúrah; and others, from the imperfect translation of that work by Gladwin, have followed him. Abú-l-Faẓl says, in the original, "Bhakkar is a fine fortress; in old writings it is named Manṣúrah," but all the "old writings" say quite the contrary. How this mistake could have occurred it is not easy to imagine; for Abú-l-Faẓl is generally correct, where it is not his interest to be otherwise. There is one way in which the error may have originated. When he completed his work, the territory dependent on Ṭhaṭhah had only recently passed out of the possession of the Tar-Kháns, and fallen under Akbar Bádsháh's sway (in November, 1591 A.D.); and in his account of the new province, which included all Sind not dependent on the Bakhar territory, which had been independent of the Tar-Kháns, Abú-l-Faẓl's information does not seem so very perfect, for his details are not so great respecting it. The account of the Ṭhaṭhah province merely contains the names of the *Sarkárs* and *maḥálls*, and the sums they are assessed in, but the tribes inhabiting them, and other particulars given about the other provinces are wanting.

However, many older historians show where Manṣúrah was situated. According to one of the earliest, the

the Sind river, by boat, and passing the fortress of Bakhar, also written Bhakhar, by the way, brings you to Sakhar. Khwájah ká Ṭhán, standing on an elevated rocky island in the river, lies near to Bakhar, and between that fortress and Rúṛhí.

"The tract of country passed through between Úchchh and Rúṛhí, and Úchchh and Bakhar and Sakhar, by this and the preceding line of road, contains much cultivation and numerous villages and towns. Mír-púr, herein mentioned, is situated on the banks of the Sind river,* and the other places mentioned are mostly towns of considerable size. The Sind river hereabouts flows in two or three branches, embracing a breadth altogether of between six and seven kuroh. The governors of these parts, from time to time, have cut canals from the river, and brought water therefrom for irrigation purposes, but, except in time of the inundations of the river, they are totally dry. The lands are *lalmí*, or dependent on rain, nevertheless, they cannot come to perfection without the aid of irrigation from these canals; indeed, at most times, except under the most favourable circumstances, there is often danger of scarcity.

Masálik wa Mamálik, and the map contained therein (which Abú-l-Faẓl cannot have been acquainted with, or he would never have made this mistake), some distance below Sindú-stán, or Síw-istán, now Sihwán, the Mihrán or Indus makes a great bend to the eastward in the form of a half circle, and again unites with the main stream about half way between Síw-istán and its junction with the ocean, a considerable distance east of the city of Díwal or Díbal, "*w*" and "*b*" being interchangeable—which well known place, Abú-l-Faẓl also mistakes for Ṭhaṭhah, which was not founded for centuries after Díbal was taken by the 'Arabs, and after Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, captured it, and which seaport was well known to the English merchants in the seventeenth century, *as well as* Ṭhaṭhah.

Manṣúrah, according to the map above referred to, appears as situated about two thirds of the distance, comprised within the half circle, southwards, and on the western bank of that branch of the great river. Thus it would be some forty-two miles north-east of the present Ḥaidar-ábád, on the west bank of the *puránah* or old Nárá river—the ancient Hakṛá or Wahind—and some forty miles south-south-east of the site of the great ruined city of Bahman-ábád, founded by Bahman, sovereign of Í-rán Zamín, not by Bráhmans, as some have assumed.

This position assigned to Manṣúrah in the Masálik wa Mamálik, agrees with the statements of Aḥmad, son of Yaḥyá, the Báláẓarí, who says that "Manṣúrah lay *ten* farsakhs (in the original referred to by Elliot, the "ده — *ten*, has been mistaken for دو — *two*, a mistake which often occurs) from Bahman-ábád."

The author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, in his account of the body of Khalj Turks retiring from the Bál-yús territory, afterwards known as Ḳandahár, their appearing on the north west frontier of Sind, and their entering the *arẓ* or district of Manṣúrah (page 539), distinctly states, that Manṣúrah itself was a city of the Sindú-stán or Síw-istán province or territory (at this period, even, Ṭhaṭhah had not been founded), and this shows, that the tract of country embraced between this bend of the Mihrán was the *arẓ* of Manṣúrah.

The late Sir H. Elliot, who knew not the right position of Bahman-ábád, for it was only discovered and its site explored after his decease, and who appears to have been unaware of the vast changes which have, from time to time, taken place in the bed of the Indus and its tributaries, imagined that the modern Ḥaidar-ábád occupied the site of Manṣúrah, and the Fúlailí branch of the Indus to be the great bend to which I refer, but as he was so greatly mistaken as to the site of "Brahmanabad," as he calls it, his error as to Manṣúrah naturally followed. *See* also note *, page 560.

According to the descriptions I have noticed, the site of Manṣúrah must be sought to the westward of the Nárá, somewhere south-east of the present Mír-púr, and about fifty or fifty-five miles to the eastward of Ḥaidar-ábád. South of Bahman-ábád, as far down as the borders of the *rann* of Kachchh, the country contains a number of ruins of former cities.

Bakhar, therefore, is certainly not Manṣúrah, which is the more ancient of the two, and is two hundred miles from it.

Sakhar, Bakhar, and Rúṛhí were known to the English merchants nearly two centuries ago. Mr. Joseph Salbanke, who made a voyage through India, Persia, and Turkey, the Persian Gulf, and Arabia, in 1609, says of "Reuree, Buckar, and Suker":—

"*Reuree* is a towne consisting of husbandmen, and painfull people, who deal also in merchandise, as cotton cloth, indico, and other commodities, and are a peacable people to deale withall.

"*Buckar* stands towards *Lahor*, where we received kind entertainment of the Gouernour. Sword blades are very good chaffer in this towne: my-selfe having experience, who might have had ten pounds sterling for my sword, the blade being but worth a noble in *England*. Close by this Citie of Buckar runneth the Riuer *Damiadee*, which within eight days iourney runneth into the Riuer of Synde, which falleth into the Ocean Sea, between the countreys of *Guadel* and *Guzerat*. On the Riuer passe Barkes of fortie and fiftie Tunnes, by means whereof, there is traffique unto diuerse parts of *India*.

"*Sucker* is situated on an Iland [!] in the middle of the Riuer, and consisteth most of Weauers and Diers, which serue the country round about. At *Sucker* we stayed foure and twentie days for a safe conuoy to *Candahar*," etc.

The writer appears to have mistaken Sakhar for Bakhar. His mention of the river Damiadee is curious and important. In an old Atlas I have, published in London in 1766, this same Damiadee runs nearly parallel to the Indus which unites with it south-east of Ṭhaṭhah, and enters the *rann* of Kachch; in fact, it represents the former course of the Hakṛá or Wahind above Bakhar and Úchchh, and the course of the Nárá below Bakhar downwards; and its size is represented as large as the Indus. Other travellers also notice it.

I shall refer to these matters at greater length in an article on the Hakṛá and its disappearance, of which I prepared a rough draft some years ago as a note to the investment of Úchchh in my Translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," which I mislaid, and feared I had lost, but it has turned up again very recently.

In the account of Sir Thomas Roe's voyage, undertaken shortly after Salbanke's visit to Sakhar, Bakhar, and Rúṛhí, "*Buckar*" is mentioned as "the chief city so called, *Buckar Suckar* lies upon the river Sindu or "Indus . . . west confines upon the *Balouches*, a kind of rude warlike people."

* Mír-púr, at the present time, or according to the latest maps, is sixteen miles from the Indus.

"On the left hand, as you proceed from Úchchh, lies a great *chúl* or desert, a vast sandy tract devoid of inhabitants.

"As before mentioned, in the midst of the Sind river, a short distance from Rúṛhí, and between it and the fortress of Bakhar, there is a small rocky hill, about seventy *gaz* in height. From bottom to top there are stone steps, cut out of the rock, probably, and on the top of this island is an open space, containing an area of about two hundred *gaz*, in the centre of which space there is a domed *ḥujrah* or chamber, and that is what is known as Khwájah ká Ṭhán, or the Khwájah's Place, and it is a place of pilgrimage to which both Hindús as well as Musalmáns come to offer up their prayers. Within the chamber there is a *chabútarah* or platform, in length and breadth about three *gaz* or a little less; and near this *chabútarah* there is a great cave the extent of which no one knows. In the time of the inundation of the Sind, in the hot season, not more than about six or eight *gaz* of the island on which the Khwájah's Ṭhán stands remains above the water.

"When this place was first occupied by a devotee, who made it his place of residence and there performed his devotions, it was not an island, but lay within one of the quarters of the township of Rúṛhí, but, not long afterwards, through a change in the course of the Sind, it became completely surrounded by water.* An inscription within the *ḥujrah* referred to, gives, in letters, the year 341 H. (952-53 A.D.), as the date of its erection. This was during the time of the Sámánís, and the reign of Amír Núḥ, son of Aḥmad, ruler of Bukhárá.

"About half a kuroh more or less to the westward of this Ṭhán there is another island of much greater extent, and on that the fortress of Bakhar stands."

West of it again, and between it and Sakhar, there is a still smaller island famous as that of the Satí, where is a tomb and shrine known as that of the Seven Chaste Maidens; and the date thereon, in letters, corresponds with the year 384 H. (994–95 A.D.), the year in which the Sámání ruler, Amír Núḥ, son of Manṣúr, son of Núḥ, above mentioned, conferred the government of Khurásán upon the Amír, Náṣir-ud-Dín-i-Sabuk-Tigín, father of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghaznín.

Hundred and First Route. From Kábul to Ghaznín by way of Ḥiṣárak and the Tangaey of the Wardags, a distance of fifty-six kuroh.

The route leading from Kábul to Baghzaṇ by the Chhár Dih or Hindka'í, the Chhár Ásiyá, Nún-yáz, Gum-ráhan or Gumrán and Khúrdagán, by Zarghún S'hahr, the Khúshí Dara'h, and Dobandí, has been described at page 68 of these "Notes;" and that leading to Ghaznín by Zarghún S'hahr and Ḥiṣárak, by the Sugáwand Ghás'haey, at page 72.

"At Gum-ráhan or Gumrán,† the eastern road from the city of Kábul and the Bálá-Ḥiṣár, over the *Úláng* or *Jal-gáh* of the Siyah Sang by the Bíní-i-Ḥiṣár, unites with that coming from the western side, by the Dih-i-Mazang, the Gázar-gáh, over the *Úláng* or *Jal-gáh* of Tebá,‡ by Hindka'í or the Chhár Dih or Chhár Bágh villages, as they are also called, to Gum-ráhan or Gumrán.

"At this last-named point, the routes leading southwards separate into two. The left-hand, or easternmost one, leads over the river of Lohgar, or Logar as it is also written, to Zarghún S'hahr, as has been described at page 69, as well as the road to Ghaznín by Zarghún S'hahr and Hiṣárak at page 72, but the right-hand, or westernmost road, now under description, leaves Gum-ráhán a short distance on the left hand, and without crossing the river of Lohgar,§ and leads along its bank by the Dih or village of Muḥammad Ághá, and then through the *tangaey* or gorge of Bek Wúghchán, where you first enter the Dara'h of Lohgar, and by the large village of

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* *See* note *, page 670.

† Now generally written Gumrán, but the word is, correctly, Gum-ráhán, the plural form of the Persian adjective gum-ráh, from *gum*, "lost," and *ráh*, "road," and, in its compound form, signifying, "erring," "astray," "gone astray," "abandoned," depraved." As it is the name applied to two villages of the Tájzíks, lying on either side of the river of Lohgar, its literal meaning would be "the villages of the erring ones," or, "of those gone astray." This is a very old place; it is mentioned as far back as 1205 A.D. *See* pages 69 and 691, also "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note 7, page 492.

‡ This *jal-gáh* takes its name from a village in it, which name is written Tebá or Teba'h. It is turned into "*Thaba*" in the maps.

§ The word is written both ways, but Lohgar is no doubt the correct one. Foreigners, Afgháns included, dwelling in tracts where Hindí speaking people have dwelt, or where they dwell, almost always drop the "*h*" in such words.

Kalangar, and Pátakh-Áb-i-Shaḥnah, or Pátaḳ-Áo-i-Shaḥnah,* to Ḥiṣárak, from which place several routes branch off. Immediately facing it on the west, on the other side of the river, is a high range, which runs away to the west-north-west, and bounds the dara'h or valley leading to the *Tangaey*-i-Waṛdag on the north.

Ḥiṣárak, the Little Ḥiṣár or Fortlet, which name has been vitiated in some of our maps to 'Isarak,' is a large village, or small town rather, of the Tájzíks, in the Dara'h of Lohgar, giving name to a sub-district, a dependency of that *tomán* or district, and is situated in the southernmost part of the *tomán* afore-mentioned. Ḥiṣárak is a most important place, commanding, as it does, the whole of the routes north, south, east, and west.

"From Ḥisárak one road leads eastward to the Khúshí Dara'h, which is included in the district of Lohgar, distant about six kuroh, and, on the way thither, you have to pass over sandy and stony ground for some distance, going up the bed of the Dobandí river, which drains into the river of the Lohgar Dara'h, or river of Gardaiz, as it is also called,† by a gradual ascent, with lofty ranges of mountains on either side, beyond one of which, towards the right hand or south, lie Taghraṇ‡ and Al-tímúr. These mountains increase in elevation as you proceed eastwards; and a hilly tract of much lesser elevation, leading to Zarghún S'hahr, lies on the left hand or north.

"Leaving Ḥisárak, you proceed in a southerly direction as before, up the valley of the Lohgar river or river of Gardaiz, for rather more than one kuroh, when you cross the river by a ford near that village to the opposite side. The village of Pátakh-Áb-i-Shaḥnah, or Pátaḳ-Áo-i-Shaḥnah, situated on the same river, lower down stream (north), and mentioned in previous routes, lies away about one kuroh and a half on the right hand, and Kalangar, beyond it again in the same direction. Pátakh-Áb-i-Roghán, and the Dih-i-Doshínah, also mentioned in a previous route, lie near by on the left hand (south). Taghraṇ, previously mentioned above, and in the First Route, a large village contained in the *tomán* or district of Lohgar (from which, by the high gorge constituting the *Kotal*-i-Uchagán, the village of Sa'ad-ullah Khán,§ in the Dara'h of Khúshí, lying in the direction of north-east, and distant rather more than five kuroh, can be reached), lies about two kuroh south-east.

"At Taghraṇ the road leading to Segí of Khost by Gardaiz and the Dera'í of the Mián Khel, described at page 75, branches off, and also that leading from Gardaiz to Ghaznín through Zurmat, described at page 684.

"From the village of Pátaḳ-Áo-i-Roghán‖ two other routes branch off: one, towards the south-east, by Taghraṇ and Al-tímúr, leads into Gardaiz and Zurmat by the Chashmah-i-Tarah Pass, mentioned by Bábar Bádsháh, and the other in the direction of south, by Charkh,¶ an ancient and well known place, to Gardaiz in one direction,

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* Bábar Bádsháh writes the name of this place پتاخاب شحنه, and Báyazíd, the follower of his son, Humáyún Bádsháh, who was a Byát Mughal, writes it, or rather the scribe who wrote the MS., پاتا و شحنه and پادا و شحنه the د and ت being interchangable, but, as the MS. is written the و stands in the place of the conjunction "and." On consideration, however, it is evident that the last syllable of each of the first words are "*áb*" and "*áo*" respectively, meaning, in Tájzik, "water," "*b*" and "*o*" here being interchangable. What Pátakh or Pátaḳ or Pádaḳ may be intended for I cannot for certain say. It seems quite clear, however, that the words should be written Pátakh-Áb-i-Shaḥnah, or Pátaḳ or Pádaḳ-Áo-i-Shaḥnah respectively, with the Tájzik or Persian *iẓáfat*. Shaḥnah is the word by which the Overseers or Superintendents are styled, whom the Mughal conquerors sent to reside at the Courts of such rulers as became vassals to them, an 'Arabic word used in the Tájzík, which is probably merely the translation or the equivalent of the Mughal term. In the Turkish language, *pát-ḳáḳ*, *pát-úḳ*, and *pát-íḳ*, signify, "a bog," "morass," or "quagmire," and the words are also used as adjectives, meaning "boggy," "miry," "muddy," etc. The words in the text above, no doubt, refer to a bog of some sort; for, certainly, there are, or were, bogs about this, and other parts near.

† It appears, from what has been stated already at page 72, that the stream coming from the direction of Gardaiz is considered to be the upper portion of the river of Lohgar, so called because it flows through the Lohgar Dara'h from south to north, while that flowing through the *Tangaey* of the Waṛdags from the westwards, and other smaller streams from the southwards, are merely accounted tributaries of the river of Lohgar. *See* note ‖, page 72.

‡ Taghraṇ is said to be the place where the Amír, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, took up a position when at war with the ruler of Kábul, and where the latter was defeated. Maḥmúd, the Amír's son, afterwards the famous Sulṭán, was with his father on this occasion, and when only in the fourteenth year of his age. The name of this place has been turned into "*Baghrú*," in Elliot's "Historians of India," Vol. II. In our latest maps it appears as "*Toghar*," and "*Togar*."

§ *See* page 70.

‖ *See* note *, above.

¶ Incorrectly called "*Chirak*" and "*Churukh*" in the various maps.

Charkh is a well known *ḳaṣba'h* or town dependent on the district of Lohgar. It was here that Náṣir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín (the *mamlúk* or slave of the Amír, Alb-Tigín, who held the fief of Ghaznín under the Sámání sovereigns, and *mamlúk* of his son and successor, Amír Isḥáḳ), while in the service of Pírey, who succeeded the Amír, Balká-Tigín, in the government of that province, overthrew Abú-'Alí-i-Lawík, son of the former ruler of Ghaznín previous to the sway of the Sámánís over that part.

After Amír Balká-Tigín's death in 362 H. (972–73 A.D.), Pírey, who was also a *mamlúk* of the Amír,

and into Khur-wár in another, by the pass of that name, and thence to Ghaznín. It also leads southwards towards Kwaṭa'h (*vul.* Quetta) by Wádzey Khwá, from which point other routes branch off direct towards Kalat-i-Ghalzí and to Ḳandahár, as will presently be described. From Pátaḳ-Áo-i-Roghán, likewise, the route branches off by the *Kotal-i-Sín* and Azár Darakht, which leads to Kábul by the village of the Khirmanah Khel, and into Kurma'h and Khost, as previously described at page 80."

When Humáyún Bádsháh set out with the object of making an effort to regain his throne in 959 H. (1552 A.D.), he proceeded from Kábul by way of Pádaḳ-Áo-i-Shaḥnah where he encamped. He then detached part of his force by way of the Chashmah-i-Tarah or Gardaiz *Kotal* towards Baghzan, in the Dara'h of Kurma'h. In the meantime, the 'Abd-ur-Raḥmání branch of the Khogíání Karlárnís, the Wardag Karlárnís, the Búbú Khel,* and other Afgháns residing in these parts, taking their families and effects along with them, retired towards Buland Khel. A fight subsequently took place between 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán and his people, and the Badsháh's troops, who made no halt at Baghzan, in the Istíá† *Kotal.* It is mentioned at page 76, and is distant five kuroh from the village of Paíwar, in the direction of south-east, at the commencement, in that direction, of Bangas'h, Dawar, and the Sunbalah territory. Báyazíd, the Byát, the writer from whom I make this extract, was present on the occasion in question.

After this affair, when the Bádsháh sent back the Khwájah, Jalál-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd, from Bútak-zí (perhaps Búbak-zí) in Lower Bangas'h, to take charge of the government of the province of Kábul, Báyazíd, the Byát, accompanied him. They, having set out from Bútak-zí or Búbak-zí, by the time of afternoon prayer, reached Koṭ Matah-i-Zakhmí,‡ situated on the western frontier of the territory of Bálá or Upper Bangas'h. From thence they proceeded by the Dara'h of Irí-áb to the fort of Safed Gáh, which, he states, is a dependency of Gardaiz, and from thence to the Chashmah-i-Tarah, which lies under the *Kotal* of Gardaiz on the Kábul side, and which is likewise known as the Chashmah-i-Tarah *Kotal.* Báyazíd was then despatched from thence to Kábul, while the Khwájah, himself, moved against the Lághrí Hazárah *tomán*, which, he states, was situated between the tract held by the Wardag Karlární Afgháns (which is now miscalled "*Wardak*," by some, instead of "the district or tract "peopled by the Wardag tribe"), and the Maidán-i-Rustam Koh visited by Bábar Bádsháh, as related at page 456, which I have been able to identify, and where, I believe, are the ruins of the ancient fortified city of Zábul or Zuḥákah. The Khwájah fell upon the Hazárah, killed several, and their sheep and cattle, in considerable numbers, were driven off to Kábul, whither the Khwájah then returned.

I have mentioned these matters to show that the routes taken in this direction are quite practicable.

To return to the description of the route to Ghaznín.

"Having crossed to the north or left bank of the river of Lohgar from Ḥiáṣrak, you proceed a short distance to the south-west, skirting the river bank, until you arrive opposite to Pátaḳ or Pátakh-Áb or Pádaḳ-Áo-i-Roghán,§ and the Dih-i-Doshínah, before mentioned, from which latter point a road leads directly up the Khúshí Dara'h, without having to go to Ḥiṣárak, and leaving it considerably on the left hand. Near to Pátakh-Áb or Pádaḳ-Áo-i-Roghán the river of Lohgar begins to bend to the westward, and the road follows the course or bank of the river, distant about half a kuroh on the left hand (south) as you proceed up stream. Having gone for about three kuroh and a half or little over, and passing by several villages, including Barakkai-i-

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Alb-Tigín, as was Balká-Tigín, and Sabuk-Tigín, likewise, succeeded to the authority over the province of Ghaznín. He was, however, a great villain; and the people of Ghaznín besought Abú-'Alí, son of Amír Abú-Bikr-i-Lawík, the former Wálí, to come and deliver them out of his hands. He acceded to their request, and set out, bringing along with him the son of the Sháh, or King, of Kábul, under whose protection he appears to have been dwelling at the time, to aid him. When they reached the vicinity of Charkh, on their way to Ghaznín, Sabuk-Tigín, with a body of five hundred Turks, suddenly fell upon them, and overthrew them, killed a great number of their followers, took them captive also, and slew them, and captured ten elephants, which he brought to Ghaznín. This was in 363 H. (973–74 A.D.), and three years afterwards, in 366 H. (976–77 A.D.), some say in the following year, Pírey was deposed, and the government passed to Sabuk-Tigín, afterwards entitled Amír Náṣir-ud-Dín. He was the father of Sulṭán Maḥmúd.

* These were Mahmands, in all probability, but there is a section of the Khogíánís called by this name. There were, and still are, two sections among the Bar or Upper Mahmands, that is, the Mahmands dwelling beyond our frontier, who are *kochís* or nomads, the only ones among this tribe. *See* page 682.

† Not "Istowa," as in the latest maps. Báyazíd, or rather the writer of the MS. of his narrative, writes it Atawah—اتوه for استیا or استیه.

‡ *See* page 92.

§ The "*d*" and "*t*" are interchangable. *See* note *, page 677.

Báran—where some of the Aor-már tribe of Sharkhabún Sara'h-barn Afgháns dwell,* but they are few in number—and from which a road branches off south to Charkh, Habíb Kalá', and Kala'-i-Nawwáb, on the left hand, near the river, you arrive opposite to Barakkai-i-Roghán, about one kuroh distant from the opposite bank of the river, and distant from Hiṣárak six kuroh. The road leads through excess of cultivation both field and garden, orchard and vineyard, groves of poplar and other trees, and willows growing along the river banks. The Barakkís are a Tájzík people speaking a language of their own, which is so called after them."

These last-mentioned people are noticed by Bábar Bádsháh in his *Tuzúk;* and this place is one of two named after them. The position of this town, which is very populous, is important; as from it the great route to Ghaznín by the Sugáwand (Sujáwand of the 'Arabs, and people of 'Arab descent) Pass, described at page 72, distant four and a half kuroh to the south-west, branches off. This was the route followed by the Sulṭáns of Ghaznín in their campaigns into Hindústán by the Kurma'h Dara'h; and, at Barakkai-i-Roghán, the high road to Kábul from Ghaznín also branches off, and another by Charkh to Gardaiz, from which place several other important routes, already described in the Second Section of this work, likewise diverge.

"Sugáwand, or Sujáwand, giving name to the dara'h and pass, is the name of a *mauzá'* of the *tomán* of Lohgar, and at the pass the district terminates in that direction. The Khar-wár *Kotal,* separated from the Sugáwand Ghás'haey by a mountain range, lies farther northwards, and is distant six kuroh. The village of Sugáwand is situated at the foot of the mountains, and south of it, on a mountain top, is a great fortress, now desolate and deserted, founded, according to tradition, by Jamshed Bádsháh. It was known as the Kala'-i-Sugáwand, and also as the Kala'-i-Jamshed, and guarded the Ghá'shaey or Pass."†

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* Some of the Barakkí Tájzíks dwell also among the Aor-mars at Kární-Grám in the Wazírí country. 'Abd-ullah, Anṣárí, father of Báyazíd, notorious as Pír-i-Ros'hán, and nick-named Pír-i-Tárík, lived among the Aor-mars of this place, and was himself a Tájzík, and had formerly dwelt with this very Barakkí tribe.

† It is not, and never was, called the "*Sajaon* Pass," as it appears in our latest maps, neither is it "*Sargáwan* Kotal," as in MacGregor's Gazetteer, nor "Sakáwand." *See* page 74.

In 955 H. (1548 A.D.), Humáyún Bádsháh was absent from Kábul, and had entered Badakhshán in order to reduce Mírzá Sulimán, son of Mírzá Káṣim (who succeeded to the sovereignty over Badakhshán when Bábar Bádsháh, after the conquest of Hindústán, recalled his eldest son, Humáyún, from thence), who had refused to make his submission to him as his suzerain. Kámrán Mírzá, the Bádsháh's brother, who had been obliged to take refuge in Sind with Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, the Arghún Mughal, seizing the opportunity of the Bádsháh's absence, suddenly returned in hot haste, and succeeded in repossessing himself of Kábul. Humáyún Bádsháh, however, as suddenly returned and invested him therein.

This investment, apparently, was not very closely maintained, and chiefly on the east side. On one occasion during the investment, Kámrán Mírzá heard of the arrival, at Cháríákár, of a *káfila'h* of horses from Balkh, and he, forthwith, detached one of his officers, Sher 'Alí by name, at the head of a hundred of his best horsemen, to gain possession of these horses, and bring them in. The Bádsháh, having obtained information of this movement, despatched a body of horse from his force, under Muṣáḥib Beg and other officers, to intercept them. Sher 'Alí, finding that he was pursued, and that he could neither reach Cháríákár nor regain the citadel of Kábul, was obliged to retire in the direction of Ghaznín, in hopes of reaching it, and, apparently, by the very route I have been describing. Muṣáḥib Beg overtook him and his party in the Sugáwand Pass, where a fight ensued, in which Sher 'Alí was defeated, a number of his men killed, and thirty taken prisoners. Sher 'Alí himself was obliged to fly for shelter "to the Hazárah-ját," to Mírzá Khiẓr Khán, the Hazárah, who, in all probability, was the head of the Lághrí Hazárah *tomán,* which, as mentioned in the preceding page, lay towards the south, and between the territory held by the Wardag Karlárnís and the Maidán-i-Rustam Koh.

It seems very plain now why Lumsden's Mission in 1857 was taken by the roundabout way of the Wardag *Tangaey,* one third longer, rather than by this direct and good route by the Sugáwand Pass.

When the Ghalzí tribe, in the latter part of the year 1801, broke out against Bárakzí rule, for Fatḥ Khán was really Sháh Maḥmúd's ruler, they set up 'Abd-ur Raḥím Khán, a great-grandson of 'Abd-ul-'Azíz Khán, brother and successor of the Ḥájí, Mír Wais, as their sovereign. They first defeated the governor of Ghaznín in the field, but, without wasting time in investing it, moved towards Kábul through Shil-gar, Zurmat, and the lower part of Khar-wár, towards the Sugáwand Ghás'haey. The Durrání government despatched, in all haste, the available troops towards Ghaznín by the ordinary route by the Narkh Maidán and the Dara'h of the Sh'níz, in the middle of November of that year. The Durrání commander had not advanced many miles when he received intelligence that the Ghalzís were moving towards Kábul by the nearest route. On this he turned about, and moved into Lohgar by the route above described, intending to push on in that direction; and on reaching Sugáwand he fell in with the Ghalzís, numbering from 15,000 to 18,000 men, but they were badly armed, some only having clubs. The Durránís, though much less numerous, had a considerable number of camel-guns, and were well armed and equipped; nevertheless, the Ghalzís attacked them with great valour, penetrated beyond the guns, and bore all before them. The Durránís opposed to the Ghalzí onset were on the point of being overwhelmed, when their cavalry attacked the undisciplined Ghalzís in flank, which checked their career, and compelled them to retire from the field towards their own hills near by, but they were not broken. After pursuing them for some distance, the Durránís retired towards Kábul again, but the Ghalzís, having been joined by others of their tribesmen in the night, continued their march towards Kábul, and by evening had reached within a few miles of the place where the Durrání force had halted, a few miles south of the city.

On this occasion the Ghalzís were defeated with great loss, for they came on without any order or any

I have already (at page 72) related the destruction of the great idol-temple of Sugáwand by Fard-ghán, who ruled over Zábulistán and Ghaznín under 'Umaro-i-Lais, the Suffárí, and more respecting it and other events of these parts will be found in the notice of Ghaznín farther on.

The Kala'-i-Jamshed was used as a state prison by the Ghazníwí Sultáns of the family of Sabuk-Tigín; and it was to this stronghold that the Amír, Yúsuf, youngest brother of Sultán Mahmúd, was sent by his nephew, Sultán Mas'úd, on account of seditious conduct on his part, as related by the historian, Abú-l-Fazl-i-Baihakí.

"From this halting place, west of the present Kala'-i-Nawwáb, and opposite Barakkai-i-Roghán, another road, and a more direct one, leads into the northern part of the Dara'h of Lohgar by the defile or gorge of Bek Wúghchán, without going round by Hisárak, as in the route here described. In following this road, you leave Hisárak a little over three kuroh on the right hand. The first portion of it, for about three or four kuroh, is difficult, as you have to cross the high range immediately to the north, bounding this portion of the Dara'h of Lohgar on the north and west. For the remainder of the way you have a lofty mountain range away on the left hand (west), bounding the Lohgar Dara'h in that direction, and lower hills on the right.

"After leaving this halting place near the Kala'-i-Nawwáb, opposite Barakkai-i-Roghán, where the route to Kábul branched off, and continuing your route towards Ghaznín, the course of the river issuing from the *Tangaey* of the Wardags lies more towards the north-west; and, after passing the village of Tag-áo, which is situated near the river bank, the high range bounding this dara'h on the south slopes down close to the banks of the river, and renders the dara'h much more contracted than before. As you continue to proceed onwards you skirt this range, and gradually ascend, but, by crossing the river to the south, or Barakkai side, near that place, there is another way towards the *Tangaey* of the Wardags. It leads along the southern or right bank, on lower ground than on the opposite side, the hills on that side sloping down gradually towards the river from the direction of the Sugáwand Pass, and, after going about seven kuroh, you cross over to the other or north side again, and reach the halting place of, and near, the Kala'-i-Amír, the Amír's Fort or Castle.

"The next stage of about five kuroh, or five kuroh and a half, leads to the Do-ába'h village, on the main route between Kábul and Ghaznín by way of Arghandí and the Narkh Maidán Dara'h, presently to be described. Leaving the *manzil* or halting place near the Kala'-i-Amír, where the dara'h narrows in breadth considerably, to less than half a kuroh in some places, you have to ascend the *Tangaey*-i-Wardag, or the 'Gorge or Defile of the Wardags, or Wardag tribe.' Here the defile becomes still more contracted than before as you go upwards, being not more than six or seven hundred *gaz* in breadth; while the bare and rugged mountain ranges, the spurs from which shoot out towards the river on either side, rise up on the right and left hand. Those on the right (north) are the most frowning and elevated, and form the western and south-western boundary of the Dara'h of Lohgar. You still follow the course of the stream, but, in some places, where the road along its side becomes difficult for laden animals, you have to traverse its bed, the banks of which, every here and there, are fringed with *sanjít* and *bed* trees.* On ordinary occasions the river is about knee deep, sometimes less, sometimes more, and runs in a pebbly bed, which affords good footing for men and animals.

"You pass by the way several small walled villages, nestling among orchards and gardens, and surrounded with cultivation. About half way on this stage to the Do-ába'h village, you reach a temporary bridge over the river. At this point, by continuing to proceed along the left bank of the stream, without crossing the bridge, for about a kuroh and a half towards the north-west, and with several ascents and descents by the way, you can reach the village of Shaikh-ábád, where the route now being traversed unites with the main road from Kábul to Ghaznín by Arghandí and the Narkh Maidán Dara'h, hereafter to be described.

"After crossing the bridge, you continue onwards in the direction of west for about a kuroh, and reach the Do-ába'h village, which is also on the main route between Kábul and Ghaznín, but on the Ghaznín side. It is situated in the *do-ába'h* or delta,

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concerted plan. Into the details of this last affair I need not enter, but, what I desire to draw attention to is, the advantage of knowing something about the Sugáwand route, which I have here given some account of. In this instance, had the Durránís been strangers to the country and not have known all the routes, while their troops were marching to Ghaznín unmolested, by the usual road, the Ghalzís might have captured Kábul and sacked the place.

* The *sanjít* is a species of *Elæagnus*, producing a stone fruit. The *bed* is the ordinary willow.

between the river of the *Tangaey* of the Wardags and the Sh'níz river, hence the name of the village, and near the junction of the latter with the former.

"There is said to be another road leading from Ḳala'-i-Amír to Sayyid-ábád, the next stage from the Do-ába'h village on the Ghaznín road, about two kuroh towards the south-south-west, but, as it was unknown to the writer, he cannot describe it. It is, however, said to be very difficult, and to contain many ascents and descents.*

"On the way between Ḥiṣárak and the Do-ába'h village, through the *Tangaey*-i-Wardag, the road traverses a fertile and well-cultivated tract of country, with a large population, and you pass by numerous orchards, vineyards, and cornfields. Wherever water can be conducted for irrigation purposes, an uncultivated spot is seldom to be seen. The villages are mostly walled, that is to say, that walls connect the dwellings on the outside, thus forming a continuous wall. They are loop-holed, on account of the feuds existing among the inhabitants, and are considered to be tolerably strong."

The Wardag *Tangaey* is a very strong position, and all such should be carefully noted; as, before very long, they may become of great importance. In going south-eastwards from Shaikh-ábád the mountains overhang it at the narrowest parts, but the defile opens out as you go down stream, and is quite practicable for light guns. The Durránís have taken such by this route upon several occasions.† It can be easily turned, however, by the Sugáwand Pass.

"It now remains to give a brief account of the Tomán or district of Lohgar."

The Tomán or District of Lohgar.

"Lohgar is one of the *Tománs*, as they were anciently called under the Turkish rule, or districts, dependent on the territory of Kábul, and consists of an extensive tract of country lying a few miles to the south of the city of Kábul. It is of irregular shape, and is bounded on all sides by mountains of greater or lesser elevation, some of which are rocky and bare, while others are grassy, and afford excellent pasturage, on which account the district is visited by *kochís* or nomads of certain clans of the Ghalzí Afgháns, as will be again noticed in the account of that great and powerful tribe. It extends in length from the Sugáwand Ghás'haey or Pass to the village of Khúrdgán and the *Tangaey* of Bek Wúghchán,‡ from south-south-west to north-north-east, about fourteen kuroh,§ and is rather more than half that distance in breadth from east to west. It has Kábul on the north, Zurmat and Khar-wár on the south, the Khúshí Dara'h, which is also dependent on it, and the stupendous mountains, part of the western range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, separating it from the Kurma'h Darah and Khost, on the east, and the dara'h or valley of the Sh'níz, inhabited by the Wardag tribe of Karlárnís, and the Narkh Maidán on the west."

The Loghar district produces wheat, barley, and maize in abundance, and a great deal of rice, with which grains it supplies the *bázárs* of Kábul. It likewise produces an abundance of vegetables of different sorts, lucern, and other nutritious grasses for fodder, used both in a green and in a dry state, rhubarb, tobacco, cotton, and several aromatic herbs. The coarse fabrics made from *pashmíná'h* wool, known as *barakk* from the town of Barakkai, are also woven in this district.

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* The Zanbúrak *Kotal*. This is the "Zambarak Pass, probably, of the Quarter-master General's Routes. Zanbúrak means a camel-swivel, a small gun fitted to a carriage on a camel's back. It is possibly so called because the route is only practicable for such guns.

† Lumsden's Mission was taken to Ḳandahár in 1857, by the roundabout way of Shaikh-ábád, instead of by the Do-ába'h village; but, when returning, it was conducted off the main road, half way between the Ḥaidar Khel village and Shaikh-ábád, and from thence taken through the *Tangaey*-i-Wardag.

‡ According to the latest maps, "Logar," is but *a very small* district not more than twelve or thirteen miles in length, and is only made to *commence, on the south*, from the *Tangaey* of Bek Wúghchán, where it actually *terminates*, and to extend north to near Nún-yáz. This is totally incorrect. The Lohgar district is only *entered from the north after traversing the Tangaey* in question, which marks its extent northwards, consequently, what appears in these maps as "Logar" is not contained within Lohgar at all. The first village in this direction is Khúrdgán.

MacGregor, on the contrary, states, that it extends from the northward bend of the Logar river—he means where the river of the Wardag *Tangaey* unites with the river of Gardaiz—and he carries it *north* of the city of Kábul "to the junction of the Logar with the Kábul river." This is equally incorrect: he carries it twenty-six miles too far north. In the maps, likewise, while "Logar" is the name given to the tract of country north of the *Tangaey* of Bek Wúghchán, that immediately south of it, as far southwards as the junction of the river from the Wardag *Tangaey*, is styled "Hisarak," but Ḥiṣárak is merely a sub, or dependent, district of, and contained within, the district of Lohgar. *See* page 70.

§ Just twenty-five miles and a half.

Great quantities of grapes and apricots, besides plums, pears, and several other fruits, are produced in the Lohgar district. The little round boxes containing grapes, apricots, and pears, especially the former, wrapped in cotton wool, which we get in the Panj-áb and Sind, and which even find their way to Bombay and Calcutta, come from Lohgar.* The poplar trees, which are planted in groves for the purpose, the wood being of quick growth and easily worked, supply the materials for these boxes, so great is the exportation, particularly of grapes.

Bábar Bádsháh's *Tuzúk* does not contain much mention of Lohgar. He says:—
"Another *Tomán* is Lohgar," as he writes the word, "and the principal village thereof "is Charkh. Ḥazrat, Mauláná Ya'ḳúb, was from this very place; and the Mullá-"zádah, Mullá 'Uṣmán, was also an inhabitant of Charkh.† Sujáwand also is a "*mauza'* (a village with its lands) of the *Tomán* of Lohgar; and the Khwájah, "Muḥammad-i-Yúnas, was from that *mauza'*. The gardens of Charkh are very "numerous. In other *mauza's* of Lohgar gardens do not exist [did not in his time]. "The people are Aughán Shál.‡ This term is well known, and, in all probability, "signifies of Aughán habits, customs, or method [Afghán-like?]." This is all the Bádsháh says respecting the *Tomán* of Lohgar.

In the time of his grandson, Akbar Bádsháh, it formed one of the twenty-two *maḥálls* into which the *sarkár* or district of the Kábul *súbah* or province was divided, and which Abú-l-Fazl, in his Á'ín-i-Akbarí, calls *maḥálls*, but describes under the old name of *tománs*. It was rated as having to furnish 50 horsemen and 500 foot for militia purposes, a very small number in comparison with other *tománs* of the same *sarkár*, from which we must conclude that, in those days, it was thinly peopled. It yielded a revenue, however, of 31,93,214 *dáms* in cash, equal to 79,830 *rúpís* and 14 *dáms*, out of which 22,960 *dáms* or 5,074 *rúpís* were *saiyúrghál* or free grants, which sums were considerably less than in most of the other *maḥálls*. Neither its different sub-divisions, villages, nor inhabitants, are mentioned in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí.

At present, the stationary inhabitants are chiefly the descendants of the 'Arab conquerors of these parts, who were located here, and intermarried with the Fársíwán people, and, consequently, are Tájzíks, not Afgháns, although, as Bábar Bádsháh says, of "Aughán Shál;" but, at the present time, nomad Ghalzís of the Aḥmadzí clan of the Sulímán Khel Hedzab Hotakís pitch their black tent camps on the grassy hills of the district during the season, as well as a few Afgháns of other tribes, including two clans of the Bar-Mahmands, or Upper Mahmands, who are the only two *kochí* clans§ among the whole of the Bar-Durránís.‖ A few Afgháns of other tribes dwell permanently in the Loghar district, as well as some Ḳazil-Báshís.

It will be well to mention here, that the Tájzíks dwell along with the Afgháns on two sides of the Afghánistán as described at page 453, namely, on the western and northern sides, where they are styled Fársíwán or Fársíbán as well as Tájzík by the Afghán people. The 'Arabs, in their early invasions of these parts, soon overran and reduced the open tracts around, but, for a considerable period, the old Tájzíks or Fársíwáns of the country, and the Pus'htúns or Afgháns dwelling in the mountainous parts, remained unsubdued. In time, the Pus'htúns descended from their Afghánistán, Pus'htún-Khwá, or Ghar, and subjugated most of the Tájzíks bordering on their country on the west and north, but the Tájzíks of the more difficult hill countries continued unsubdued even by the Mughal hordes of the Chingiz Khán and his successors. Of these some remain independent, and continue to exercise sovereignty, up to the present time¶ in Chitrál and Mastúch, or Ḳáshḳár-i-Bálá and Pá'ín, and

* In his "Central Asia," Part I., page 586, MacGregor says:—"*There are no fruit gardens or orchards* "*in Logar*, but a few vineyards are met with. The produce of these, both in the fresh state packed in cotton "wool, and as raisins, are an article of export." Compare this statement with that of the Survey officers in the late campaign.

† He was the tutor of Ulugh Beg Mírzá, ruler of Kábul, Bábar Bádsháh's uncle, who cut off the Khas'hí Afghán chiefs and head-men at an entertainment to which he had invited them. Ulugh Beg Mírzá was fourteen years old when Mullá 'Uṣmán became his teacher.

Charkh was a place of importance. Báyazíd, the Byát, calls it a *kaṣba'h*, or small town, and states that it was included in the fief first held by the young Prince, Jalál-ud-Dín, Muḥammad Akbar. *See* note ‡, preceding page.

‡ It will be noticed that this term is used in several places. I shall notice it again when I come to the territory known as Shál or Kwaṭa'h on the route from Ḳandahár to Shikár-púr.

§ *See* note *, page 678.

‖ They take their camels, bullocks, and sheep, at times, as far westwards as the banks of the Hílmand river. Bábar Bádsháh, on one or two occasions, met with them in the valley of the Tarnak.

¶ How long they may continue to do so is doubtful, and will probably depend upon whether the British Government allows them to be gobbled up by the Russians, like Bádghais, Panj-Dih, etc., etc.; for, for some time past, their "scientific expeditions," or, in other words, their *trained spies*, have been hovering about these parts, if they are not at this very moment in them, and in the Ḳáfiristán, too, plotting mischief against us.

other parts between the river of Kábul and the Oxus, described in the Third Section of this work.

In some places these Tájzíks or Fársíwáns dwell along with the Afgháns, and are their *ra'íyats* (*vul. ryots*) or subjects, the Afgháns having taken their lands from them, but they live in separate villages; and while the head-men among the Afgháns are styled Maliks, the Tájzík head-men are known as Kat-khudás. These latter are chosen by the people themselves, and the office is generally continued in one family. They require to be confirmed by the ruler of the country, and possess no authority beyond what he assigns them.

These subject Tájzíks congregate chiefly in the neighbourhood of large towns and cities, about Kábul, in the Jalál-ábád province, in Gardaiz, and one or two places between it and Ghaznín, in Ghaznín, Hirát, and Balkh, and some are to be found, but not many, in Ghúr, in the parts between the dara'h of the Tarnak and Hirát and Balkh, in which they formerly were so powerful and so numerous, before those parts were devastated and depopulated by the Mughals. It is noteworthy that the Tájzíks are rarely met with in the southern parts of the Afghán State, where no large towns exist, and are seldom or never met with in the extreme southern parts.

Bábar Bádsháh computed the whole revenue of the territory of Kábul, including Ghaznín, at the time he possessed himself of the country, then consisting, as before mentioned, of twenty *tománs*,* including the sedentary population holding lands under *tamghá*,† or royal grants, as well as the nomad population, at eight *lakhs* of Sháh Rukhís, which sum is equal to three *lakhs* and twenty thousand Akbar Sháhí *rúpís*, or 12,800,000 *dáms*. This, however, was at a period, it must be remembered, when the whole country for many years past had been in a most distracted state, and without any stable government. In the time of his grandson, Akbar Bádsháh, although, in the preceding reign of his father, the country had continued for a considerable period in a state of disturbance through the misconduct of Kámrán Mírzá, and also in Akbar Bádsháh's own reign, up to the time that the territory was ruled over by his half-brother, Muḥammad Ḥakím Mírzá, it had subsequently so far benefited from having a stable government, that, at the time Abú-l-Fazl wrote his Á'ín-i-Akbarí, notwithstanding the fiefs and liberal grants made and taxes remitted, the revenue of the *sarkár* of Kábul had risen to the amount of 67,360,983 *dáms*, or equal to 16 *lakhs*, and 84,240 *rúpís*, and 3 *dáms*, or more than five times the amount computed in Bábar Bádsháh's time. I do not think, however, that, in that computation, Bábar Bádsháh made sufficient allowance for the fiefs and grants he had to assign to the hungry adventurers who accompanied him from beyond the Oxus, and from the other side of the Hindú Koh. Abú-l-Fazl, himself, remarks, that, "Certainly, the Kábul province is now more populous than then, and Bábar Bádsháh "did not include in his computation Purs'háwur, Ash-Naghar, and some smaller "tracts; and the collectors of the revenue were not then so experienced in their "duties as they are at present."

Hundred and Second Route. From Kábul to Gardaiz of Zurmat by the direct route, a distance of just thirty-six kuroh.

"From Kábul you can either proceed over the *Úláng* or *Jal-gáh* of the Siyah Sang and Bíní-i-Ḥiṣár‡ from the east side of the city to the Chhár Ásiyá, or by the *Tangaey*-i-Dúrín or Díúrin, and the Dih-i-Mazang, on the west side, and then by the Gázar-gáh, and the Makbarah of Bábar Bádsháh, to Hindka'í§ or the Chhár Dih, across the *Úláng* or *Jal-gáh* of Tebá or Teba'h, crossing the river of Kábul on the way by the bridge, to the Chhár Ásiyá,‖ or the Four Mills. From thence you proceed by way of the Safed Sang to Nún-yáz. This last road is the best for wheeled

* Under the revenue system of Akbar Bádsháh the *sarkár* of Kábul was subdivided into twenty-two *maḥálls* or *tománs*.

† The red or vermilion stamp or signet of the Mughal sovereigns. More respecting it will be found in my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 1158.

‡ I write "the" with the Siyah Sang, because it means "the black rock," ridge, and I write Bíní-i-Ḥiṣár, with the Persian *izáfat*, because *bíní*, not "*Beni*," signifies "a nose," "a promontory," "a ridge," "a point of "land," etc., and refers to that promontory or ridge jutting out from the mountain ridge on which the Ḥiṣár of Kábul stands.

§ "Indiki" of the maps.

‖ This place is called "*Chár-i-Sar*" by MacGregor in Part I. of his Gazetteer.

carriages.* Another leads from Hindka'í, or the Chhár Dih, to Nún-yáz, on the other side of the hills, about a kuroh and a half on the right hand (west), but at Nún-yáz they again unite.

"Leaving Nún-yáz, you go on to Gum-ráhán or Gumrán, two large villages lying on either side of the river of Lohgar. From this point you continue along the left or west bank of the afore-mentioned river in the direction of south, by the village of Muḥammad Ágha, with a small open dara'h, containing several villages, on the right hand, and enter Lohgar by the *Tangaey* or gorge of Bek Wúghchán—from which, a more direct road to Barakkai-i-Roghán branches off—and then on to Kalangar, and from thence to Ḥiṣárak, on the opposite bank, already mentioned in the previous route. There are other roads leading from Gum-ráhán or Gumrán, more to the left hand, which branch off about half way between those villages and Zarghún S'hahr, but they are more difficult and more seldom used.

"From Ḥiṣárak you have to go rather less than two kuroh south to Dih-i-Doshínah, a large village mentioned in the Second Route; and from thence a little over two kuroh more, in a direction about south-south-east, and reach Taghraṇ,† a large village belonging to the *Tomán* of Lohgar, and, for part of the way thither, you follow the course of the Lohgar river. From this place you have to go a stage of just twelve kuroh, in the direction of south-south-east, as before, to Gardaiz, which is the name of an ancient, fortified town, and large dara'h, belonging to the Tájzíks, situated in the upper part of Zurmat, and is called the Dara'h of Gardaiz after that place. You meet with many ascents and descents by the way; and great mountain ranges rise up, both on the right hand and the left as you proceed. There is much water on this route, from streams, feeders of the main river, but some of them are dry for a considerable part of the year. There is, likewise, a considerable population, and a large extent of cultivation.

"Another way of reaching Gardaiz is by going from the Dih-i-Doshínah to Pádaḳ-Áo or Pátaḳ-Áo-i-Roghán,‡ about a kuroh and a half to the south, still keeping near the river bank, which lies on the right hand. From that village you proceed for a distance of six kuroh and a half in the direction of south-south-east, inclining south, and leave Charkh, previously noticed in the preceding route to Ghaznín by the Wardag *Tangaey*, some distance—nearly three kuroh—on the right hand (west). You then cross a somewhat rough and stony tract, the deposits washed down in the course of ages from that great offshoot from the western range of Mihtar Sulímán, Koh-i-Siyah, Tor Ghar, or Ḳará Tágh, which towers upwards on the left hand and in front, as you proceed. This part of the western slope of the range, up to its crest, is known as Shúbul, as previously mentioned at page 71. You also have to cross a small stream, a tributary of the river of Lohgar, after which you reach the commencement of the Chashmah-i-Tarah *Kotal*, traversed by Bábar Bádsháh, and Humáyún Bádsháh, his son, already noticed at pages 91, 92, and 456.§

"For the next kuroh or kuroh and a half, still ascending, during which you traverse the pass, the road, if such it can be called, is very rugged and difficult, and follows the bed of the stream until you reach the Tarah *chashmah* or spring, giving name to the *kotal* or pass, and lying immediately under it. This part is very steep for some distance, and impracticable for wheeled carriages, but not for laden animals; and you have to wend your way upwards through narrow rocky ravines, but, after having cleared these and gained the crest, the descent on the Gardaiz side is not so rough, and you emerge through the Bákísh-líḳ‖ Dara'h, a short distance from the Ḳala'-i-Surkh,¶ or Red Castle, in the uppermost or northernmost part of the Dara'h of Gardaiz, now included in Zurmat."

The Maidán-i-Rustam Koh, visited by Bábar Bádsháh, and which, as already stated at page 456, I have been able to identify as situated on this main western range of

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* By this route, likewise, you quite avoid the defile of Khair-ábád on the left-hand side, the "sides of "which," by the left-hand route, according to the description given in the Quartermaster-General's Route, "are about 100 feet in height," and the defile is "narrow, and commanded on the left by inaccessible cliffs."

† The "Togar" of some maps, and "Toghar" of others. *See* page 677, and note ‡.

‡ *See* page 677, and note *.

§ This *kotal* is what appears in our maps as the "Altimor Pass."

‖ This is a compound Turkish word. What *bákísh* may signify I am unaware, but the affix *lík* or *líḳ* is used to signify "state" or "quality," similar, in some respects, to the *yá-e-nisbat* of the Persian; thus, *Kábul-líḳ* signifies "a *Kábulí.*" Affixed to an adjective such as *sárígh*, the Turkish for yellow, *sárígh-lík* means "yellowness"; and, affixed to *ustád*, a person skilled in anything, *ustád-lík* means "skilfulness" and the like.

¶ This, in the Pus'hto language, would be Sara'h Ḳala' or Ḳala'h, and in Turkish, Ulán Ḳurghán.

Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, lies towards the south, and is distant about seven or eight kuroh.

"Having cleared the *kotal*, you descend the bed of a stream which, flowing southwards, unites with another running from the *jal-gáh* in the Maidán-i-Rustam Koh, which, after receiving other tributaries from the right hand and the left, flows through the Dara'h of Gardaiz and Zurmat,* in the general direction of south-south-west, and passing near Shor Katsa'h, finally unites with the river of Ghaznín some ten kuroh beyond the Band-i-Sardih, or Sardih Dyke.

"Coming down the bed of this stream, and through the upper part of the Dara'h of Gardaiz, for rather more than five kuroh, and passing the Ḳala'-i-Surkh, or Red Fort, shortly after clearing the mountains, and some villages by the way, you reach the ancient town of Gardaiz, previously noticed. From this place several small villages can be seen around, near the skirts of the mountains on either side, and along the river banks; and the mountains, particularly those to the eastward, are clothed with forests of pine and other trees.

"From the town of Gardaiz a road leads direct into the Kurma'h Dara'h by the *Kotal*-i-Sín, distant ten kuroh in the direction of north-east, which route has been described at page 80. Another route, but a difficult one, leads from Gardaiz to Segí in Khost by the Dera'í-i-Mián Khel, twelve kuroh distant in the direction of south, inclining south-east. The next stage from the Dera'í above mentioned, is distant ten kuroh, by a defile of great elevation leading over the great western range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah,† and out of which the Shamal river issues, brings you to the villages called Namárá, belonging to the Jzadrárn or Jzandrárn Kaṛlární Afgháns [for further particulars respecting the route in question, *see* page 75].

"From the Namárá villages on the Shamal river the Farmúlí or Parmúlí town of Urgún can be reached by Pus'hta'í, eight kuroh distant to the south-west; and another stage of six kuroh from thence takes you to Urgún, from which, as already stated, roads branch off to Ghaznín, and to Ḳandahár on the south-west, and to the Upper Dera'h-ját and the Indus on the east.

"The fort, called, in Turkí, the Ḳurghán of Gardaiz, as before mentioned, is a very ancient place, standing on a mound, in the middle of the dara'h. It is walled all round, and in the centre is the castle, on the summit of the mound, which commands the town, and a deep ditch surrounds the place."‡

Inside, as described by Bábar Bádsháh, "the dwellings are, for the most part, three "and four storeys high, and the place is, by no means, wanting in strength." He also states, that its people, who rebelled against Náṣir Mírzá, his brother, who once held the *Tomán* of Gardaiz, which is sometimes called the *Tomán* of Zurmat, gave him considerable trouble. "It lies," to continue the description in his own words, "south "from Kábul, twelve or thirteen *farsangs*§ distant, and between south and west from "Ghaznín, and distant seven or eight *farsangs*. It consists of eight *mauza'* [villages "or small townships, with their dependent lands, are so called], and the seat of "authority, where the Dároghah or Superintendent of the *Tomán* resides, is Gardaiz.

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* It appears in the maps as the "Jilgu" river. No doubt, the person—an Afghán or a Tájzík—giving the information which produced this name, meant it to be understood that the river in question issued from this *jal-gáh*, which not being properly understood, and mistaken for a *proper name*, the "*Jilgu* river" is the result.

† Outram reached the western slope of this great range in his expedition against the Ghalzís, in 1839, from the Ḳala' of 'Alí Ján in the Khar-wár Dara'h, and from thence entered the south-west part of Zurmat by the Ḳala' of Fatḥ-ullah, mentioned farther on. He says, under the date of 21st September, "Made a night "march, in order to surprise the Kanjuk banditti [the people referred to here, who are supposed to have "murdered Colonel Herring, are the Khwádzak branch of the Sáliḥ Khel section of the Sulímán Khel "Ghalzís. The murder took place near Ḥaidar Khel in the Sh'níz Dara'h, in the territory of the Waṛdags. "*See* page 696], whose haunt I had ascertained to be in the *Indran* mountains, eighteen miles to the east-"ward." The mountains of the Jzandrárn Kaṛlární Afgháns are, of course, referred to here, and the part reached, the part where they dwell. He continues :—"Arrived as the day broke at a deep dell occupied by "the gang; and while the infantry advanced from the front, I despatched the horse, in two bodies, to cut off "retreat from flanks and rear. The ground being very broken and difficult, however, most of the enemy had "found time to ascend a precipitous hill, along the ridge of which they must have escaped, had I not fortunately "been mounted on an exceedingly active horse, and thus been enabled to gallop ahead and deter them from ad-"vancing until the cavalry came up. Finding themselves completely surrounded, they defended themselves most "stoutly; and maintained their position until their ammunition was nearly all expended, when, on a general rush "being made from every quarter at once, they were induced to throw down their arms, after sixteen of the most "desperate of their body had been killed, and several others wounded. Even the women assisted in the fray, by "handing ammunition to their husbands, and throwing stones at our troops. The loss on our side amounts to "three sepoys and one horse killed, and two Lieutenants, one Rissaldar, one Duffedar, and several men and horses "wounded. In the evening we returned, with one hundred and twelve prisoners, comprising some women and "children, who, with the men killed in the attack, form the whole of the Kanjuk gang."

‡ It was used as a state prison, occasionally, by the Turk Sulṭáns of Ghaznín, and was one of their strong posts in that direction, as commanding many routes, both towards Kábul and towards the Panj-áb.

§ A farsang or farsakh is rather more than a league, being equal to 6,000 yards, while a league is 5,280 yards.

"On the south side of this *Tomán* there is a koh, which they call Koh-i-Turkístán "[or Turkistán Range];* and, in a lofty position, at the skirt of this Koh, there is "a spring, and there is the tomb of the Shaikh Muḥammad, the Musalmán, to which "people make pilgrimages. The people of Zurmat are Aughán Shál people. They "occupy themselves in agriculture; and there are neither trees nor gardens in "Zurmat." This is all he says respecting this *Tomán*.

In 251 H. (865 A.D.), Gardaiz was the chief place of an independant Muḥammadan territory, the ruler of which was the Amír, Abú-Manṣúr-i-Aflaj—the Hare-lipped—son of Muḥammad, son of Khákán. He was made tributary by Ya'kúb-i-Lais, the Ṣuffárí, ruler of Sigiz-stán, the details respecting which will be found in the account of the Ghalzí Afgháns farther on. At this period, and for a considerable time subsequent, Kábul was still ruled by a Hindú dynasty.

When Humáyún Bádsháh returned from Í-rán, Darwesh, Bahrám Sakáe, brother of Báyazíd, the Byát, whom I have so often quoted in these pages, was in the service of Mírzá Kámrán, and was then feudatory of Gardaiz.

Under the revenue system of Akbar Bádsháh, the *Tomán* of Gardaiz or Zurmat was assessed at 20,32,032 *dáms* in cash, or money payment, equal to 60,750 Akbar Sháh-í *rúpís*. Its inhabitants are not specified, but the Afghán portion of them were rated as being able or liable to furnish 200 horsemen, and 1,000 foot for militia purposes. Bábar Bádsháh does not mention any Afgháns as dwelling in it, merely, that the people were "Aughán Shál," which means, according to his description given at page 682, "Afghán like in their ways and customs." There is no doubt that Afgháns, in all probability of the Ghalzí tribe, and, possibly, some of the Jzadrárn or Jzandrárn Karlárnís, had taken up their abode in parts of this *tomán* in Akbar Bádsháh's time, but, that the inhabitants were not all of that race is plainly shown from the fact, that Gardaiz itself, the chief place in it, belonged exclusively to the Tájzík people.

At the present time, the district of Zurmat, or Zurmal, as it is sometimes called, through changing "*t*" into "*l*," a vitiated, not a usual change of letters, which is a broad and open *wádí* or valley, running in the direction of north-east and south-west, is inhabited by a part of the 'Alí Khel branch of the Ibráhímzí section of the Ghalzí tribe of Afgháns, the remainder of whom dwell in Mukur and other parts, and some Aḥmadzí Hedzab Ghalzís, likewise, respecting whom more will be mentioned in the account of the Ghalzí tribe.

Hundred and Third Route. From Kábul to Ghaznín, through the Dara'h of Khar-wár; a distance of rather less than sixty-four kuroh.

"This route† leads by the Chhár Ásiyá, Nún-yáz, Safed Sang, the Dih of Muḥammad Ághá, the *Tangaey* of Bek Wúghchán, the west bank of the river of Lohgar, Pá-bos, and Barakkai-i-Bárán, mentioned in the preceding routes.

"Setting out from Barakkai-i-Bárán, you proceed in the direction of south-south-west, with the Tájzík village of Charkh behind the hills on the left hand, for a distance of just three kuroh, to the small village of Mulk-ábád, following the banks of a stream which issues from the Dara'h of Khar-wár by the *Kotal*, and which stream, between the *Kotal* and the village in question, unites with other streams, mostly dry in the summer months, lying farther east in the direction of the Chashmah-i-Tarah *Kotal*.‡ These issue from the range of mountains bounding Gardaiz and the

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* In three copies of the Persian translation of Bábar Bádsháh's *Tuzúk*, this name is written Koh-i-Turkistán, as above; but, in a fourth copy, it is Nargistán, the diacritical points of the letters "*t*" and "*n*" being very liable to be mistaken in MSS. In a MS. copy of the original Turkí in the British Museum, written in 1039 H. (1629 A.D.), the word is Turkistán likewise; but, in the Turkí text of Ilminski (Casani 1857), it is Barkistán, "*t*" and "*n*" being also liable to be mistaken for "*b*" and "*y*."

As the territory dependent on Ghaznín was under Turkish sway, while Kábul was still under the Hindú rulers known as the Kábul Sháhs, and this range marked the extent of the jurisdiction of the Turk feudatories in the direction of the Tájzík district of Gardaiz, and, as many purely Turkish names still survive in these parts, such as Koh-i Ḳúrúḳ, Ḳolághú, Al-tímúr, Tai-tímúr, etc., mentioned in these pages, we must conclude that Koh-i-Turkistán, or Turkistán Range, was the name by which the Turkish people designated it, as indicating the boundary under Tnrkish jurisdiction in that direction. Their boundary on the east, we know, extended up to the skirts of the great main western range of Mihtar Sulímán, Koh-i Siyah, Tor Ghar, or Ḳará Tágh, the boundary of the Afghánistán in that direction.

There were people of Turkish descent, descendants of the Mughal *mings* or *hazárahs*, dwelling between Ghaznín and Gardaiz near this range, and adjacent parts, in the time of Humáyún Bádsháh, and his son, Akbar Bádsháh, as shown at page 687, and even down to comparatively modern times, until the Ghalzí Afgháns increased to that degree that they forced the *ming* or *hazárah* people farther westward, and which they are still doing.

† Outram, in his expedition against the Ghalzís, previously quoted, followed this very route, or nearly so, in September, 1839. He calls the Chhár Ásiyá, "Chariser," and Pá-bos, "Baboos."

‡ The "Altimar," or "Altimor" Pass of different maps.

upper part of the Zurmat district on the north-west, and separate Gardaiz from the Lohgar district. This stream from the Khar-wár Dara'h, and that from the Chashmah-i-Tarah, unite with the Áb-i-Gardaiz, or river of Lohgar, near Pátaḳ-Áb, or Pádaḳ-Áo-i-Roghán.

"Following the course of the first-mentioned stream for a distance of seven kuroh, but in a direction rather more towards the south-west than before, with the Sugáwand Pass lying about three kuroh on the right hand, you reach the commencement* of the Khar-wár *Kotal*. It is rough and difficult, and in places steep for the distance of a kuroh or thereabouts, after which the crest is gained.† After clearing it, the road, such as it is, bends to the south, and then to the south-south-west. The descent on the other side is by no means so difficult, nor so steep, for Khar-wár lies much higher than the Lohgar Dara'h at Barakkai-i-Bárán. After proceeding for about three kuroh from the crest of the Pass, in the direction of south-south-west, you reach the Ḳala' of 'Alí Ján, or 'Alí Ján's Fort, in the Khar-wár Dara'h.

"From this point you can enter the lower part of the Zurmat Dara'h, lying nearest to Shil-gar, by going in the direction of south, but inclining to the south-east. Two ranges of hills have to be crossed to effect it, and one or two defiles have to be traversed, and small *kotals* crossed, but they are not difficult. Proceeding thus for a distance of ten kuroh you reach the Ḳala'-i-Fatḥ-ullah, or Fatḥ-ullah's Fort or Castle,‡ in the lower part of the Zurmat Dara'h; and the Ḳolághú—the Turkish for a Pass—leading by Ghaznín to Rámak, lies about a kuroh and a half on the right hand (south-west).

"From 'Alí Ján's Ḳala', by crossing the western part of the Khar-wár Dara'h, the Dara'h of the Sh'níz river, and the northern entrance to the Dahan-i-Sher, or Lion's Jaws Pass, can be reached, distant some thirteen kuroh, but the way is rough and difficult, and contains many ascents and descents. The writer, however, speaks of this from report, not having himself explored the latter route, but, otherwise, the routes in Khar-wár, although rough, are practicable for wheeled carriages, and might be improved without much difficulty. The route by the Khar-wár *Kotal* appears to have been much more used in former days than at present,§ and it has, doubtless, become more rough and difficult to traverse through having been neglected. When a route, in tracts like these herein described, become neglected or disused, frost, snow, and rain, and other elementary changes, soon render it difficult to traverse.

"From 'Alí Ján's Ḳala', following the course of a stream, coming from the direction of Ghaznín, for part of the way, you cross the hills to the south-west and reach that place. It is a long, rough, and somewhat difficult stage of nearly eighteen kuroh."

These observations respecting the practicability of this route are quite confirmed by the narrative of Báyazíd, the Byát, from his own personal experiences. He says, that, "in the winter of 959 H. (1552–53 A.D.), Humáyún Bádsháh set out from Kábul for "Kandahár by way of Charkh and the Khar-wár *Kotal*. The night he halted in the "Dara'h of Khar-wár the cold was intense. This part, indeed, is considered to be the "coldest spot within the territory of Kábul. From Khar-wár the Bádsháh reached "Sh'níz Gáo,‖ whither the young Prince, Jalál-ud-Dín, Muḥammad Akbar, came from "Ghaznín to meet his father. They proceeded from Sh'níz Gáo together as far as the "tomb of the Khwájah, 'Uṣmán, and from thence passed on to Muḳur, where, having "halted for a day, the young Prince was dismissed to return to his government of "Ghaznín. From Muḳur, the Khwájah, Jalál-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd, was despatched to "collect the revenue of Gardaiz, which was his fief; and he was likewise directed "to collect that of Baghzaṇ [the Kurma'h district], and Bangas'h, out of which the "troops serving under the young Prince were to receive their pay."

It was in this neighbourhood that the Hazárah people dwelling hereabout, in the

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* The Khar-wár *Kotal*, itself, lies about six kuroh or more south of the Sugáwand Pass.

† Outram says, after reaching a place called by him "Mulkabad," which does not appear in any of our maps, that, "after a march of nineteen and a quarter miles, we reached Alli Jah's Killa, in the Khurvar "district. At the twelfth mile we reached the foot of the Khurvar Pass, the ascent of which is three quarters "of a mile in length, extremely steep and difficult—and infinitely worse than the Kojak [Kojzakh]." From the Ḳala' of 'Alí Ján he despatched a body of sixty horsemen "for the purpose of apprehending a branch "party of the gang that murdered Colonel Herring, which is said to be in the neighbourhood of Churka "[Charkh?]." From the fort before mentioned he crossed the hills into Zurmat, as already mentioned. *See* note †, page 685.

He had a horse-battery of nine pounders along with him in this expedition, but he could scarcely have taken them by this route over the Khar-wár *Kotal*.

‡ This so-called Castle is probably nothing more than one of those villages the houses of which are connected by walls, and with a single entrance, such as described elsewhere.

§ At the time he wrote.

‖ Distant from 'Alí Ján's Ḳala' about sixteen kuroh to the west.

year 1008 H. (1600 A.D.) rid Akbar Bádsháh, but not voluntarily perhaps, of Jalál-ud-Dín, Anṣárí, otherwise Jalálah, the Ros'háni or Táríkí, against whom bodies of troops had been constantly sent for the last ten years or more, who kept Zábul-istán in a state of constant ferment, and in endeavouring to capture whom, Zain Khán, the Kokal-Tásh, the most celebrated and experienced of Akbar Bádsháh's generals, with a number of troops, had been for years occupied. At the period in question Zain Khán was in the Tíráh district.

"The Núḥární Afgháns," says the Akbar Námah, "are in the habit of going and "coming to Ghaznín with horses. In this year they were drawn into an ambush "prepared for them by the Hazárahs [on the way between Ghaznín and the Dara'h of "the Gumul], and in a place where water was scarce. When the Hazárahs fell upon "them, the Núḥárnís made a determined stand, and for the space of a whole week "fighting went on between them. At last, having suffered greatly for want of water, "and being unable to procure any, the Núḥárnís were defeated and had to retreat. "On this, by way of revenging themselves on the Hazárahs, these Afgháns sought aid "from Jalálah, the Táríkí, who was in the part near by. On the ninth of Ardu-"Bihisht [April], he and a body of his followers, in the disguise of traders, entered "Ghaznín, and set to to sack the place. A few of the retainers of Sharíf Khán, the "Ḥákim, and the people, endeavoured to repel them, but were beaten off and forced "to retire [within the citadel apparently]."

Ghaznín during some days was sacked; and Jalálah, who had collected a deal of plunder, was desirous of sending it to his own place of abode, unknown, it seems, to the Núḥárnís. On the 16th of that same month, Jalálah endeavoured to effect his purpose. "Shádmán, the Hazárah, with some of his people, fell in with him and his "plunder; and, in the short fight that ensued, Jalálah and his Táríkí followers were "overpowered, and took flight in all directions. Jalálah, who was wounded, made for "the Koh-i-Ribáṭ [a little to the north-east of Rámak, mentioned above], but Murád "Beg, another Hazárah, and some others of that people, came up with him, and "finished his career."

All this shows the practicability of the different routes in this direction. I now continue the account of the route.

"By proceeding one kuroh and a half farther south from the Ḳala'-i-Fatḥ-ullah in Zurmat, and following the course of the same stream, you reach Ḳalgháj,* from which point a road branches off westwards, inclining north-west, to Ghaznín by Rámak,† distant five kuroh, and another in the direction of south-east to Shor Katsa'h,‡ from which, distant five kuroh to the eastwards, is the village of Sih Rauẓah, or 'The Three Tombs,' on the western side of the great western range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, mentioned in the account of the Fifth Route [at page 85], and from which place roads branch off in different directions. One leads north-eastwards into Khost and Kurma'h; another south-eastwards into Dawaṛ by Urgún in Farmúl, and down the Tonchí Dara'h; and a third southwards, through the tract inhabited by the Kharoṭí Ghalzís, to the upper part of the Gumul Dara'h.

"From Shor Katsa'h a route runs south-south-westwards to Kalát-i-Ghalzí, Ḳandahár, the Dara'h of the Jzíob, and Kwaṭá'h, by Wádzey Khwá, which will presently be described.

"The Khar-wár Dara'h is about twelve kuroh in length from north-east to south-west, and about the same in breadth. It has the Dara'h of Lohgar on the north, Gardaiz or Zurmat on the east, Ghaznín, and the Dara'h of the Sh'níz on the west, and Shil-gar on the south. The streams running through it rise in the mountains on the south-west, flow in a general direction from that point towards the north-east, and, on clearing the northern boundary of the Dara'h, turn towards the north, and finally unite with the river of the Lohgar Dara'h near Barakkai-i-Bárán."

One Hundred and Fourth Route. From Kábul to Ghaznín, Kalát-i-Ghalzí, and Ḳandahár, a distance of two hundred and three kuroh in a general direction of south-west.

"This route is known as the Sháh-Ráh, or Shah's Road.

"Setting out from the city of Kábul,§ by the gateway near the Dih-i-Mazang, and

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* The place which appears in the maps as "Kalagu" is probably meant for this; for Ḳolághú, also spelt Ḳulághú, is merely the Turkish for a pass. MacGregor, on the authority of Broadfoot, apparently, calls it incorrectly *Kolálgú*, and says it is "a village of 200 houses" belonging to the "Tájaks"! *See* page 85, note †.

† I neither refer here to the "Rahmak," "Rahmat," nor the "Shorkach" of the maps.

‡ Shor Kajá or Kaja'h, by those who change the Pus'hto "*ts*" to "*j*."

§ The writer gave an account of Kábul at page 65, which see.

Tavernier, who was in these parts in the early part of 'Álam-gír Bádsháh's reign, describing the route from

threading the Dúrín *Tangaey* or Gorge, you reach the fortified bridge of Náṣir Khán. This bridge extends nearly across the whole breadth of the *Tangaey* in question, through which, likewise, the River of Kábul, and other tributaries from the west and north-west, from Paghmán and other hill tracts, which unite with it a little farther on the road, flow from the west towards the east. This *Tangaey* separates the ranges of rocky hills rising immediately westwards of the city, known as Ásá Má'í and Takht-i-Sháh,* the former being on the right hand (north) as you proceed, and the latter on the left (south).

"This bridge has been so contructed as to leave a passage or roadway on either hand; and certain walls have been carried from it up the hills on either side, and continued downwards on the east side, as far as the walls of the Bálá Hiṣár. These were constructed some time back by the Sar-dár, Jahán Khán, Popalzí Sadozí Durrání, the Khán-i-Khánán, in the time of the present Bádsháh's father; and the before-mentioned Khán was a famous Durrání noble of that period, as has been previously stated at page 66 These walls were erected as an additional protection to the city on the west side.†

"Continuing to traverse the Dúrín *Tangaey* or Defile, with the river of Kábul, which issues from the *kol-i-áb* or lake, called the Band-i-Barbar, which will be described in another route, away some distance on the left hand, you come out upon the *Úláng* or *Jal-gáh* of Dúrín or Díúrín, giving name to the *Tangaey*. Beyond this again, but not far away, less than half a kuroh, and at the foot of the Takht-i-Sháh hill, in a grove‡ of trees, chiefly planes, walnuts, and aspens, is the maḳbarah or mausoleum of Bábar Bádsháh. This *Úláng* or *Jal-gáh* of Dúrín§ is now chiefly known as the Maidán-i-Chhár Dih, or Plain of the Four Villages, so called after a cluster of four villages, also styled Hindka'í,‖ described at page 69. This Maidán is accounted one of the most fertile and productive in the whole province of Kábul, and the view over it cannot be equalled for beauty.

"Wending your way over this fine *úláng*, *jal-gáh*, or *maidán*, which is densely cultivated, and crossing the river coming from the direction of Arghandí by the way, which, near by, receives several tributaries from the north-west, from the Paghmán and other Dara'hs in that direction, you reach the Ḳala'-i-Topchí Báshí, or Artillery Commandant's Castle, distant from the city two kuroh and a half, which place is surrounded by fine plane trees. By the way you pass several villages, both on the right hand and on the left, for the most part embowered among groves of fine trees, consisting chiefly of poplar, plane, and walnut. Numerous other villages show themselves away in the distance on either side.

"The *Úláng* or *Jal-gáh* of Dúrín, or *Maidán* or Plain of Chhár Dih, is extensive, and is bounded by mountains of greater or lesser elevation on all sides, those on the west and south, however, being of the greatest altitude. The lofty mountain range bounding the plain on the south, which has a flattish top towards its western extremity in the direction of the *Kotal*-i-Takht, is known by the name of Ḳúrúḳ or Ḳúrúgh, '*ḳ*' and '*gh*,' in Turkish, being interchangable, and which, from the name, appears to have been, or to be, the burial place of some great Mughal chief before that people became converts to Islám, and which places were *ḳúrúḳ* or 'prohibited' or 'sequestrated,' hence the name, and by which name the range is also known as the Koh-i-Ḳúrúḳ.¶

Chakenicouze (Ghaznín) to Caboul, says it is forty "Costes [kos]," and that, "in all these forty *Costes* of way, "there are but three pitiful Villages, where sometimes, though very rarely, you have Bread and Barley for your "Horses; but the surest way is to carry provision along with you. . . . *Caboul* is a large City, very well "fortified; and is the place where those of *Usbek* come every year to sell their Horses. They reckon, that there "are bought and sold, every year, above sixty thousand. They bring also out of *Persia* great numbers of Sheep "and other Cattel; it being the general concourse of *Persians*, *Tartarians*, and *Indians*."

A Hindú, and Government official, the author of the Khuláṣat-ut-Tawáríkh, which is a valuable work, written in the reign of, and dedicated to, 'Álam-gír Bádsháh, says, that the Afgháns "are almost wholly independent," and that "they do not acknowledge submission to the Bádsháh, but, as the Sháh-Ráh, or Royal "Road lies through their territories, they receive a gift from the Ṣúbah-dárs to keep the route open [in other "words, a gift to allow a passage]. Caravans and other travellers have to pay for their animals and goods, "otherwise they are kidnapped and sold as slaves."

* Also called the Takht-i-Khwájah Ṣafar, turned into "*Khwoja*" and "*Khojá*" by some late writers.

† These walls had nothing whatever to do with "Nasír Khán, who flourished at the epoch of Nádar's invasion," and, as shown above, that "dignitary" had no hand in their erection, for he was dead many years before they were erected.

‡ It was formerly a garden belonging to his uncle, Mírzá Ulugh Beg, and was called the Bágh-i-Noh-rozí. Bábar Bádsháh's mother, Ḳutlugh-Nigár Khánim, was buried there previously, and a young son.

§ This extensive *úláng* or *jal-gáh*, as Bábar Bádsháh also remarks, may really be accounted as two, namely, the *Úláng* of Khúsh-Nádir on the north side, and the *Úláng* of Teba'h or Tebá on the south, but the whole is known as the Díúrín or Dúrín *Úláng* or *Jal-gáh*.

‖ But turned into "*Indaki*" in the latest maps.

¶ This range in the latest maps appears as "*Korogh*" simply. *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 1089, note, paragraph five.

On the other, or southern side of this range, which runs east and west for about seven kuroh, after which it bends to the southwards, is Lalandar.* This is the pleasant but rough and picturesque dara'h through which the river of Kábul flows, which issues from the Band-i-Barbar, as will be described in another place. After first flowing through the valley of Nirkh Maidán, it runs through the Dara'hs of Tai-tímúr and Lalandar, bends towards the north-north-west, and enters the *Úláng* or *Jal-gáh* of Tebá or Teba'h.

"The other ranges of mountains, bounding the *Úlúng* or *Jal-gáh* of Dúrín, or *Maidán* of the Chhár Dih on the west and north-west, are of much greater elevation than those on the south, and are snow capped. They bound the Dara'hs of Paghmán and Bek-Tút, famous for their gardens and orchards, and other dara'hs or valleys in those directions.

"Continuing onwards from the Ḳala'-i-Topchí Báshí in the same direction as before, and crossing the before-mentioned river, which is generally fordable, twice by the way, for a distance of another two kuroh and a half, the road being rather rough and stony, you reach Ḳala'-i-Ḳáẓí, or 'The Ḳáẓí's Fort or Castle.' This, really, is a walled village belonging to the Tájzíks, standing on an eminence, near the western extremity of the *Úláng* or *Jal-gáh* of Dúrín, or *Maidán* of the Chhár Dih, on the left-hand side of the way. It is surrounded with gardens and orchards, and lies near the skirt of the high range of Koh-i-Ḳúrúḳ, bounding the *úláng* on the south.

"Leaving Ḳala'-i-Ḳáẓí, you proceed another stage of four kuroh and a half, gradually ascending as you proceed, and in much the same direction as before, except for the last kuroh, when the road bends towards the south-west, over a rough road full of large, loose, stones, and skirts the banks of the same stream for more than half way. The lofty and rugged mountain range of Koh-i-Ḳúrúḳ, before noticed, rises upwards on the left hand, and on the right hand is a detached hill, known as the Chhil-Tan,† so called from a Ẓíárat or Shrine of some Musalmán saint or holy man, and in which hill there is a cave. After crossing the stream flowing from the Koh-i-Ḳúrúḳ about half way on the road, which now begins to bend gradually towards the south-south-west, at the end of four kuroh and a half you reach the Chaukí, Guard House, or Watch Tower of Arghandí,‡ standing in a short *kotal* or pass in the mountain range of Ḳúrúḳ where it bends towards the south. The road here becomes still more stony; and the mountains separating the Nirkh Maidán Dara'h from that of Arghandí, and those separating Arghandí from the *Úláng* or *Jal-gáh* of Dúrín, or *Maidán* of the Chhár Dih, approaches the Koh-i-Ḳúrúḳ, and the *kotal* above mentioned leads over them.§

"At this point a road branches off to the right hand in the direction of south-west, over the *Kotal*-i-Safed Khák, or Pass of the White Grave,‖ which leads up the Dara'h of Sang-Lákh,¶ out of which the river of Kábul issues, and by which dara'h the country of the Sulṭán Mas'údí Hazárah can be reached, some account of which will be given in the notice of those people.

"Continuing onwards another stage of about six kuroh, over a barren, elevated, stony plain, and descending slightly as you proceed, you enter the not very difficult *Kotal*-i-Nirkh,** now chiefly known as the *Kotal*-i-Takht,†† or 'Pass of the Sepulchre,' in the direction of south-west, inclining south. In this *kotal* there is another Chaukí, Guard House, or Watch Tower, an ancient looking round structure‡‡ standing on the hill side, on the right hand as you proceed, where tolls and dues are collected.

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* Only "*Lalanda*," as in the maps, by those who leave out their "*r's*." Neither is it called "Lálandar," with long "*a*."

† Not "*Chiltan*," as in recent maps.

‡ MacGregor, quoting Masson, Hough, and others, calls this Argandeh, which is not correct. I give above the word as written in the original Tájzík, and, moreover, Masson and others write the word as I have written it above, but it is sometimes written Úrghandí, with long '*u*.'

§ It was some distance in front of Arghandí, on approaching it from the Nirkh Maidán or Maidán Dara'h, that the Amír, Dost Muḥammad's guns were found drawn up and abandoned on the approach of the army under Lieut-General Sir John Keane, K.C.B., in 1839. It was at Arghandí, likewise, that the prisoners who fell into the power of the Afgháns on the disastrous retreat from Kábul in January, 1842, arrived safe in the camp of Major-General Sir R. Sale's brigade.

‖ This is Masson's and MacGregor's "Kotal *Khak Súféd*." One of the significations of *khák* is earth, but here it refers to the tomb and shrine or grave of some holy man.

¶ *Lákh* is the Tájzík for a place, and *sang* means, stone, rock, etc.,—Sang-Lákh, the Place of Stones, or a rocky, stony tract.

** Bábar Bádsháh crossed this *kotal* when he harried the Hazárah people of these parts for not paying their revenue to his Taḥṣíl-dárs. I shall refer to this raid in another route.

†† Takht has many meanings besides a throne; here it signifies a grave or sepulchre, it also means a bier, but never a "*tope*."

‡‡ This Watch Tower is, evidently, what is referred to as the Takht, which word signifies "a platform," "a raised seat," and the like, as well as a throne, and the other meanings given above.

Nirkh is a Tájzík word signifying 'toll,' 'tax,' 'import,' 'dues,' etc.; and as the Ghaznín district commences immediately to the south of this point, tolls have been here collected for ages past, and the *kotal* has been named accordingly. The road is rough and stony throughout, and is intersected here and there by water-courses, the channels of mountain torrents.

"Rather more than half way you clear the Nirkh or Takht *Kotal*, and enter the Nirkh Maidán, or Nirkh Dara'h as it is also called, the ground slightly descending. About the fifth kuroh the road turns towards the south, and you have the river of Kábul about a kuroh or less distant on the right hand as you go along.

"This is a somewhat extensive dara'h, irregular in shape, about four kuroh in its greatest breadth, and probably double that length, the longest part lying nearly east and west. It is shut in on all sides by the very lofty and sterile looking mountains which separate it on the north and north-west from the dara'h in which the river of Kábul flows, and on the south, south-west, and south-east by the Bíní Bádám range.

"This Nirkh Maidán or Dara'h is exceedingly pleasant and well cultivated, being watered by mountain streams and by several canals. It contains a number of walled hamlets and fortified dwellings, delightfully green meadows, and every here and there are groves of poplars, planes, walnuts, and other fine trees.

"Proceeding towards the south-east corner of the dara'h, with the river of Kábul and some of its minor feeders about a kuroh or less on the right hand, and skirting the high range, a continuation of the Koh-i-Ḳúrúḳ, separating the Maidán Dara'h from the Dara'h of Lalandar, by the way, which rises immediately on the left hand, at the end of about the sixth kuroh you reach the halting place near the principal village known as Maidán, from the Maidán Dara'h in which it is situated. It lies near the east bank of the river of Kábul near where it receives a considerable tributary from the westwards, from that part of the dara'h in which direction other minor dara'hs open into it. This place is accounted the first stage for a horseman between Kábul and Ghaznín.

"The Nirkh Maidán or Dara'h belongs to the Tájzík people, but, at the present time, a number of Ghalzís of the Píárú Khel and 'Umar Khel division of that great Afghán tribe dwell therein.* From it several roads branch off. One leads to Balkh by the *Kotal*-i-'Iráḳ, another leads to Kábul by going southwards for about a kuroh, crossing the river of Kábul near the point where it makes a bend to the north-east, and crossing the hills, the western boundary of Lohgar, into that district. About two kuroh west of Gum-ráhán or Gumrán this route turns northwards to Nún-yáz, as mentioned in the Second Route, which see. From this turning point north, by continuing on to Gum-ráhán or Gumrán, you get into the route which leads by Zarghún S'hahr and the Dara'h of Khúshí to the Kurma'h Dara'h by the Mi-yandzey Lári; and by Zarghún S'hahr and Ḥiṣárak to Ghaznín by the Sugáwand Ghás'haey; by Ḥiṣárak into Gardaiz and Zurmat; and also into Khost, and from thence into Bannú and other parts on the Abáe-Sín [or Indus].

"Leaving the halting place in the Nirkh Maidán or Dara'h, near the village of Maidán, so called, you have to proceed another stage of seven kuroh in the direction of south. First ascending, and then descending, towards the south by a somewhat rough road, and with the river of Kábul near by on the right hand as you proceed, you skirt the lofty ridge of mountain rising up on the left hand. This is an offshoot from the range of Koh-i-Ḳúrúḳ, which separates the Nirkh Maidán from the long and narrow dara'h of Tai-tímúr (so called after a cluster of Tájzík hamlets about half way up the dara'h), which, in the direction of north-east, leads into the Lalandar dara'h; and through both these dara'hs the river of Kábul flows. After proceeding about a kuroh and a half or little more, you reach the river of Kábul, which here makes a sudden bend round the brow of the mountain range on the left hand, from a direction about south-south-east, to north-east, in order to flow through the Tai-tímúr and Lalandar Dara'hs. At this point the river is wide and rapid, but, farther up stream, on the right-hand side, the ground here and there is soft and boggy. The brow or extremity of the mountain range round which the river makes this bend is a lofty, rocky bluff, on which appears the ruins of another of those Chaukís or Watch Towers.

"You now have to cross the river by an ancient looking bridge of burnt brick, but in a somewhat dilapidated condition†. Here also the river is rather rapid, but, on ordinary occasions, is not more than knee deep, sometimes a little more. After heavy

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* The Píárú or Píáro Khel also dwell at and around Tai-tímúr. The Ghalzís of the Sulímán Khel now extend southwards on this road as far as the Pul-i-Wardag.

† This bridge has gone to complete ruin long since.

falls of rain in the mountains it becomes impassable for some time. Immediately in front, towards the right hand after crossing, a great mountain range rises, long, rocky spurs or offshoots from which run down north-north-eastwards towards the river, and you wind your way close under the brow of one of them, ascending from the bed of the stream by a narrow and craggy defile or gorge, with Tai-tímúr behind on your left hand. In front, on the right hand, runs a stream which comes down the dara'h in front (south-south-west) and unites with the river of Kábul about a kuroh below the afore-mentioned bridge near the entrance of the Tai-tímúr Dara'h.

"Continuing onwards, the ground rising slightly as you proceed, you skirt the mountain range on the right, and follow the course of this stream coming from the southwards, which flows a short distance away on the left hand, beyond which again rises the long, narrow range which separates the dara'h now being traversed from the district of Lohgar, and over which, about two kuroh from the last halting place, a road leads into that district and from thence to Kábul and other parts, as already stated.

"Towards the end of the third kuroh the dara'h begins to open, and you traverse a well cultivated tract of country. Several enclosed, castle-like looking villages, with groves of trees here and there, lie under the mountains on either hand, one of which, distant about a kuroh on the left hand, is Sayyid-ábád, and another, on the right hand, about a kuroh and a half distant, is Bíní Bádám, so called after the high mountain range at the base of which it lies. There are also two or three less important villages near the road. At the end of the seventh kuroh you reach the Ṭop,* another of those ancient Chaukís or Watch Towers, but, from its name, it would seem rather to be the remains of one of those buildings, so called, erected by the infidel idol-worshippers."

It may be well to say something in explanation of the term "castle-like looking villages," here used by the author, and which the few English writers who have passed this way call "castles," "forts," and "walled villages." They are, in reality, neither; for the whole community dwell in them. The houses, which face inwards, are merely connected by walls on the outside, which arrangement, of course, is intended for defence, but this it is which makes the villages appear as if regularly walled. There is generally but one strong and defensive gateway to each village. Many, if not most, of the villages of these parts are so constructed, and some of them are places of considerable strength. A few are really fortified villages.

To continue. "Leaving the halting place near the Ṭop, the ground slightly descending, you continue onwards in much the same direction as before, but now follow the course of another small stream, a feeder of the considerable river which issues from the Khúṭ Dara'h,† behind the mountains on the right-hand side (west), presently to be noticed, and which river, after flowing through the *Tangaey* of the Wardags, unites with the river of Lohgar about two kuroh and a half east of the large village of Barakkai-i-Roghán. The stream whose course has to be followed, rises just before the end of the last stage at the Ṭop. The dara'h now becomes very narrow and contracted; for the steep mountains on either side close in upon it, those on the left hand, bounding the Dara'h of Lohgar on the west, being the nearest, and, apparently, much the highest, and both are not more than about a kuroh apart in some places. They are bare, barren, and cheerless, as before, and now little vegetation of any kind is to be seen, except, here and there, patches or clumps of *lúkha'h* grass.‡ Rather more than half way, between the third and fourth kuroh, you pass from the right bank of the stream to the left one, but still follow its course. At the end of the sixth kuroh you reach Shaikh-ábád, on the north or left bank of the river issuing from the Khúṭ Dara'h to the west, and with which, the stream hitherto followed now unites.

"Shaikh-ábád is a cluster of small, castellated-looking villages of the usual description in these parts, with their fields of cultivation, and groves of willow and other trees. This place gives name also to the small and fertile district west of it, containing several villages, and out of which the Khúṭ river, a tributary of the river of Lohgar, which flows through the Wardag *Tangaey*, issues. In this small district of Shaikh-ábád, which includes the dara'h immediately to the west, from which this

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* This part of the dara'h contains the remains of several of these *ṭops*, the one above is the place written "*Sari Tup*" in our latest maps. "Tope Chauki" of the Bombay Quarter-Master General's route, is not exactly the same place apparently.

† The Dara'h of the Khúṭ river. Khúṭ or Khuṭ in Pus'hto, signifies "ebullition," "bubbling," "wildness," "vehemence," "rage," etc. "The Wild or Impetuous River," which, when in flood, it must be in the upper part of its course.

‡ A reed or kind of coarse grass, papyrus.

river comes, is included in the *belak* of the Wardags. The Hazárah people of Bisút,* farther west, still continue to possess some of the castle-like villages in this district.

"The afore-mentioned river takes its rise in a large *jal-gáh* in the Bisút district, which is inhabited by the people descended from one of the Mughal *mings* or *hazárahs* which were, in ancient times, located in these parts. Bisút lies beyond the great mountain range to the west, which separates this dara'h from that in which the Hírmand or Hílmand river flows, and ancient Ghúr from the kingdom of Ghaznín. This Khút or Shaikh-ábád river passes near the famous great clump of rocks, said to be the petrified remains of one of the *ajzdahás*, or monstrous dragons, slain by Hazrat 'Alí, the Khalífah, of which champion of the Musalmáns so many legends are current over these parts. It receives several minor streams, both from the right hand and the left, before it reaches Shaikh-ábád. It is a clear, rapid, and boisterous stream, and varies from nine to ten *gaz* in breadth in summer, and from over knee to breast deep on ordinary occasions. It flows over a stony bed, and is generally fordable to horsemen, but not to men on foot. After continuous or heavy rain it greatly increases in volume, rushes down with great violence, and becomes quite impassable. After reaching this cluster of villages it flows away towards the right hand [south-east, or nearly so] through the *Tangaey* of the Wardags, as has been previously described in the Hundred and first Route, which see. The different routes which lead to Shaikh-ábád, and which branch off from it, have been already noticed in the three preceding Routes. This place also is considered to be the second stage for a horseman between Kábul and Ghaznín.

"The next stage, which is rather less than six kuroh, leads in much the same direction as before. Soon after leaving Shaikh-ábád you have to cross this river above mentioned, by a rustic bridge, which is known as the Pul or Bridge of the Wardag *belak* or district. It is constructed of large trunks of trees, and is supported in the middle by a pile of great stones, built up in the bed of the river. After reaching the opposite side, and proceeding on for the distance of a kuroh or a kuroh and a half, you pass the village of the Do-Ábah, close by the road on the left-hand side, and near where the Sh'níz river† turns to the east and unites with the Shaikh-ábád or Khút river. This place is called the Do-Ábah village because it is situated in the *do-ábah* or delta in the fork near where these two rivers unite. Here also a road leading from the Wardag *Tangaey*, as described in the previous Route (One hundred and one), joins the main road now being described.

"The dara'h of the Sh'níz, which you now have to traverse, becomes more open as you proceed, gradually ascending as you go. It has low hills on either side, is exceedingly pleasant and well cultivated, and contains a few villages shaded by their usual groves of trees. The road is somewhat rough and stony, and here and there is intersected by water-courses, the channels of mountain streams from the hills on either side, and the river runs about half a kuroh or less on the left hand. After going from the Pul-i-Wardag for a distance of little over four kuroh, you reach the walled village of Sayyid-ábád, which, as its name indicates, belongs to the Wardag tribe of Karlární Afgháns, who are of Sayyid descent, and is contained within the *belak* or district called after their name."

I had better now give a short account of the Wardags and their district before describing the route further.

The Belak or District of the Wardags.

Their *belak* consists of nearly the whole of the long dara'h of the Sh'níz, as far south as Shaj-Gáo or Shush-Gáo; the dara'h constituting the *Tangaey* bearing their name on the east; Shaikh-ábád and dependent villages on the north; the dara'h of the Khút on the west; together with Sih-Áo, and Jaghatú, so called after a division of the Hazárah people who inhabit it, and some of whom also dwell in the district

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* Also written Bisúd, "*t*" and "*d*" being interchangable. More of this part hereafter.

† This word is turned into "*Shiniz*" in the maps, is MacGregor's "*Shaniz*," and Bellew's "*Shanis*." Nearly every writer who passed this way has mistaken the river of the Sh'níz dara'h for the river of Kábul or the river of Ghaznín.. The Tájzík original is as written above. One or two English writers call it the "*Lora*," but *lorah*, like *lor kand*, means land or a tract of country channeled by a flood or rush of water, and also a flood or rush of water, but the latter meaning is more rarely used. Consequently, *any* deep channel of this kind is a *lorah*, and also the water running in it. The meaning of *sh'níz* will be found farther on.

dependent on Ḳará-Bágh farther south-west. Their territory is bounded on the west by the great range of mountains separating them from Ghúr, inhabited by the Hazárah people chiefly; on the north by the Tájzíks, and the Sulímán Khel Ghalzí Afgháns of the Nirkh Maidán Dara'h; on the south by other Sulímán Khel Ghalzís; and on the east by other branches of that most numerous division of the Ghalzí tribe,[*] and the Tájzíks of Lohgar.

The tract of country now in the possession of the Waṛdags was, in former times, held by the Hazárah people, but, from the time of Humáyún Bádsháh, and his son, Jalál-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, Akbar Bádsháh, they have been gradually pushed back towards the west through the expansion of the Afghán tribes from the eastward.

In the assessment made in the reign of the last-named Bádsháh, who became possessed of these parts after the death of Muḥammad Ḥakím Mírzá, his half brother, the present Waṛdag *belak* appears to have been included in the *Tomán* of Maidán, which paid a revenue of 16,06,799 *dáms*, equal to 40,168 *rúpís* and a fraction, out of which sum 1,664 *dáms* were *saiyúr-ghál*, or free grants, equal to 41 *rúpís* and 24 *dáms*. The people then inhabiting it are designated Maidánís, that is, Tájzíks of Maidán, and Hazárahs; and the district was assessed as liable to furnish 2,000 horse for militia purposes, but no footmen.

THE WAṚDAG TRIBE OF KAṚLÁṚNÍ AFGHÁNS.

At the period referred to above, the Waṛdag tribe, then dwelling in the *Tomán* of Bangas'h, were very strong in point of numbers; for, in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, they are rated as able to furnish 500 horsemen, and 5,500 foot, equivalent, at least, to their amounting to 6,000 men capable of bearing arms. The exact locality in which they then dwelt is not indicated, but it was, in all probability, in the south-west extremity of the Bangas'h *Tomán*, in, or near, the territory still held by their Jzandrárn kinsmen of the Kaṛlární division of the Afghán nation. When they and the other Kaṛlárnís increased to a greater extent than their lands could support, and the Hazárah people, from constant harryings by the Government officials, had grown weak, the Waṛdags pushed westwards to near their present locality, forcing back the Hazárah people at the same time, as the Ghalzí Afgháns have since done, and are still doing, as will be shown in its proper place.[†]

The Waṛdags are descended from the Sayyid, Muḥammad-i-Gisú-Daráz, or, "Of "the Long Locks," who among his four legal wives, married a daughter of Kaṛlárnaey,[‡] which wife bore him two sons, Honaey and Waṛdag, the progenitors of those two tribes. Waṛdag had seven sons; Núr, Dánaey[§]—by some Danaey—Mír, Gadá, or Gadá-í, Mamak, Túrak, and Mahyár. Túrak, or Little Túr, appears to have been an adopted son, and by some accounts, Mahyár was also an adopted son, but this is very doubtful. His descendants are the Mahyárs. They, and some other Waṛdags, were among the allies of the Khas'hís present with Khán Kajú when he overthrew

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* *See* the account of the Ghalzís and other Matís farther on.

† Professor H. H. Wilson, in his "Review of the Travels of Hiouen Thsang," referred to farther on at page 703, says (p. 135), "That the difficulty of verifying the traveller's course depends very much upon our "imperfect acquaintance with the countries, is rendered probable by the comparative facility of verification "*when we know where we are.*" The following does not show it The traveller arrives at "*Hu-pi-an*, the "capital of *Fo-li-shi-lang-na*," which is recognized as "*Hupian*, to the north of Kabul, at the foot of the "Hindu Kosh, first made known to us by Mr. Masson, and which has borne a similar appellation for 2,000 "years, being the *Alexandria Opiana* of Stephanus of Byzantium, and one of Alexander's military colonies. "The country, M. St. Martin *thinks, may be recognized in Varda-sthana, the place or region of the Vardaks,* "*one of the principal Afghan tribes*, a name that may also be recognized in the classical Artospana, or more "correctly Arto, or Varta-sthana."

With regard to the above I may mention, that Waṛdag—for the Waṛdags are meant—*was not born, nor his father either*, at this period; and the Waṛdags did not take up their quarters in this part, which is merely known as the District of the Waṛdags after them, *until some eight centuries after the time* of this Hiouen Thsang. As Hupian is *upwards of forty miles north of Kábul* and the Waṛdag district *only commences some forty miles south-west of Kábul*, it only shows on what foundations such theories are built up.

‡ Mr. Bellew, in his last book, makes "*Tajiks*" of them. MacGregor, under the head of Wardaks, says, "They are neither Ghilzáes nor Dúránís, but are nearest in descent to the latter. They call themselves "Patháns, but are of a different origin from the Afgháns. They are sometimes called Shékhs." Their origin, however, is well known to those conversant with the Afgháns or Pus'htúns and their descent.

§ In some accounts Danaey is written Dataey, with short "*a*," and with "*t*," the copyist, by an extra point, having turned "*n*" into "*t*," but Dánaey is an Afghán name.

the Ghwaríah Khel and their confederates in the great battle at Shaikh Tapúr, near Pes'háwar.* The Gadá Khel, or Gadá-í Khel, as they are also called, on account of family quarrels, retired into Hindústán, where their descendants are to be found. The Mahyárs contain four khels or sections, but the other descendants of Wardag do not appear to have thrown out many branches. Those dwelling in the *belak* named after them, previously noticed, are said to number about 10,000 families. The most numerous among them are the Mír Khel, and, after them, the Núrí Khel and Mahyárs are strongest in point of numbers. The chieftain-ship continues in the Núrí Khel, whose progenitor, Núr, was Wardag's eldest son.

There are a number of Wardags dwelling in the Chachchh Hazárah territory, now forming part of the Ráwal Pindí district of the Panj-áb, especially at and around Hazrao and Nitopá or Nitopah, which places have been noticed in Section Second of this work, page 31, which see.

Wardag, their progenitor, and his brother Honaey, as well as the other sons of the Sayyid, Muhammad-i-Gísú-Daráz, by his Sheráni and Kákar wives, namely Úsh-tarárnaey, Bakht-yár, and Mashwárnaey respectively, are accounted Sayyid-zádahs on their father's side, but their mothers being Afgháns, and they and their descendants having continued to intermarry among their Afghán kinsmen, they are accounted Afgháns likewise.† The Sayyid descent of the Wardags, like the Úsh-tarárnís, Bakht-yárís, and Mashwárnís, causes them to be looked up to by others, just as are the Sayyids of Púshang among the Taríns, of whom more hereafter.

The Wardags are said to be on good terms with their neighbours, and to have no feuds among themselves; and they are accounted quiet and inoffensive, and well behaved. This is, doubtless, true to some extent, but I fear they are much like other Afgháns and Asiatics generally, when opportunity occurs. Captain W. R. Woodburn, and his detachment, were treacherously cut off on the 3rd November, 1841, and massacred to a man, in a walled village close to Sayyid-ábád, which place, when Major-General Sir W. Nott, G.C.B., led his gallant force to Kábul, he caused to be utterly destroyed. Colonel Herring, commanding the 37th N. I., was also treacherously murdered one evening in September, 1839, when, with three of his officers, he was taking an evening walk near another of their villages, named Haidar Khel, mentioned a little farther on. Some of the Khwádzak branch of the Sálih Khel, Sulímán Khel, Ghalzís had the credit of it, who are styled the "Kanjuk gang" by Outram, who was sent against them. It is usual in such cases, however, to give the credit of such acts to the people dwelling farthest off. Thus, during the advance of the army of the Indus through the Bolán Pass in 1839, the "*Khakads*," and "*Kowkers*," as the Kákars are styled by some of the writers of that period, had much of the credit for robberies and murders committed by others dwelling much nearer the line of route, and not Afgháns only, but Balúchís as well.

The people are sedentary, and follow agriculture, but a few of them feed flocks and herds. They are of robust build and full stature, but, in their dress, they are slovenly, and instead of a turban, generally wear the Kábulí skull cap. Their district is verdant and fertile. The *kharíf* or autumnal harvest is not great, but the *rabí'* or spring harvest is plentiful, and consists of good crops of wheat and barley. Their villages, like those of the Tájzíks of the neighbouring tracts, each contain about fifty families, whose dwellings are constructed of stones and stiff clay. They are connected all round by walls, which conceal the houses, and which generally are flanked with towers, and a single gateway gives admittance to the place.

I now return to the author's description of the route.

"Setting out from Sayyid-ábád, you continue to wend your way up the dara'h of the Sh'níz, in the direction of about south-south-west. It is pleasant and well cultivated, and varies from one to two kuroh in breadth in its widest parts. Villages show themselves here and there as you go along, at some short distance on either side, and are generally shaded by trees, which also grow on the banks of the river.

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* *See* page 354, and note †.

† When an Afghán woman marries an inferior, her descendants are called after their mother, as in the case of the Gagyánís, who are called after their mother, she having been married to a servant of her father. The same occurs when a woman is married to a foreigner, and her descendants are considered Afgháns, because they ever after intermarry with Afgháns, as in the case of Bíbí Mato, who married the Shansabání Tájzík youth, the son of a brother of a chief of Ghúr, which youth bore the name of Sháh Husain, but, the descendants of her sons by him are not called "Afghan Ghorides," nor Sháh Husainís, but, collectively, *Matís*—namely, the Ghalzí and Lodí Afgháns, and their various ramifications.

You follow the course of the river at a little distance from its left bank, for the distance of a kuroh or little more, crossing by the way another stream issuing from the small dara'h of Unkai, immediately adjoining Sayyid-ábád on the west, the road being somewhat rough and stony. The road then leads across the Sh'níz, and under the skirts of the hills on the east side of the dara'h. From thence the road runs in the direction of south, and you leave the river of Sh'níz a kuroh and more on the right hand, for all the available land near the river is under cultivation. This part of the route is intersected by two or three water-courses from the hills, along the skirts of which the road leads, and a very lofty mountain range shows itself on the west or opposite side, at some distance. At the termination of about the fourth kuroh from the last halting place, the dara'h of the Sh'níz begins to narrow considerably, and the cultivation to decrease. After having proceeded for another two kuroh or thereabouts, gradually ascending as before, you reach, on the left hand side of the way, the large village of Ḥaidar-Khel, that is to say, the village inhabited by the Ḥaidar-Khel, just six kuroh from Sayyid-ábád, and contained in the *belak* of Wardag. Like most of the villages of this part, it is enclosed with walls, in the manner previously described. It is surrounded with cultivation, and other villages are to be seen in the distance. About a kuroh distant from this place, on the other side of the Sh'níz river, is the village of Laṛam, which is so called after one of the sub-divisions of the Wardag tribe.

"The next stage of just seven kuroh in a direction nearly south-west, takes you to Haft Ásiyá, or 'The Seven Water-Mills,' the dara'h of the Sh'níz still rising gradually as you proceed. It is much more open here than farther north, and continues so for great part of the way. The road leads rather nearer the river's bank than in the last stage, but you still continue to skirt the foot of the low, bleak looking, and red coloured hills on the left, some of the outer waves of the Koh-i-Surkh or Sor Ghar. Rather less than a kuroh after leaving the Haidar Khel village, you pass, on the hill side, on the left hand near the road, the walled village of Takiyah, which, as its name indicates, is the burial place of some holy man. Some travellers, who make rather longer stages than are here given, halt here instead of at Ḥaidar Khel. This place is also called Kalaey*-i-Takiyah; and this halting-place is considered the third stage for a horseman between Kábul and Ghaznín. On the opposite or west side of the dara'h the lofty mountain range, previously mentioned, now appears in front, towards the right hand as you move onwards, and seems to bar any advance in that direction. At about the end of the second kuroh you reach and cross the bed of the mountain stream, which comes from the east-south-east, from the Sugáwand Ghás'haey, and by following its course the crest of that pass can be reached. At the termination of about four kuroh and a half, the road approaching nearer to the bank of the Sh'níz river than before, you reach, and have to cross, another river bed, also a feeder of the first-mentioned river, but dry for great part of the year, which likewise comes from the mountain range on the left hand, from the direction of the Sugáwand Ghás'haey. Just at this point the route from Kábul and the Kurma'h Dara'h and Bangas'h and Bannú, through the dara'h of Lohgar by the Sugáwand Ghás'haey to Ghaznín, unites with the route now being explained. On the opposite side of the Sh'níz river is the village of the Sulṭán Khel; and for the whole distance between this and the Ḥaidar Khel village, the country is well cultivated, there are plenty of trees, and there are several fine villages on either side."

This is a point of great strategical importance; for, as the author of these surveys remarks, the great route by the Sugáwand Pass unites with the one he is describing. The road to this pass leads up the dara'h or valley out of which this river issues, and which rises not far from the crest of the pass, and near which are the ruins of a great fortress known as the Ḳala'-i-Sugáwand and Ḳala'-i-Jamshed.† This was the route, and the most direct one, between Ghaznín and Kábul by Ḥiṣárak, and Ghaznín and the Kaṛmán, and other dara'hs, described at pages 82–84. This latter route is that which was almost invariably followed by the Turk Sulṭáns of Ghaznín of the family of Sabuk-Tigín; by the Shansabání Tájzík Ghúrí Sulṭán of Ghaznín, who established the Muḥammadan power in India; and by others, officers and feudatories of the

* This Pus'hto word signifying a village or hamlet, as in scores of other instances, has been mistaken for the Arabic word *ḳala'*, a fort, which word is of common use in the language, and thus mere hamlets of a few houses have been turned into *forts* through not understanding the difference between the two words.

Masson passed this place on his way to Kábul. He says: "Halted at *Takíá*, a place with few people or "houses, but a common halting-spot for kâfilas."

† *See* pages 72 and 679.

Chingizíah* dynasty, in their invasions of the country beyond the Indus, which route led down the Kurma'h Dara'h to Bannú and the Indus, and to Pas'haur by Kohát and the Sandah-Bastah Pass.† This village of the Sultán Khel is but three ordinary marches from Hisárak in the general direction of north-east, consequently, Kábul could easily be reached from Ghaznín, by this route, in four comparatively easy marches, and *vice versá*. It is a very great pity that this route, from Barakkai-i-Roghán to Sultán Khel, was not surveyed during the late campaign, but, perhaps, no opportunity offered for so doing.

It is seven ordinary marches between Ghaznín and Kábul by the *Tangaey* of the Wardags, and, therefore, there would be a saving of two, or even three marches, especially to a lightly equipped force, by this route over the Sugáwand Pass.

The distance between Kábul and Ghaznín by this route is much the same as that by the Sháh-Ráh now under description, but it would probably be a little more difficult for part of the way. As Bábar Bádsháh says he has ridden from Ghaznín to Kábul easily in one day, there is no reason why well mounted horsemen should not be able to do the same by the Sugáwand Pass, in case of emergency.

As to the saving of distance, and other advantages by this route, in coming to and fro by the Kurma'h Dara'h from Ghaznín to the Panj-áb, there can be no doubt whatever. The Ghazníwí Sultáns, and their Shansabání Tájzík successor, did not choose this route in preference to others without good and sufficient reason we may rest assured. There was, however, one reason then which does not hold good at present, and that is, that, in their days, they had no Afghán territory to pass through; for they then skirted the Afghánistán some distance to the north, and the river of the Dara'h of Kurma'h also intervened between this route and the Afghánistán.

To proceed, however, with the account of the route.

"You continue onwards from the point where the road from the Sugáwand Ghás'haey unites with this one opposite the Sultán Khel village, for about two kuroh more, and in the same direction as before, and near the banks of Sh'níz river. The tract of country traversed is well cultivated, even the sides of the hills, which the industrious inhabitants contrive to irrigate by means of terraces, but, as you draw near the end of this stage, some diminution is observable, and the dara'h begins somewhat to contract. You pass several villages by the way, some near by, and some at a distance off the road. At the termination of the seventh kuroh you reach Haft Ásiyá, or 'The Seven Water-Mills,' a cluster of villages belonging to the Wardag Karlární Afgháns, and walled after the fashion previously described. They contained seven water-mills, hence the name of the place.

"On the other side of the range on the east is the Dara'h of Khar-wár, which it bounds on that side, and the Khar-wár Ghás'haey, described in a preceding route, which also leads from Kábul by Hisárak and Charkh to Ghaznín. The pass lies about eight kuroh and a half distant from Haft Ásiyá in the direction of east, inclining south-east."

From Haft Ásiyá Ghaznín can be reached without following the main route now being described, by keeping more towards the south, and close to the range just referred to as separating the Dara'h of the Sh'níz from Khar-wár, and leaving Shaj-Gáo or Shush-Gáo and the Sher Dahan Pass about two kuroh, or thereabouts, on the right. You proceed through one of the lateral valleys of the range in question, pass over it, and enter another dara'h running towards the south-south-west, following the course of a mountain stream, dry, or nearly so, for great part of the year, which unites with the river of Ghaznín east of that place. The distance is very little more than by the main route by the Sher Dahan, and is said to be easier, and I believe it is not impracticable for laden animals or light guns. By this road the pass in question could be turned either from above, from the Kábul side, or from Ghaznín. To return to the main route again.

"Setting out from Haft Ásiyá, and following the same direction as heretofore, with the Sh'níz river, now a mere mountain torrent, about half a kuroh on the right hand, you proceed upwards, by a gradual ascent, for a distance of just five kuroh,‡ and reach the halting place of Shaj-Gáo,§ Shush Gáo, or Sh'níz Gáo, as it is also called.

* In all probability it was likewise the route taken by the Chingiz Khán himself, and his mighty host, when he set out from Ghaznín in pursuit of Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mangbarní, the Khwárazm Sháh.

† *See* page 422.

‡ In the Second Route, at page 74, the distance is said to be three kuroh, but it depends on the distance from that place which one takes in coming from the Sugáwand Pass, before turning off.

§ Abú-l-Fazl-i-Baihakí, who was contemporary with Sultán Mahmúd and his sons, and knew the place, also calls it Shaj-Gáo, for reasons presently to be explained.

The road is rather stony in some places, and sandy in others, but, otherwise, it is tolerably even. The country traversed continues to be well cultivated, opens out considerably on the left hand for part of the way, and contracts again, and so continues up to nearly the end of the stage, when it again opens out a little. You meet with some deep river beds by the way, the channels of mountain streams from the Khar-wár side running towards the Sh'níz, whose source the road now approaches. About the end of the second kuroh you reach a cluster of walled villages of the usual description, situated between the road and the river side. These are known as Lorah and Lor Kand, which are Tájzík words, signifying land furrowed by ravines or water-courses caused by floods. These villages are inhabited chiefly by Hazárah people, and some by Afgháns, who are beginning to spread in this direction; and here the *belak*, or district of the Wardags, terminates on the side of Ghaznín.*

"Near these villages the valley, as before mentioned, opens out a little more as you approach nearer the lofty range on the west side, and which the Sher Dahan *Kotal* crosses. This range, like that on the other side, is bare; and as you proceed the ascent becomes apparent. Passing by the way some villages under the mountains at a distance off the road, you reach Shaj-Gáo, or Shush-Gáo, also called Sh'níz Gáo, which is the name of a narrow dara'h or gorge, for the mountain ranges now begin to approach each other. In this narrow dara'h or gorge, at its entrance, are some walled villages of the usual description, surrounded with gardens and orchards and other cultivation, which are known by the above names. Shush Gáo signifies, in the Tájzík language, a whitish-red cow or bullock; and as this narrow dara'h is also known as Sh'níz Gáo and Shaj-Gáo, all three words, *shush*, *sh'níz*, and *shaj*, appear to be of one and the same signification, but the derivation of the last word is unknown to the writer. Another version of the origin of this name, which was said to be correctly Shash-Gáo, was mentioned to him by his companions, to the effect, that, in ancient times, a *ḳáfila'h* of Musalmán traders and travellers were here met by six natives of Hind, coming from the opposite direction; and when the former, according to the usual custom, saluted them with the 'Salám 'Alík,' the churls made no response, and uttered not a word. The *ḳáfila'h* people, on this account, called them '*shash gáo*,' or six bullocks, and, that the circumstance might not be forgotten, they named this place 'the place of the six bullocks.' This statement, however, is scarcely credible.†

"Leaving the halting place in the narrow dara'h of the Shaj-Gáo, Shush-Gáo, or Sh'níz Gáo, you proceed for the distance of about a kuroh in the same direction as before, nearly south-west, crossing a water-course by the way, after which the road runs nearly south, and begins to skirt the lofty mountain range on the right hand or west. The Sh'níz river rises about half a kuroh farther on the right hand, for you are now near its source. At the commencement of the third kuroh from the Shaj-Gáo, Shush Gáo, or Sh'níz Gáo halting place you reach the commencement of the *tangaey* leading to the *ḳotal*. The road up to this point is good, but it soon begins to narrow considerably, and the ground to rise towards the crest. Another kuroh and a half over a rough and stony road brings you to the crest of the *ḳotal*, where stands another of those ancient *chauḳís* or watch towers,‡ and this *ḳotal* is known as the Dahan-i-Sher or Sher Dahan—the Lion's Jaws, or Lion's Mouth.§

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* At present, the Hazárah people are in the minority; for the Ghalzís have, since these surveys were made, encroached greatly upon the districts previously held by the former, and forced them out of many parts near this main route from Kábul to Ghaznín, and also from parts farther to the southwards towards Kalát, which was once held by the Barlúk *ming* or *hazárah*. Some of the Hazárah people, however, still continue to dwell near the line of this route, as will be mentioned in its proper place.

The Ghalzís are still spreading westwards, and some are to be found grazing their flocks and cattle in the dara'h of the Hari Rúd, or River of Hirát.

† In the Tájzík language, besides bullock, the word *gáo* means "a certain quantity of land containing three "kurohs either in length or circumference." Shush also means "the lungs," and anything of a whitish red colour. These meanings may have some reference to the name of this locality.

Baihaḳí writes the name of this place Shaj-Gáo. Shaj signifies, in the Tájzík language, a tract of land or ground of a white colour, very hard, producing very little grass, and in which corn will not grow, and this, no doubt, is the correct signification of the words. Vigne states that the long narrow ridge of mountain which runs down to Ghaznín is of "*gypsum*, generally rounded by the soil that covers it, and in many places split "through by the protruding rock," hence, probably, the *shaj* or white coloured land at the place in question.

‡ Mistaken for a *ṭop*, as some say there are "*topes*" in this part. There may be *ṭops*, but these watch towers are liable, at a distance, to be mistaken for them.

§ In an article in the last number of the "Asiatic Quarterly Review," Lieutenant-Colonel T. N. Holdich, R.E., points out that "*inaccurate* or insufficient *topographical descriptions*, and *the mis-spelling* or mis- "application *of names*, have cost England miliions," and strongly insists on the absolute necessity, for statesmen as well as for military officers, of geographical knowledge.

The "*Sher-i-Dana Pass*," as it appears in our best and latest maps, is a case in point. The name is Tájzík or Persian, and such a name is simply an impossible one in that language.

"By this rugged, stony, *tangaey* or defile and *kotal* you pass over the extremity of the bare, lofty range which seemed to bar the way a few stages back. After running for a considerable distance from the north-east towards the south-west it makes a sudden bend towards the south-east, but soon after makes a still more sudden bend towards the south-south-west again, and runs down direct towards Ghaznín, but decreases considerably in altitude, and only terminates close to the fortress of Ghaznín which it overlooks.* At the extremity or turning point where this last sudden bend takes place, the *tangaey* occurs, and the *kotal* leads over the skirt of it. This particular range extends from near Shaikh-ábád, runs nearly parallel to the Sh'níz river, bounds that dara'h on the west side, and separates it from the Dara'h of the Khúṭ and the smaller dara'hs opening into it. It is one of the cross ridges, so to say, of the great range which extends from the turning point at the Sher Dahan *Kotal* towards the west-north-west, and separates the afore-mentioned Dara'h of the Khúṭ and its subordinate darahs from that in which the Arghand Áb, which rises on the southern face or slope of this same range, flows, as far as the Náwar *Kotal,* where it unites with the great range called the Gul Koh or Red Range, bounding the Dara'h of the Hírmand or Hílmand on the east, and separating the upper portion thereof from the previously mentioned Dara'h of the Khúṭ lying south-east of it."

This last-named range rises up immediately in front of you when you cross the river of Kábul from the Nirkh Maidán,† runs nearly westwards from thence for some distance, and separates the Nirkh Maidán from the Khúṭ Dara'h. It then bends south-west, and runs down as far as the Náwar *Kotal* where the cross ridge from the Sher Dahan, or Dahan-i-Sher *Kotal* unites with it. There it bends towards the west-south-west, or nearly so, then south-west again, and runs down in that direction as far as the Dirávat district of the Ḳandahár province, and separates it from the Dara'h of the Hírmand.

After this brief description of the more general features of these mountain ranges, I return again to the description of the route.

"Having reached the crest of the Dahan-i-Sher, or Sher Dahan, or Lion's Jaws *Kotal,* the elevation being much greater on the northern end than the southern, the descent southwards towards Ghaznín is considerable, and much more sudden. After descending in the same direction as before, nearly in the direction of south, for a distance of less than a kuroh and a half, the road, which is rough and stony as before, leads down through a narrow defile between low rocky ridges of the mountain range, which, in some places, may be from three hundred to three hundred and fifty *gaz* apart, but which, in others, are not more than about fifty *gaz.*‡ Having cleared the defile, and entered a small dara'h opening out into the larger one of Ghaznín itself, and which small dara'h is about a kuroh in breadth, you proceed a short distance farther and reach Hindú Chína'h, or 'The Hindú's Spring,' distant five kuroh from the halting place in Shaj-Gáo, Shush Gáo, or Sh'níz Gáo. This is a small stream, an affluent of the river of Ghaznín, which rises in the *kotal,* and unites with others lower down. The dara'h which you now traverse opens out considerably towards the left

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* At the storming of Ghaznín, in 1839, it was behind this very terminating hill that our guns were placed.

† The mountain range in question has nothing whatever to do with any "*Paghmán range,*" for that, so called, but not a general name known to the inhabitants, is severed from this one by the dara'h in which the river of Kábul flows. Still less has it to do with the "*Súlimán mountains* between Logar and Ghazni;" and there is no range known as the "*Sher Dahan* range," nor any pass called the *Sargáwan Kotal,* but there is the Sugáwand Pass, and that likewise does not cross the "Súlimán" range. *See* MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part II., p. 643.

‡ This Dahan-i-Sher *Kotal,* or Lion's Jaws Pass, is a very defensive position; and, in ancient times, was fortified. The remains of Chaukís or Guard Towers, are still to be seen—or were a few years ago—at either extremity of the pass, and the remains of others on the heights around. It is, as above mentioned, blocked with snow in the winter months, like other passes near by leading into Ghúr, and are then impassable. This the chief of Ghúr, the Shansabání Tájzík, Saif-ud-Dín, Súrí, found, when the Sulṭán, Mu'izz-ud-Daulah, Bahrám Sháh, the Ghazníwí, whom he had driven from Ghaznín, suddenly returned thither from Karmán in the depth of winter and surprised him, as related farther on. *See* also my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-"i-Náṣirí," page 348, note.

Shaj-Gáo, or Shush Gáo, or Sh'níz Gáo, however, can be reached from Ghaznín, and *vice versâ,* when the Dahan-i-Sher *Kotal* is impracticable, by skirting the hills on the right hand which bound the Khar-wár Dara'h on the west, and separates it from the Dara'h of the Sh'níz, and leaving the above *kotal* about two kuroh on the left hand. This I believe is practicable for laden animals and light guns.

If this pass were occupied in force, it could also be turned from the side of Kábul by the route described in the text above, or through Lohgar, by the Waṛdag *Tangaey,* or by Gardaiz through Zurmat, or by the Khar-wár Pass, and the alternative route immediately east of it, or by the Sugáwand Pass. It could also be turned from the westward and southward, but perhaps I had better say no more on that subject here, or, at least, for the present.

hand as you descend, and you skirt, near by on the right hand, the ridge of the great range, just before noticed, which runs down towards Ghaznín, and lessens in altitude as it nears it. The district of Shil-gar now lies in front of you, and the fortress of Ghaznín also, towards the right hand. This *kotal* is blocked with snow in the winter months, and is then impassable.

"From Hindú Chína'h you continue onwards in the direction of south-west, inclining south, and after proceeding for the distance of another four kuroh, reach Ghaznín, passing by the way, about one kuroh and a half before reaching the fortress, the Rauẕa'h* or Mausoleum and Shrine of the renowned Turk Sulṭán, Maḥmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín, situated on the right-hand side of the road at the skirt of the mountain range, in what used to be called the Bágh-i-Fírúzah.

"The Rauẕa'h consists of a plain, but high domed building; and east of it is a great *kárez*, the beautifully clear water of which supplies the wants of the attendants at the tomb, and other people dwelling around, and is also used for the garden surrounding the Rauẕa'h. The making of this *kárez* is ascribed to the wife of the Sulṭán. There are many other gardens near it."

There is a tradition, and, no doubt, there is truth in it, that, after the tomb of Maḥmúd, and those of his son, and grandson, had escaped the vengeance of 'Alá-ud-Dín, Ḥusain, the Shansabání Tájzík, related at page 727, the guardians of the tomb of the former, finding that the infidel Mughals destroyed everything that came in their way, especially anything venerated by the Turks whom they hated, on the approach of the Chingiz Khán from Tukháristán in pursuit of Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, who likewise was a Turk, concealed the whereabouts of Maḥmúd's tomb by causing it to be heaped over with earth and rubbish to let it appear as a ruin, and thus it continued safe from desecration. It was left in this state for many years—about a century—when it was considered safe from molestation through the conversion of the Mughals to the Muḥammadan faith. This, however, did not save it from the act of sacrilege related at page 722, committed through the race hatred existing on the part of the Mughals towards the Turks.

It is pretty certain, that, before the tomb was concealed, a much more handsome and substantial structure surrounded it, for I find from Baihaḳí, that, when Sulṭán Mas'úd made his entry into Ghaznín, and ascended the throne of his father, in Jamádí-ul-Ákhir, 422 H. (June, 1031 A.D.), when triumphal arches were erected for a great distance along his route, and men, women, and children, came out in such vast crowds to meet him, that there was danger of being crushed, he, that same day, proceeded to the *bust-zár* or garden suburbs, to the Bágh-i-Fírúzí or Fírúzí Garden, to pay his devotions at his father's tomb. He at that time gave orders to present 20,000 *dirams* to the custodians,

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* According to the historian, Baihaḳí, Sulṭán Maḥmúd was buried in the Bágh-i-Fírúzah on the 22nd of Rabí'-ul-Akhir, 421 H. (April, 1030 A.D.).

Masson calls it "the village of Rozah," and does not appear to have been aware that Rauẕa'h signifies a mausoleum as well as a garden, because he says "the village of Rozah contiguous to which is the sepulchre and shrine of the mighty Máhmúd," etc. This is a great error; for whatever there is of a village at present, has sprung up around the Rauẕa'h, which, when Ghaznín was in its glory, was contained within the suburbs of the city, and close to it.

Bábar Bádsháh, referring to the distinguished men of Hirát in his time, mentions the Mullá, 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán, and says he was one of the great men of Ghaznín, who died in the same year that Náṣir Mírzá died, and that the tomb of Sulṭán Maḥmúd-i-Ghází is in his, 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán's, suburb, that is, that, at that time, it was contained within the suburb then called after this Mullá. The Bádsháh adds, that, "on account of its being "the place of the Sulṭán's sepulchre, they call it the Rauẕa'h. The tombs of Sulṭán Mas'úd, and Sulṭán "Ibráhím, are also at Ghaznín."

In the low hills near and around the Rauẕa'h there are many tombs, and, probably, the tombs of the two other Sulṭáns, Mas'úd and Ibráhím, the son and grandson of Sulṭán Maḥmúd-i-Ghází, or some trace of them, may there be found.

Báyazíd, the Byát, writing in the time of Bábar Bádsháh's son and successor, Humáyún Bádsháh, says, that Bairam Khán and his party (with whom he was), who were on their way to Kábul from Ḳandahár, soon after the latter Bádsháh's return from Ī-rán, put up near the Rauẕa'h of Sulṭán Maḥmúd, "which," he says, "in former times was contained within the boundaries of the city. Shaikh Sháhí, and the other Mujáwirs "[attendants] at the shrine, received them hospitably, and ministered to their wants. From thence, after "halting three days at Ghaznín, they proceeded to Sh'níz, and from thence to Maidán."

The tomb and shrine of Sulṭán Maḥmúd is not so much venerated by the Afgháns as by the other inhabitants of the country and Musalmáns generally. Bábar Bádsháh, for example, did not manifest much respect for it, but he was a Mughal and Maḥmúd a Turk. In the same way, the Afgháns hated Turks, but Mughals they detested. The desecration of the tomb in taking from it the supposed sandal wood Gates of Súmanáṭh, was no source of affliction to the Afgháns, but a sore one to the other Musalmán people; and I do not think the former would have felt much concern even if tomb and all had been carried away. As the fragments of many broken idols lay at the threshold of the building, among which are said to have been those of the idol Jagar-sum, carried away from the great temple at Ṭhání-sar, these might have been taken away as well as the sandal wood Gates. The site of the tomb since that time, I am told, is marked by a heap of rubbish, and the ruins of the walls.

and commanded Dánishmand, the architect and builder, and the commandant of the forces, Naṣr, son of Khalaf, to get a goodly number of workpeople together, and lose no time in completing the erection of the Ribáṭ or structure which had been ordered to be raised, and to see that the endowments of the sepulchre were properly adjusted and arranged. His renowned father, he said, was much attached to this Fírúzí Garden; and he considered himself bound to carry out his father's wishes as soon as possible.

It is therefore probable that, before the tomb itself was concealed, some of this structure, or such portion as may have been left standing after the calamities the city had already sustained, was taken down the better to admit of the tomb being covered over. When, in after years, the earth and rubbish were cleared away, and the sepulchre was again exposed to view, the guardians thereof had not the means of erecting over it more than the plain structure at present existing; for Ghaznín itself was but a heap of ruins, and its few inhabitants in a poverty-stricken condition. What the edifices of Ghaznín in its glory were, may be judged from what remain of them.*

When sickness prevails, and cholera, at times, makes great ravages, the people flock to the tomb, and bring their sick to be cured, or there, within, to them, the sacred precincts, to breathe their last.

Atkinson, who visited the tomb, remarked:—" Above the pointed archway, *three lozenge-shaped ornaments* " suspended from a cross beam. They are painted red, with white lines, resembling bricks in a wall. Nobody " could tell what they were intended for, but they are looked upon as mysterious symbols, and regarded with " great veneration. I fancy, however, that the solution is very easy. In an old copy of Persian verses, they " are called *Seh Kungar, sernagoon sar*,—' three *Kungars* turned upside down.' *Kungar*, in Persian, means " 'battlement, parapet wall,' and this mysterious device, in imitation of brickwork, seems to be no other than " the representation of a portion of the serrated lozenge-shaped upper line of a battlement turned upside down, " as an ornament to the building."

Mohan Lál, who visited the tomb in 1833, when on his way to Kábul, says:—" Towards the feet of the " grave is a small hole dug out in the ground, the earth of which the sick people eat, and recover from their " disorders. On the arch of the door of the room (the tomb) were *three muddy bunches*, hanging down in " singular shape; their durability is considered a miracle by the people." These are Atkinson's " three lozenge-shaped ornaments;" but Mohan Lál also is unable to explain what they meant.

He also says that the people of Constantinople highly respect the man who has paid a visit to the tomb of Sulṭán Mahmúd, the promoter and champion of the Muḥammadan faith—they are Turks too, like as the defunct was; but, at the same time, as a test of his veracity, and to prove that he has been there, they ask him for what signs the city of Ghaznín is famous; and when he gives them a satisfactory answer in certain Persian verses, he is treated with honour, and considered a truthful man. One of these test signs was—for the tomb has since been desecrated—Atkinson's " three lozenge-shaped ornaments," and Mohan Lál's " three " muddy bunches." The signs are: " The shrine of that orthodox Sulṭán, in which three objects in plaster, in " the shape of bunches of grapes, hang down; the arch in the roof of the *manár* from which the sun can be " seen on every side; the stone basin for water placed in the Jámi' Masjid; and the Arbáb's Masjid, which, " although it has a crooked arch, yet points to the Ḳiblah (Makkah)."

* *See* Kaye's " War in Afghanistan," Vol. III., page 335. There never was any " Sultan Abdool Rizak, grandson or great-grandson of Timour," ruler over all these parts, but when Bábar Bádsháh left his brother Náṣir Mírzá in charge of Ḳandahár at the time he beat such a hasty retreat from thence lest he should be attacked by the Úzbaks, he left his uncle's son, 'Abd-ur-Razzák Mírzá, son of Ulugh Beg, who was the great-great-grandson of Amír Timúr, the Gúrgán, in charge of Kalát, 'Abd-ur-Razzáḳ having submitted to him shortly after he (Bábar) had acquired possession of Kábul from Muḥammad Muḳim, the Arghún, who had deprived 'Abd-ur-Razzaḳ of it.

When Ḳandahár again fell into the possession of Sháh Beg, Arghún, and Náṣir Mírzá retired to Kábul, 'Abd-ur-Razzák found Kalát untenable, and he abandoned it, and retired to Kábul also, which he reached just as Bábar was about to leave it, and place the Indus between himself and the Úzbaks, and he very kindly made over Kábul and Ghaznín, which he could not hold himself, to 'Abd-ur-Razzáḳ. When Bábar soon after turned back again, on hearing of the defeat and death of Shaibáni Khán, the Úzbak Sulṭán, he resumed possession. 'Abd-ur-Razzáḳ was subsequently placed in charge of Ghaznín for a time, but, a conspiracy having been got up against Bábar in 1508 A.D., with the object of setting up 'Abd-ur-Razzáḳ, Bábar put him to death.

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London: Printed by Eyre and Spottiswoode,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.